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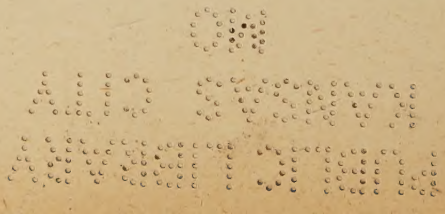
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# PRINCETON REVIEW.

EDITED BY

CHARLES HODGE, D.D.; LYMAN H. ATWATER, D.D.

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THE

# PRINCETON REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1870.

No. I.

ART. I.—*The History and Literature of Civil Service Reform.*

AMONG the various directions taken by the recent discussion of a reform in our own civil service, none has been less diligently pursued than the history and literature of the subject. There are some suggestions that may be of use in the practical work that is yet to be done, to bring the legislation of the country to a level with the height attained by the men who have thought on and thought out this matter. The American Association for the advancement of Social Science has taken it in hand; and Mr. Curtis prepared a paper, which was read at the October meeting in New York. Mr. Henry Adams is the author of an article on the same subject in the October number of the *North American Review*. All who read the works of these gentlemen will be attracted to the consideration of Civil Service Reform, and many persons will be curious to know where the early history of this subject can be found, and what is the recorded experience of Roman, and mediæval and modern governments. A partial answer can be found in a book, little known abroad, and, of course, still less here, "*Des Offices considérés au point de vue des Transactions Privées et des Intérêts de l'État (ouvrage couronné par la*

*Faculté de Droit de Rennes et par l'Académie de Législation*), par EUGÈNE DURAND, Docteur en Droit, Avocat à la Cour Impériale de Rennes. Paris: S. Durand, Librairie-Editeur. 1863 (pp. 458). It is written mainly to justify the existence, in France, of offices that are bought and sold,—the places of advo cates of the Court of Cassation, notaries, attorneys, clerks, and tipstaffs of the courts, brokers and auctioneers,—and, to do so, it begins in very early times. The whole business of appointment to public office, and the proper tenure, has been largely discussed of late. The passage of the Tenure-of-Office Bill had its origin in this way, although it was used for a very different end. The opposition to its repeal was due mainly to the strong feeling that any means of staying the tide of removals from office for mere party or personal reasons, could not be rightly dispensed with.

The introduction of the "Civil Service Bill" by Mr. Jenckes, his reports giving the history of the subject in this country, the debates in Congress, the large and liberal consideration given to the subject by the public press of the nation, the strong feeling in its favor, without regard to party lines,—all bear loud and convincing testimony to the fact that there is a wholesome anxiety for some broad and sweeping measure of reform in the old fashion of political appointments to office. The feeling is that our public offices must be restored to their old condition of purity and efficiency, and that, while France and England, Germany and Italy even, may be the worse for their various forms of government, they are much better for their almost perfect system of the administration of the public business. The determination to effect a reform here in that direction is pretty certain, sooner or later, to be carried into effect. A sketch of the history of the subject, as exhibited in the work of M. Durand, may not be without its particular use in showing how the same mischief grew up in Roman and French administration, and was cured only by a destructive revolution that swept away with it all, or nearly all, that was good and bad, in its fury. Our word, "office," had no fellow in the Greek language, and the thing itself was represented by "ὀρχὴ," or by "δυναμις" and "τιμὴ." In Rome,

there was a gradual transition from *magistratus* to *muncra publica*, *honores*, *dignitates*, and, finally, *officium*, whence our "office."

The origin of this word has been the subject of a good deal of curious learning and much effort to get at its real meaning. In the third century of the Christian era, *Donatus* taught that "officium dicitur quasi efficium ab efficiendo quod cuicui personæ efficere congruit." *St. Augustine* put the same idea in another way: "Officium dicitur quasi efficium, propter sermonis decorem mutata una litera." *Loyseau*, early in the seventeenth century, said that *officium* was composed of the preposition *ob* and the verb *facio*, and meant "continual or ordinary employment at a certain work."

Of the theory of appointment to office, there is no need for discussion. It has always been agreed, that every office is a delegation of public power, and the recipient is supposed to be not only pure, honest, just, laborious, zealous, but specially fitted for the duties cast upon him, either by special training, or by such advantages of education as will best fit him to learn and exercise the duties of his office. To recur to pure theoretical times, we should have to go back to the republic of Plato. The corruption of public morals, the avidity of men for public office, and political necessities, have made the practice very different.

In Rome, the republic maintained the purity of its offices and its officers. When, under the emperors, the right to appoint fell into the hands of a single man, the system of office-hunting was as well established as it is here among ourselves.

The custom of giving presents, at first a free-will offering, soon became obligatory, and then passed into a means of supplying the public treasury, emptied by the wicked wastefulness of the times.

The same transition can be seen in the history of early French legislation. Up to the end of the fifteenth century present-giving was the rule, subject, however, to numerous laws forbidding and punishing the traffic of officers in offices. But when the treasury became exhausted, and the taxes weighed heavily, Louis XII. and Francis I. determined to sell the titles which were solicited at their hands. All public

offices were made salable, and there was a new office created to manage the business. This went on, varying in degree and kind, until the French Revolution drove, into the world of the past, all the traditions that had made public office venal, hereditary, and corrupt, as it was almost proof against any reform or change.

It was not until eight centuries after the foundation of Rome that republican simplicity had been so far destroyed as to make way for the sale of public offices. The empire was almost near its end when the appointments in its service were made both salable and hereditary. In the history of the republic, merit was the only condition for appointment. Afterward, by slow and almost insensible progress downward, but steadily going on from bad to worse, the primitive character was lost, and, toward the fourth century of the Christian era, some of the officers enjoyed the privilege of disposing of their places during their life-time, and of transmitting them to their heirs after their death.

Under the republic there were innumerable offices; consuls, tribunes, pretors, censors, questors, curule ediles, and plebeian ediles were the most familiar. All were the gift of the people, except in times of great public difficulty, when a dictator was chosen, who appointed them.

Cicero, in his fourth oration against Verres, distinguishes the *magistratus* and the *curationes*,—the one extraordinary and temporary, the other ordinary and permanent,—the latter a sort of special commission, the former the regular channel.

The election ("designatio") once over, the officer took his place, without appointment, commission, or confirmation. Suspension, and, in the most cases, removal with disability were the punishments for violations or neglect of duty. Once out of office at the expiration of the term of service, there was no choice or influence used to secure a friend as successor, until Cæsar gave the example, and by doing so violated doubly the laws of the country, in giving up an office which he had engaged to execute, and in substituting as his successor a person of his own, and not of the general, popular choice.

A scrupulous observance of these rules for many ages made Rome great, and its fame eternal. Unfortunately, the con-

quest of the world brought wealth into the capital, and wealth brought corruption.

Intrigue and bribery gained suffrages which used to be given to merit. Ruinous expenses signalized the nominations and the elections. Cicero (*De Off.*, l. ii., 17) comments on the unbought advancement of L. Philippus.*

Lucan describes the ordinary contest for office :—

> "Huic rapti fasces pretio sectorque favoris
> Ipse sui populus, letalisque ambitus urbi,
> Annua venali referens certamina campo."
>
> —[*De Bello Civili*, l. i.

Seneca is even more explicit :—

"Hæc res ipsa quæ tot magistratus et judices facit pecunia, ex quo in honore esse cepit, rebus honor cecidit; mercatoresque et venales invicem facti quærimus non quale sit quidque sed quanti."—[*Epistol.*, 115.

Quintilian forcibly and pithily says :—

"Ad summam in republica nostra honorem non animus, non virtus, non manus mittit, sed arca et dispensator."—[*Decl.*, 345.

When it was sought to remedy the mischief, the roots had taken too strong hold to be easily loosened. In the effort to do so there were ten laws passed in rapid succession—Ll. Protelia, Emilia, Maria, Fabia, Calpurnia, Tullia, Aufidia, Licinia, Pompeia, and Julia—all given at length in Rozinus, Antiq. Roman., l. xviii., c. 19, and in Alexander, Genial. Dier., l. iii., c. 17.

It was after these efforts that the people of Rome, wearied

* Causa igitur largitionis est, si aut necesse est aut utile. In his autem ipsis mediocritatis regula optima est. L. quidem Philippus, Q. f., magno vir ingenio in primisque clarus, gloriari solebat se sine ullo munere adeptum esse omnia, quæ haberentur amplissima. Dicebat idem Cotta, Curio: Nobis quoque licet in hoc quodammodo gloriari. Nam pro amplitudine honorum, quos cunctis suffragiis adepti sumus nostro quidem anno, quod contigit eorum nemini, quos modo nominavi, sane exiguus sumptus ædilitatis fuit. Atque etiam illæ impensæ meliores, muri, navalia, portus, aquarum ductus, omniaque, quæ ad usum reipublicæ pertinent. Quamquam quod præsens tamquam in manum datur jucundius est: hæc tamen in posterum gratiora. Theatra, portica, nova templa verecundius reprehendo propter Pompeium: sed doctissimi non probant, ut et hic ipse Pœnatius . . . et Phalereus Demetrius, qui Periclem, principem Græciæ, vituperat, quod tantam pecuniam in præclara illa propylœa conjecerit. Tota igitur ratio talium largitionum genere vitiosa est, temporibus necessaria; et tamen ipsa et ad facultates accommodanda et mediocritate moderanda est.—[*Cic. de Off.*, l. ii., 17.

of civil war, put into the hands of Octavius, after his victory at Actium, the right of appointing to public offices.

The accession of Augustus to the empire was signalized by the creation of many new offices: lieutenants and attorneys of the emperor, legati et procuratores Cæsaris, prefect of the city, præfectus urbi, prefects of the pretors, quæstores candidati principis, præfectus annonum, and even præfectus vigilum, a sort of Dogberrys of the watch.

Augustus was employed during the whole of his reign—which was a period of transition—in reforms, aptly conceived and well executed, and he left the people in the enjoyment of their right to nominate to public office.

Tiberius suppressed the comites, and made all the appointments himself, and in place of election gave the new officers certificates, codicilli imperiales or diplomata—a word with a meaning given it by Seneca: "Video isthic diplomata, vacua honorum simulacra, umbram quamdam ambitionis laborantis quæ decipiat animos inanium opinione gaudentes; humanæ cupiditatis extra naturam quæsita nomina; in quibus nihil est quod subjici oculis."

The word suffragium began then to be used, and it meant originally the money given to obtain public office. There were two sorts of suffragia—those received by the courtiers, the other by the emperors themselves. "Privatum scilicet suffragium, quod suffragatoribus aulicis dabatur; et dominicum suffragium quod imperialibus rationibus inferebatur" (Nov. 161). According to Suetonius, Vespasian made no scruple about accepting, and even requiring, small sums from those who solicited him for offices.

Suffrage did not, perhaps, mean the price of the office, but it did as much harm as if it had been an avowed sale for a stipulated sum.

The new officer was not warm in his place, before he did his best to get back all his outlays, and hence, particularly in the case of governors of provinces, who were least under restraint, exactions without number. "Provincias spoliari et numerarium tribunal, audita utrinque licitatione, alteri addici, mirum non est, quia quæ emeris vendere jus gentium est." What Seneca thus describes, became in the reign of Heliogab-

alus so public, that the judges' places were sold openly to the highest bidder.

Alexander Severus announced, on his accession, his intention to repress this disorder: "Necesse est ut qui emit vendat, at ego non patiar mercatores potestatum quos, si patiar, punire non possum; erubesco enim punire qui emit et vendit;" and his efforts were partially successful, but brief as his reign. Constantine vainly forbade his courtiers to accept presents from those who solicited office under him (Cod. Theod., De muner. et honor. l. ad hon. Cod. Just., De præfect. Dignitate l. Unica). Julian, the Apostate, refused a suitor who wanted to recover the moneys so paid, and Theodosius made a law to enforce contracts of this kind, certi conditio pro suffragio (Amm. Marcellin., lib. 22: Cod. Theod. l. 1, si certum pet. de suffragio). Zozimus says that this prince created new offices, which he sold for cash, although it is known that he forbade raising contributions from those who aspired to become governors of the provinces, under a fourfold penalty. "Ad ejusmodi honoris insignia non ambitione vel pretio sed probatæ vitæ testimonio accedendum esse." To enforce this wise measure, the emperor prescribed for them an oath that they had not given and would not give any thing as an inducement, "neque se dedisse quicquam, neque daturo postmodum fore, sive per se, sive per interpositam personam, in fraudem legis sacramentique, aut venditionis donationisque titulo, aut alio velament ocujusmodo contractûs" (Code Ad. leg., Jul. Repet. l. ult.). This oath has in substance served even in modern times, at least, as a proof of the good intentions of the law-makers.

But while it is easy to modify the laws, it is difficult to improve the morals of a nation. In spite of these prohibitions, the traffic in public offices kept steadily on its downward progress. Eutropius is called by Claudian, "caupo famosus honorum;" and Justinian repeated the prohibition against the sale of judicial offices in terms that are worth weighing. (Nov. 8, Præf. s. 1.) Unfortunately this praiseworthy effort failed too, and the history of the eastern empire is full of edicts vigorously, but vainly, denouncing the violations of the law, and only serving to show more effectively the practice. It spread

too, beyond the precincts of the court. Just as the people had lost the power of choosing their own officers, which were bought by courtiers of the emperors, so the officers of various grades sold their subordinate places, and even the municipal offices were sold for the price of the expenses of the public games, or for a round sum paid into the treasury. In Rome the senators were rated at a fixed amount called the aurum oblatitium, and the consuls, under Valentinian and Zeno, were obliged to contribute a certain share of the repairs of the aqueducts. The new officers were obliged, too, to pay something to their older colleagues, called sportulæ, "Qui magistratum ineunt solent totum Bulen vocare vel binos denarios singulis dare" (Plin., lib. x. Epist.).

Still there was always a clearly-defined understanding that these payments were gifts, elegantly described by Trojan as *honoraria*, to the people or the emperor, in return for the distinction conferred, and not the price of the office itself.

No officer could stipulate for a round sum as a condition of yielding to his successor, nor did his place pass upon his death, as of right, to his heirs. These two distinguishing qualities, the sale, and the inheritance of offices, even in this time of Roman decline, were found only in that class of officers known as *militia*. The Emperor Constantine celebrated his accession by multiplying the dignities and creating officers for his new position. There were already places filled by nobilissimi, illustres, spectabiles, clarissimi, perfectissimi, and egregii; to these were added cubicularii, castrensiani, ministeriani, silentiarii, all under the common name of palatini.

It was at this time too, that *militia* became the general designation for all holding public place. The thirty-fifth and fifty-third Novellæ, the three last books of the Code, and the Commentaries of Lazius Reip. Rom., show that at first the name was limited to the officers of the household of the emperor. It was soon extended, first to the subaltern officers employed by the governors of the provinces, and finally to all civil employments, and particularly that of advocates.

There were two classes, the militia armata and the militia civilis; the latter was subdivided into militia palatina, militia togata seu forensis, and militia literata, corresponding to the

household, the huntsman, falconers, and other personal officers of the emperor in the first class, the jurisconsults and lawyers in the second, and the secretaries of the emperor in the third.

The militia were formed into corporations or scholæ, divided into different companies, each with its head, not unlike the distribution in our departments. At first the right of nomination belonged to the chief of each class; this magister officiorum is called, by Cassiodorus, "gloriosus donator aulici consistorii, quasi alter Lucifer." Afterward, the emperor himself made the appointments by letters called probatoriæ, and in Greek δοκιμασια, which were duly registered. At first, too, these appointments were purely gratuitous; but gradually from being given to the officers as a gift for the benefit of widows and children, the officers got the right to dispose of them for their own private profit.

Hence arose the distinction of offices that were salable and hereditary, and those that were still in the gift of the emperor. Even the former, however, were dependent on the act of the emperor for their recognition, for he was still the source of all power, "a quo ut a sole radii omnes exeunt dignitates."

The legislation on this subject is found in the Institutes, l. xxvii., Cod. de pign. et hyp., and l. xi., Cod. de prox. sacr.; and in the Novellæ 46, c. 4, and 53, c. 5; and in the L. 102, s. 2, and 3, Dig. de legat. 3.

The learning bestowed on it is scattered over many works, and makes an essential part of all the treatises on sales, as distinct as any other branch.

The elements essential to such a contract were three, consensus, res, and pretium. The last could not exceed a sum fixed either by the society to which the office belonged, or by the emperor. The security for it was not unlike that of our own purchase-money mortgage; and gave rise to nearly as much discussion.

The relations of creditors, wife's dower, rights of minors, and the conditions made in the construction of the contracts of sale, were all elaborated, and the treatises written on them, as well as the efforts made to secure by law, first one right and then another, are still occasionally referred to in the French courts. The gifts inter vivos, and the right to make testa-

mentary disposition of offices, were all fully admitted, and the Lex. 102, s. 3, de legatis 3, makes the following decision: "Testator liberto militiam his verbis legavit: Seio liberto meo militiam do lego illam: quam militiam et testator habuit. Quæsitum est an onera omnia et introitus militiæ ab herede sint danda; respondit danda."

There was also the hereditary transmission of offices, at first limited to children or direct descendants as the objects, along with the father, of the bounty of the emperor who gave the office: "Hoc habeant non tamquam paternam hereditatem sed tanquam inperialem munificentiam; ut et substantiam relinquentibus et non habentibus, merito solatium præbeamus" (Nov. 53, c. 5).

The office itself came to the son, if there was one who could fill it, or was sold for the benefit of all the children; in either case, the new incumbent was obliged to pay the onus or introitus militiæ, an entrance fee fixed by statute, and due to the chief of the department, or to the corporation of which he was the head; or, in some cases, to the supernumerarii, those who were promised the next vacancy, a body regularly organized by the wisdom of an emperor, "Instituit imperator Claudius imaginariæ militiæ genus, quod vocatur supernumerum, quo absentes titulo tenus fungerentur."

Even where the office was sold for the benefit of the heirs, the purchaser had to pay to the family a round sum, called casus militiæ, which was also known as suffragium, solatium, and scholæ placitum: the first, because it required a vote of the corporation to which the office belonged; the second, because it was a consolation to the heirs for the death of their father, from whom the office descended to them; and the third, because it was regulated "pro tenore communis militantium placiti."

The limitation of this right of inheritance was of pretorian origin, and lost its primitive character under the later emperors. The "collatio bonorum" was extended to brothers and sisters, subject to a right to limit it by express words, and to a cloud of questions as to whether it meant the price given, or the assessed value; and whether it was the value at the time of the death of the donee or the donor, on all of

which much learning is found in the early Roman laws, and in the comments of the civilians.

The original permission to officers to dispose of their offices was not an absolute surrender by the emperors of their rights, but simply a reward for long and faithful services. The recommendation of the original appointee was not binding in law, it was only a jus *ad* militiam, which became valid when the appointment was duly made by commission, the real jus *in* militia.

The imperial prerogative was limited, but not seriously affected by this innovation of the sale of offices; for the power was reserved to control, and even to refuse to appoint, candidates presented; as well as the right to remove officers found unfit for their position, and to suppress offices, and to create others, which of course were powers fatal to the salable value of an existing office. In certain employments, "dummodo et is qui subrogatur electione quæstoris fiat," the nomination depended on the chief of the bureau, through whom, and with whose recommendation, the out-going officer submitted to the emperor the name of his successor.

With this and the other restrictions already referred to, the owner of an office always took it with a view to its resale, "quæ emeris vendere jus gentium est," and any loss of this right was a subject of reclamation.

As a primary rule, the officers were removable, for in the early years of the republic, the consuls Tarquin, Collatinus, and Lucius Flaminius, were deprived of their offices. Under the empire, the accession of Alexander Severus was distinguished, among other reforms, by numerous clearings out of judges, and governors of provinces. The Latin phrase, "mittere successorem," itself, shows the acknowledged right. Consuls under the republic, judges and governors under the empire, were all offices given gratuitously, but the *militia*, the offices of the emperor's household, and those of the different governors, were regularly bought and sold; to deprive their owners of them without compensation, was to take so much of their property.

While therefore the right of removal was recognized and maintained, the right to compensation was admitted; and the

successor, whether of his own choice, or imposed on him by superior authority, was obliged to pay to his predecessor, as an indemnity, the fixed price.

Even in case of a suspension, the right to the indemnity remained, and it was lost only where the officer himself abandoned his duties for five years: "quinquennium si fuerit divagatus, ipso jam cingulo spoliandus est."

The love of pomp and magnificence exhibited by the emperors of the East, led rapidly to a proportionate increase in the number of their officers.

The firm adherence to the proprietary right of existing offices, prevented their suppression, and led to the establishment of new offices, to be filled by new favorites. As they were all paid by the government, and not by fees, there was no clashing of interest, or question of compensation, and all were satisfied.

The offices thus created were mainly the following: *Scribæ* et *Tabularii*, subordinate to the older *notarius*, described by St. Augustine (lib. ii., de Doctrina Christi), "notas qui didicerunt proprie notarii appellantur." The *notarii* prepared opinions and drew contracts; the *scribæ* registered them, and the *tabularii* prepared the certified copies.

These offices were important even in the days of the Greek republic, but in Rome they had fallen into the hands of the slaves. The emperors Arcadius and Honorius secured them for the citizens, and divided them into three classes: "scribæ, defensores civitatum, judices pedanei." The improvement thus begun, ended in an effort of the citizens to avoid the unpaid labor of these offices, by becoming domestic officers of the emperors; thus avoiding the necessity of accepting public offices, and to remedy this it was necessary to enact by L. 3, Cod. de scribis tabulariis et logographis (lib. x., 1, 69), that these offices should be held by the emperor's own people.

This was followed by laws of Honorius and Theodosius, limiting these offices to the households of governors of provinces; and of Justinian, limiting them to the offices of the presidents, and subdividing them into *exceptores*, who wrote out judicial opinions, "acta judiciorum scribebant," and were called "notarii, quia notis scribebant acta præsidium;" the

*regendarii*, who registered these opinions, "regerere enim iterum gerere est et inde regestum seu scriptum;" *cancellarii*, who prepared the pleadings, and drafted decrees, and *actuarii*, who received and recorded all voluntary legal acts, such, for example, as emancipation, adoption, contracts, and wills.

The later emperors established as a class of great importance, their own secretaries or notarii, "præclaram nobilemque militiam spectabilium tribunorum notariorum qui gloriosis obsequiis nonnihil reipublicæ commoditatis afferunt et decoris, diversis beneficiorum titulis muniendam credimus et augendam" (Cod. de primicerio et sec. et not., L. 12, t. 7).

They were also called *tribuni* and *candidati*, partly because they were recognized as on the high road to great preferment, and partly because they wore white robes, "qui familiaritate regum utebantur, purpurati regum vocabantur sicut apud nos a toga candidata candidati" (Tertullian, lib. de Idolatria).

They were also distinguished as tribuni prætoriani et notarii, with the title of comites, as tribuni et notarii, and as notarii familiares sive domestici. Their senior was called primicerius notariorum, and had the dignity of a proconsul, and a place among the *illustres*.

The second class of offices created by the later emperors, and made subject to the right of sale, was the *Procuratores ad lites*. It was not until six centuries after the foundation of Rome, that the law provided for representation by counsel; at first there were two classes, the cognitores and the procuratores, but the latter only existed in the latter empire. At no time, however, had they any public character, or any recognition other than that of persons doing an act of friendship, not exercising any avowed or acknowledged professional relation.

The last class of new offices was the *viatores* or *executores*, corresponding to the *apparitores* and *statores* of the republic, with the duties of our sheriff's officers and tipstaffs, that is, to notify parties to actions and *their witnesses and others* in interest.

The Roman empire during its existence of eleven centuries, had thrown out roots too deep in the spirit of its institutions, to be lost sight of when the first efforts toward reorganization

followed the disorders of the conquest. The laws of the barbarians were almost entirely silent as to offices. The edict of Theodoric (edictum Theodorici regis) is the only legislative record in which the subject is mentioned. In his efforts to get the Goths to adopt Roman institutions, he adopted the Roman legislation. Just as the emperors of old endeavored to throw on the governors of provinces the cares and troubles of administration, the first conquerors imitated them, by establishing, in the different parts of their newly-acquired regions, their own companions with the titles of dukes and counts, and under the obligation of doing homage to their chief; this was the origin of the feudal system.

In the midst of frightful confusion, and in the absence of any idea of territorial unity, force took the place of law. Proud of their audacity, and strong in their mutual support, these dukes and counts soon made themselves absolute masters of their local governments; surrounded by officers of their own appointment: all soldiers, treasury agents, judges, served their masters first, and it was not until the fifteenth century, that the kings of France secured these important powers, and, even then, the petty magistrates were appointed by the petty lords.

The old mischief of a double set of officers, those appointed by the emperor and those appointed by the lords, was as usual followed by an enormous multiplication of offices. The court of Charlemagne had as many titles of honor as the court of any Roman emperor. By the end of the twelfth century, the offices were distinguished as feudal and territorial. In three centuries after, they were venal or non-venal, and down to the fall of the French monarchy, the increase of both classes was enormous. There were plentiful promises of reform, some efforts to legislate, but no real improvement, and although the States General as early as 1483 had begun to agitate the subject, it was not one of the least of the evils that the National Assembly had to contend with at the outbreak of the Revolution.

The multiplication of offices was due solely to the want of money; direct taxation exhausted, resources of every other sort drained, public discontent past endurance, the creation of

new offices was invariably a safe resort, and new fools and new funds were found without difficulty or stint, while the only resource for a livelihood in the offices so eagerly and so dearly bought, was in a resale sooner or later.

The purchase and sale of offices may be distinctly traced in the current of French history.

An ordinance of March 19, 1314, expressly enacts :—

"Quod de cætero nullus serviens noster spatarius vel quicunque alius cujuscunque conditionis existat, servitium vel officium sibi concessum alii cuicumque locare valeat, quocumque colore quæsito, alias ipso facto, servitium vel officium amittat."

Other ordinances show that although the practice existed, it was covert and illegal, clandestine, and under the risk of severe punishment.

Boniface VIII. refused to canonize Saint Louis because he had farmed out his offices, and particularly, "per id tempus præpositura Parisiensis venalis habebatur," and even this was corrected.

At all times, however, of this earlier and purer history, there was a wise distinction between the revenue and the judicial officers, and the latter were kept as nearly as possible free from any charge of venality.

The former were soon made hereditary as well as venal, first perpetual under Louis XI., they were sold under Louis XII. and Francis I., and were made hereditary under Henry IV., a right that was well established early in the seventeenth century.

The suggestion of selling offices to pay debts has been attributed to the example of the Venetians, and to that of the ecclesiastical preferments, and the latter seems to be the source whence Louis XII. drew his rules.

The primitive purity of the church was well established in its condemnation of all sales : Superior Ecclesiæ adeo speciem omnem et suspicionem negotiationis in his adversabatur, ut resignationem in favorem certæ personæ etiam nulla pensione, nullo jure retento execraretur, impietatis quæ simoniæ damnaret.

The popes, however, in their capacity as head of the church, took away the right of election, and, finally, having got pos-

session of the ecclesiastical preferments, sold them, promised those yet to fall in, and gave even conditional undertakings, gratias ad beneficia vacatura expectativas. By the sixteenth century the trade in church offices was in full vigor, and well established in its regulations both for enforcing and evading the law. Louis XII. was slow to imitate the practice, but the path once opened, his successor, Francis I., opened all his offices to sale, put them up publicly for open competition, and created new ones to supply the demand. His successors followed on the same course, and it was continued down to the very eve of the Revolution.

In spite of the legal distinction kept up in appearance as to the venal and the non-venal offices, in *fact* there soon ceased to be any difference. The one was an open violation of the law, and the other was a legal sanction of a custom that had the same vice.

It was not, however, until 1583 that the hereditary right to office was established by Henry III. This was under restrictions, that were swept away by Henry VI., who, under the pressure of debts and of the exhaustion from the civil wars, adopted a law that secured the hereditary right by levying an annual tax, and the law was enforced by various amendments, down to the Revolution. There was, at the outset, a line of demarcation between ministerial and judicial offices, but even this became vague and uncertain, and was occasionally broken down altogether, in spite of efforts of varying vigor, to preserve the people from that last and worst of miseries, judicial corruption. When the Estates General met at Versailles, on the 5th May, 1789, for the last time, the old ideas had had their day. One of the first acts of the Assembly was in response to the public feeling on this subject. Decided in one day, this reform, after two centuries of agitation, was carried into effect, in spite of the discontent of the parties in interest and the difficulties in the way of such a wholesale reorganization. The principle then laid down, still makes the law in France, although there have been frequent modifications of it in letter.

Twenty-five years later, the monarchy, in 1816, sought to strengthen its finances by again making offices salable, but

under very different conditions from the system before the Revolution.

The revolution of 1789 was social rather than political. The suppression of manorial rights, and of the sale of judicial and municipal offices, enacted in 1789, was followed, a year later, by a uniform judicial system, and this by a regulation of the administrative officers, which has remained in force down almost to our own days. Compensation was provided for those who had bought their offices and were deprived of the right to sell them again. Power was given to each body, the advocates, the clerks, the attorneys, to create its own council of supervision, and the rules laid down for the probation, admission, and government of its members, together with the right to demand a sum of money in hand as security, and forfeited in case of violation of duty, were all enforced by the state. The caution-money thus collected was a useful help to the state, and various changes were made in the rates of interest and in the sums required, just as the necessities of the government were pressing, or the growing profits of the offices, thus taxed, justified it.

In return for the largely-increased burdens put on the offices of notaries, and others of that class, the government of the Restoration legalized the sale by the possessor, as a means of reimbursing from his successor the heavy charges to which he had been put. The sale is, of course, dependent on the government, and that approval is given only to competent persons, and that competency is determined by the "Chamber of Discipline" of the body to which the office belongs.

The learning of the French bar, of the courts, of the treatise-writers, of the Council of State, on the relations growing out of these sales, as well inter vivos as by will, is of infinite variety, and very broad and deep, serving to show how thoroughly imbued French official life is with this system of the sale of offices.

The law acknowledges the right of joint and several ownerships of office in partnership, and puts it on the decision in the Dig. l. 71, pro socio (l. 17. c. 2), that two grammarians might unite and share the profits of their profession, et quod ex eo artificio quæstus fecissent, commune eorum esset, but

the abuses and the irresponsibility of such joint-stock enterprises, have prevented them from being successful in practice, and courts and legislators have interposed to produce this result. In the case of money-brokers, where the caution-money is 250,000 francs, and the price of the office sometimes as high as two millions of francs, the practice is still admitted, although unwillingly and under hard rules. The hereditary transmission, not of the office itself, but of the right to name a successor, is acknowledged in the most absolute way by the modern French law, and that on the basis of the Roman maxim, "hereditas nihil aliud est quam successio in universum jus, quod defunctus habuit (Dig. de reg. jur. L. 50.) The rights of the creditors are carefully preserved against the proceeds of the sale of the office, and as carefully prevented from interfering with the personal right of the heirs of the decedent to nominate a successor, and that again is different in cases of intestacy and of testamentary provisions.

The fact is, however, to be kept prominent, that offices were always declared to be only a delegated portion of public power, requiring for their exercise, on the part of the person appointed, whether it be by birth or by gift, the choice and approval of the sovereign, or his representative. The chief officer of the state, be he emperor or king, president or consul, knows no other law on the subject than public interests; and if they require it, old offices may be abolished, or new ones created, with no limit other than that of caring for vested rights.

The dealings of the old and new officers in the sale or transmission of office, its price, the mode of securing it, the rights of wife, or children, or creditors, to any share in the purchase-money, are all kept separate and apart. The courts may often have to deal with them, the government never does. These preliminaries once settled and adjusted, the nomination goes from the lower to the higher officers, by a regulated succession, and must be accompanied by proper approvals and indorsements, on its passage up, and on its way down again.

The right of removal, arbitrarily, without cause given, without redress, and without compensation of any kind, has been carefully established; and, rarely as it is used, it is ac-

knowledged by the judicial, as well as by the parliamentary legislation of the modern French system.

To justify the rigor of such a course, it is put on the score of the abolition, at the time of the Revolution, of the right to office, bought of the government under the "Ancien Régime," and on the fact that each purchaser is such only at the hands of his predecessor; and subject at all times, to the sovereign power of the state.

Of course there is a standing protest kept up against this hardship, and the risk of losing one's whole fortune, and the future of children, and grandchildren; but thus far in vain.

Even the right of compensation, is narrowed down to the closest limit, and the indemnity once given, is distributable only by legal process, so as to protect all interests that may be concerned.

The right to create new offices, is just as well established, as the right to abolish the old; and it has often the same effect, as far as the diminished profit of the existing offices is concerned. The right of compensation is not admitted, although it has been granted in cases of great hardship, and under exceptional circumstances.

The right to add new duties, or to take away profitable employment, has always been maintained; and although modifications of either kind are rare, there are instances which prove it, as well as the increase or diminution of the caution money, according to the greater or less profit belonging to an office, after it has been in any way changed in its duties.

There are in France, but three modes of appointments to office,—direct nomination, competitive examination, or the presentation of a name by the officer, for his successor.

The first method, it is said, opens the gates to intrigue, and bargain and sale, without control or discretion; it surrenders offices to politicians, who parcel them out among their followers, and use them as the price of their allegiance; we can learn little of its evils from French example. Competitive examination was tried in France for ten years, beginning in 1791, and ending, we are told, with a general feeling that it

had failed of its purpose, by reason of the weakness, inconvenience, and inadequacy of its results; and it has not been fairly tried again.

The right of presentation, *Durand* says, gives the holder of an office a property in it; which secures him a recompense for honorable labor, induces him to secure public esteem, and furnishes him with incentives to honesty and industry, in the exercise of his office. The better he does its duties, the greater the value of the reward in hand, and the larger the compensation in the future.

There are now in France, not less than 25,000 ministerial offices; they were formerly taxed according to their estimated value; but since 1771 there has been no standard by which it can be ascertained. The place of an advocate of the Court of Cassation, of a notary, of an exchange broker, in Paris, is worth anywhere from half a million to two millions of francs; an effort to compensate on such prices as these, would add enormously to the national debt, and as that is not likely to be done, in the face of the opposition that would be made by the parties in interest, the discussion of any scheme of reform of that kind, has little practical worth.

The sketch thus given, of the course of legislation in Rome and in France, in reference to offices of a certain class, may serve to show how much remains to be done, toward perfecting and purifying our own system generally. There is, of course, nothing in our method of doing public business, which is likely to be modified by the example of French private offices, or rather of offices which are here strictly matters of private business; while in France, they are held by their occupants, under a limited right from the government. Here, however, we are doing what we can, as far as legislation on Mr. Jenckes's Civil Service Bill is in earnest, to settle the business of our own enormous army of public officers.

The original theory, which for forty years made our civil service unobtrusively good, was that public office was the reward of fitness, and that between the office and the officer there was no interposition other than for cause. The change since inaugurated, and the experience we have had of the system of rotation in office, for the second cycle of forty years

last past, has ended in a general feeling that unless we stop short, and reform the system, it will ruin us.

The rebellion, with its burden of debt; the debt, with its necessities of taxation; the taxation, with its inducements to fraud; fraud, with its rich rewards; and honesty, with its small encouragement: these have been the operating causes that must at length open our eyes to the enormous difficulty of the task in hand, and its vast importance.

Whatever we can learn of past evils and present good in the working of other governments, is worth knowing. To this end, the sketch we have given of the history of a limited class of offices in Rome and in France, as we have attempted it, from the learned pages of M. Durand's treatise, may serve to direct attention to the same quarter. "Political Biography" gives other writings on this branch of administrative law in the various Continental states. Wide as are their systems from our own, there is yet a great deal to be learned from their wholesome faith in having the public business done as well as anybody else's, and it is just *that* that we have carefully unlearned and forgotten here. To those who know any thing of the advantages of any system besides our own, it seems only strange that even Congress should require such persistent efforts to secure the passage of some measure of reform. The cause, however, is not far to seek, and the result on public business and private interests in it, as exhibited of late, is enough to show that there is a world of difference between the public as citizens and as constituents of representatives and senators. It looks as if the votes given to Jenckes's bill were given in full knowledge that it never could become law; yet, the only means of reforming the public service is to take away the existing inducements to trade in offices, just as corrupt as was that openly recognized in Roman legislation.

ART. II.—*The Early Regeneration of Sabbath-School Children.*

ONE of the most important institutions which have arisen within the church, during the present century, is the Sabbath-school. Its original design was to reach the children of those who neglected the divine ordinances of worship, and who were thus kept aloof from the means of grace. While the sphere of its operation has been somewhat enlarged, and the children of the church are now generally included in its instructions, its first and chief aim is still preserved, and its work has widened till several millions of the children and youth of the land are embraced in its beneficent inclosures.

The remark is often made: "The Sabbath-school is still in its infancy." Its machinery and methods, the style and spirit of its management and development are imperfect and crude. It by no means accomplishes the good of which it is capable and for which it is intended. Indeed, not a few evils grow out of it which should be corrected and avoided. Many of the best minds of the church are earnestly pondering these things, and we note not a little advance in many schools.

In the following pages we propose to suggest some thoughts touching the fundamental principles of this wide-spread institution. We shall not discuss its constitution, or government, or relations to the church, or modes of teaching, or external appliances by which the interest and attention of children are secured. We shall seek to reach the root of the matter, and attempt to point out some of the conditions of a larger success in the high end which we all so much desiderate.

The title of this article embodies the substance of what we wish to say, and we ask an earnest and candid attention to its unfolding. The views we offer are based upon the faith of the church, as expressed in its symbols; and we firmly believe that their intelligent application to the Sabbath-school work will greatly increase its usefulness, and result in the cure of many of the evils so generally deplored.

The first thing on which we remark is suggested by the language in which the theme is announced. It is not the "conversion" of little children that is brought before us, but

their "regeneration;" and the difference between the two should be carefully discriminated. Regeneration is the sovereign work of the Holy Spirit, creating anew its subjects in Christ Jesus. It is the planting of "the seed of God" in the soul; the imparting of a divine, spiritual life to one who is "dead in trespasses and sins." It is the resurrection of such a one, "by the exceeding greatness of God's power" from the grave of the apostasy, from the deep and dark depravity in which the whole race is buried. It is the formation of that vital and indissoluble union, between the sinner and the Lord Jesus Christ, in which, as the branch and the vine are one, as the body and the head are one, as the husband and the wife are one, so, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, the renewed sinner and Christ become one. It is a transcendent work of Divine power which any, and all human analogies fail fully to set forth in its supernatural reality, and which is resembled, by the Lord himself, to that mysterious and ineffable union which subsists between the Eternal Father and his only begotten Son: "As thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us."

Conversion is the result and evidence of regeneration. It is the action of the person's own mind and will, in consequence of this prior and fundamental work of the Spirit. It is the sinner himself turning from sin and the world to holiness and God, manifested by a variety of acts and exercises. And there is all the difference between this and regeneration, that there is between the work of the infinite God, and the resulting work of a finite man.

There is, moreover, a popular use of the word conversion, which is by no means applicable to regeneration. A person may be "converted" many times. Whenever sin has been committed by a Christian, and he is convinced of it, he is converted from it. So it was with Peter; "when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." But we do not often hear, either in ordinary conversation or in the pulpit, of repeated "second births;" repeated "new creations" in regeneration by the Holy Spirit. Thus the distinction between the two terms is easily made. There is a divinity, a glory about the one we do not immediately associate with the other. A man

may be deceived as to the character of his own acts and feelings in conversion; "for the heart is deceitful above all things." But God knows his own work. And when he has wrought the great effect, when he has regenerated the sinner, there can be no mistake about it. The gracious result is produced and remains, no matter what the sinner's thoughts and feelings may be respecting it. There are doubtless many who are *converted*, as the language is popularly understood, who, in the exercise of their own wills, resolve to be, and to do, good, are sorry for their sins, and feel that they believe and repent, and who run well for a time, but who were never really "born again," "begotten" of God the Holy Ghost. But when God has once begun his good work of Omnipotent grace in the soul, he will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ. Hence the meaning and importance of the word *regeneration* in our subject.

Accordingly, this is the first, the chief thing, that those who are engaged in the work of Sabbath-schools should aim at, pray, and labor for the actual regeneration, by the third Person of the Godhead, of the children brought under the care of the church. It is not so much to secure the right action of the child, important as this may be, as to secure the almighty, efficacious action of the Blessed Spirit, by which the right action of the child will be infallibly assured.

On the very face of it, this is an unspeakably solemn business. It brings the teacher into nearer, closer contact with the Eternal Spirit, than with the child. In dealing with the child, the teacher simply presents truth, motives, and appeals; and we know that this is to no good purpose unless the Holy Spirit is present, and by the secret Omnipotent insinuations of his grace, seals and makes them vital in the soul of the child. The most serious and tremendous truth we can speak is powerless for salvation, apart from this Divine co-operation. Paul may plant and Apollos may water, but God alone gives the increase. There is thus absolute need of some extrinsic power to make truth forcible, efficacious, renewing; and there is no power available to this end, other than that of God's eternal spirit. Accordingly, he who presents that truth, must have

power with God as well as power with his fellow-man to whom he presents it.

The sentiment is more or less prevalent, that there is a difference between the spiritual condition of unrenewed little children, and that of unrenewed adults. Doubtless the former are more accessible, more easily moved by statements of Bible truths than are the latter. Their constitutional susceptibilities are more keen; their intellectual acquaintance with error and evil comparatively slight; their habits of sin less fixed and persistent; but these things do not touch the undeniable and awful fact of their native hereditary depravity; which, while it may not be as active, is none the less existent and total, than in the most hardened sinner. Little children have the same indispensable need of the "exceeding greatness of God's power" for renewal and salvation as adults. A new creation in Christ Jesus is the essential prerequisite in all instances whatsoever of human salvation. The Sabbath-school instructor should understand and profoundly feel this; else he will in all likelihood fail of the result which he seeks, because he does not direct his efforts to the right object, to his only efficient Helper.

The idea of "conversion" when most prominent in the mind of the teacher, takes him to the child, to his intellect, his heart, his will. The idea of "regeneration" when most prominent, takes the teacher to the Holy Spirit, to his sovereign agency, to his almighty power, to his infinite love. The first makes the teacher a worker together with the child; the second, makes him a "worker together with God." And, as we have seen, the Divine influence is primary, and must be exerted in order to the right mental and moral action of the child.

With such a view of the work of saving the souls of men, particularly of children, how solemn, how fearfully responsible is the office of a teacher in the Sabbath-school! Who is sufficient for these things? What a friendship, what a sacred familiarity with the Holy Spirit are requisite? What an acquaintance with the methods, and conditions, and circumstances of his gracious operations is needed. What a profound sense of dependence on his august presence. His holy

will must be felt; for he dispenses his gifts and graces according to his own sovereign pleasure. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth, so is every one that is born of the Spirit." How carefully should the teacher order his steps before him! What a place of high communion and earnest wrestling should his closet be!

And, moreover, as the teacher's dependence for its salvation is not upon the will and resolution of the child, for "it is not of him that willeth nor of him that runneth," but upon the immediate and efficient energy of the Divine Spirit, he himself should seek to become, in connection with the divine word he uses, a channel of mercy to his listening children, "communicating grace" as one apostle says, "to them that hear him;" or, as another has it, "begetting them in the gospel" unto life and salvation. Need we urge that such a teacher should be a prepared channel, a sanctified, humble, loving medium for the grace of the Holy Spirit. If *holy* men of old were selected by God as the conveyancers of the inspiration of the Holy Ghost in the composition of the Bible, assuredly *holy* men should now be selected by the church as the conveyancers of the grace of renewal and sanctification. God has appointed not simply the bare word as the chief instrumentality of the Spirit's work, but that word uttered, orally delivered by Christian lips from Christian hearts. "It has pleased God by the foolishness of preaching," lay and clerical, "to save them that believe." The teacher should, therefore, himself be a person full of faith and of the Holy Ghost. The word he utters should be a living word, a fire in his bones, a word that penetrates and moves, illumines and constrains him. Then it is most likely to be a word of power wrought into the soul of the hearer by the Divine Spirit.

The question is often asked, "Can children, as such, be converted to the Lord Jesus Christ?" The answer will be found to be various. Often grave doubts are suggested; many reserves are made. The *emphasis*, it is true, is not laid so much on the word *can*, on the possibility of their conversion, as on its unreliability; and the mind is put into a condition of hesitation and difficulty on the subject. This is owing,

doubtless, in part at least, to the associations which the word *conversion* excites. The mind fixes itself upon the finite and sinful child, upon his intellectual and moral powers and activities; and such queries as these are started: Do not the requisite mental acts and exercises demand a degree of intelligence and moral balance, that little children can scarcely be supposed to possess? Must there not be, what is called a "law work," a work of reproof and alarm and conviction, a conscious struggle against sin and Satan and the world, precedent to conversion? And can we, in the inexperienced and relatively unformed minds of little children, rely upon the preliminary steps which lead to true faith and repentance? Thus the subject of the salvation of children is clogged and darkened by questions pertaining to mental and moral philosophy, and zeal for, and confidence in, the work, are greatly abated.

But when the question of *regeneration* is raised, the mind is otherwise affected. Another and a totally different class of associations is awakened, and the answer is prompt: "Nothing is impossible with God: he can make Christians out of the stones of the streets." The mind dares not limit the power of the Eternal Spirit. We are very ignorant of the mysterious mechanism of the human mind in all its stages from infancy to old age, and we should be exceedingly careful how we traverse the work of its Creator upon its subtle substance. "As thou knowest not what is the way of the Spirit, nor how the bones do grow in the womb of her that is with child, even so thou knowest not the works of God who maketh all." The degree and kind of the understanding of truth, requisite to the Holy Spirit's work on a child are beyond our ken. A single seed of truth lodged in his soul in infancy, may be made the occasion and instrument of regeneration. And we do not know but that the effectual work of the Spirit may antedate, in some children, the intellectual apprehension of any truth; that they may be sanctified from the womb, or from baptism, and qualified by the presence and power of the Spirit for a very early apprehension of the truths of the word of God. The Lutheran and Reformed churches are based upon this conception of the regenerating efficacy of the Spirit in little children.

The covenant-promise of the Holy Spirit is, "to parents and their children." And the work of regeneration involved in "the promise of the Spirit," is the work primarily regarded and believed in, by these churches. The *evidences*, the fruits and manifestations of that work, in the infantile and childish mind, subject as that mind is to the restraints and training and religious habits of a godly home, may be, must be in many cases, difficult to detect before their riper years and larger experience of sin and temptation and the world; but the assumption of these churches, based upon clear Bible revelations, is that the children of believers are regenerated and savingly united to Christ, until the contrary is established in their subsequent life; and it is expected that at an early age they will be admitted to the Lord's table. The agency of the Spirit, according to the promise, is taken for granted: and the children of the church are to be looked upon and trained and treated as renewed and united to Christ, till they themselves disprove it, by their own wilful rejection of the covenant in which they were born, baptized, and blessed. This, we say, is the underlying assumption of most, if not of all, the churches of the Protestant world.*

And here another inquiry suggests itself, Will the Spirit of God regenerate Sabbath-school children? May teachers depend on him for this result, and look for it with confidence?

To a very large extent, as we have already observed, our schools are composed of children whose parents are irreligious,

* In the constitution of the Presbyterian Church the following language is used on this subject:—I. Children, born within the pale of the visible church, and dedicated to God in baptism, are under the inspection and government of the church; and are to be taught to read, and repeat the Catechism, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. They are to be taught to pray, to abhor sin, to fear God, and to obey the Lord Jesus Christ. And, when they come to years of discretion, if they be free from scandal, appear sober and steady, and to have sufficient knowledge to discern the Lord's body, they ought to be informed, it is their duty, and their privilege, to come to the Lord's Supper. II. The years of discretion, in young Christians, cannot be precisely fixed. This must be left to the prudence of the eldership. The officers of the church are the judges of the qualifications of those to be admitted to sealing ordinances; and of the time when it is proper to admit young Christians to them."—*Directory for Worship*, chap. ix.

who have no personal connection with the churches. It is of these we would particularly speak. We remarked just now, that an acquaintance with the methods and conditions of the operations of the Holy Spirit, is exceedingly important to the successful teacher. Among these we would name, as one of the most signal and essential, that of the existence and use of the *means of sanctification*. Regeneration is an instantaneous and finished product, when it is effected; and it is ordinarily wrought in view of the subsequent sanctification of the individual. This is progressive, a work of time, frequently of many years, running through the entire interval between the regeneration and the death of the person. In the case of the children of believers, the appropriate and appointed means may readily be found. But in the case of others, who constitute the great majority of Sabbath-school classes, it is otherwise. The Bible, the family altar, the recognition of God at the table, the closet, religious conversation and instruction, a holy example, are all wanting; and selfishness, worldliness, and godlessness, obtain and hold large sway in the household, and sometimes profanity and Sabbath desecration are habitually practised. The atmosphere of the family is irreligious. Is it not self-evident, that in such cases, the work of sanctification is, to a fearful extent, precluded? There is no doubt, that a little child, brought up under a home influence of this kind, presents a case exceedingly trying to the intelligent faith of a teacher. Is the early regeneration of such children to be expected?

In answering this most pertinent and solemn question, we would briefly submit the following observations:—

1. In the first place, the providence of God in the institution and vast enlargement of the Sabbath-school, must be honored. This is one of the most distinctive signs of the times in which we live. It is a special manifestation of God's love for children; for children outside of the pale of the visible church. This divine affection is real and wonderful. Witness God's word in respect to Nineveh, "Should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six score thousand persons, that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand?" And in one day, that love emerges

into activity, and permanent development, as never before in human history. The millions of children that have been brought under the care of the church, through the Sabbath-school, have been so brought by God's all-wise providence, not in judgment, but in mercy; mercy which can be overborne and thwarted only by the infidelity and neglect of his own professing people. The Lord's arm is not shortened that it cannot save, nor his ear heavy that it cannot hear, but the sins of his people, their coldness, and prayerlessness, and unbelief, and worldliness, may clog and stop the channels of his mercy. This high responsibility has been put upon the church, we may reasonably infer, not without the proffer of the needful supplies of divine influence, looking toward the actual regeneration and salvation of the perishing children. This is one all important consideration, which should sink down into our hearts.

2. In the next place, if this end is to be secured, it must be done within a limited period. There is to all men a day of grace, a space for repentance, a line drawn across their path, visible only to God's eye, beyond which there is no hope. This space is measured, not so much by years as by privileges and opportunities. If we take little children under our care, and they are not renewed by the Divine Spirit, the danger is very great that they will become gospel-hardened at an early period. The habit of refusing the Lord Jesus Christ, and of resisting and grieving the Holy Spirit, formed during the plastic period of childhood, grows rapidly and strikes deep into the soul. It is a lamentable fact, often mentioned and deplored, that great multitudes of Sabbath-school children cease their connection with the church when they leave the Sabbath-school, and that it is exceedingly difficult to retain, under Christian influence, very many of them, after they have opened into manhood and womanhood. So that, if they are not "born again" while in the Sabbath-school, the likelihood of their subsequent regeneration is immensely diminished. The processes of indwelling sin and Satanic agency are very subtle, very powerful, and urgent. And thus it would appear, that the existence of the Sabbath-school, while it is a signal token of divine mercy, is, at the same time, a sign of

the shortening of the day of grace with large numbers of our population.

3. Assuming now God's willingness and readiness to renew these children, as evidenced by his notable providence, and assuming the solemn exigency in which they are placed by the simple fact of their being in the Sabbath-school, we remark, in the third place, that in order to the accomplishment of the saving work of the Holy Spirit upon them, there must be, humanly speaking, earnest and thorough consecration to the salvation of each child, on the part of the teachers and of the church—a consecration, hitherto, in a great measure unrealized. If the means of grace and holiness are so largely withheld from them at home, this lack must be supplied, to the utmost degree possible, by those who, in God's providence, have their spiritual welfare in charge. Especially should the *teacher* seek to take the place of faithless, godless parents. He should be now a father, now a mother in Christ to their children, a true sponsor, a real godfather and godmother. By frequent visitation at their houses; by taking them one by one to his own house and praying with them, counselling and instructing them; by providing them with suitable Christian reading; by writing letters to them; by a holy and happy example (and all this from year to year), he should supply to the Holy Spirit and to them, the means of sanctification. And the church, especially through her responsible officers, pre-eminently through its pastor, should continually do all in her power to keep the pressure of eternal and divine things upon the minds and hearts of the children. In this way it would soon be found out that God is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance and heaven. The writer has a friend, a member now of the Roman Catholic Church, whose love for souls, and whose labors with God and with them for their salvation furnish a lesson to us. On a visit, paid her a year or two since, she took him into her place of private prayer. In an inner closet, whose door she opened, he noticed the photographs of nineteen persons. He asked her who they were. She replied, they were poor people she was trying to save. She visited them regularly, and instructed them carefully, but her great dependence was on God;

and she was accustomed to take these photographs, one by one, and put them on a little table she had prepared for the purpose, and then, looking at them, she would kneel, and name their names, and mention their wants and trials to her Father, and plead for mercy in their behalf. Would that we, Protestants, rivalled the fidelity, and earnestness, and determination of this Roman Catholic lady! Would that Sabbath-school teachers and Christian churches were so imbued with divine grace, were in such deep and vital fellowship with the Holy Spirit, were so heartily persuaded of the depraved, lost, and helpless condition of all children by nature, and were so bent on securing God's almighty power in their behalf, that they would make their salvation a matter of deeper concern than their own necessary food! If the spirit of Jacob, when he wrestled with the Angel of the Covenant, and said, "I will not let thee go, except thou bless me;" if the spirit of Moses, when he said, "This people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold, yet, now, if thou wilt, forgive their sin, and, if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of the book which thou hast written;" if the spirit of Paul, when he wrote, "I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen, according to the flesh;" if this were the spirit that possessed Sabbath-school teachers, it would consume their indolence, and worldlines, and selfishness, and consecrate them thorough, hearty, lifelong workers together with God in this sacred calling. And without this spirit in some good measure, the beneficial effects now derived from the institution would scarcely counterbalance, we fear, the evil which it seals upon the souls of children by reason of its marked shortcomings.

If the views we have presented are just, it follows that the success of the Sabbath-school cause depends upon a mighty outpouring of Divine influence upon teachers and scholars. And this is our confidence, that as the providence of God has instituted the system, involving such solemn relations and consequences, so the Spirit of God will be given to it, and, by a pentecostal baptism, teachers will be consecrated and filled with the Holy Ghost, and the children will be renewed and flock to the church, as the clouds and as doves to their

windows. It is the cause of God, and he reigns sovereign and supreme over it; and none can stay the hand of his love, nor resist the energy of his invincible spirit, when the fountains of the great deep of the Divine compassions are broken up, and the time, the set time to favor Zion has come.

And how evident it is that no work can be named more blessed, and yet more difficult, requiring more assiduity and persistent faithfulness, than that of a Sabbath-school teacher. It is an employment transcending all earthly work, demanding supernal aid, and when properly performed throughout the church, will speedily usher in the millennial glory. To engage in it perfunctorily and prayerlessly, without a profound and vital sense of dependence on the sovereign agency of the Holy Spirit, is not only to sin against God, but also to sin most grievously and fatally against the souls of the rising generation in our land.

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ART. III.—*The Life of Samuel Miller, D.D., LL.D. Second Professor in the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church at Princeton, N. J.* By SAMUEL MILLER. In two volumes. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger.

THERE are two reasons why we approach this biography with much more than ordinary interest. One is that the subject of it was one of the commanding spirits of his day, one of the greater lights of our American Church. The other is that, though his grave has been made for nearly twenty years, he is still embalmed in our grateful remembrances for that kindly, formative, enduring influence, which rendered him to us, as well as many others, one of the best of benefactors. In going over the leading events of his life, and the prominent traits of his character, as they are brought out in these deeply interesting volumes,—notwithstanding we claim the position of impartial reviewers,—we do not pledge ourselves to ignore all past relations, or to forget that we are writing about one whose memory we cherish with unmixed reverence.

It is not our design to present even an outline of these volumes, as if to diminish, in any degree, the importance of giving them a thorough perusal, but rather, by briefly sketching the life and character they so faithfully represent, to induce our readers to explore for themselves the source from which our material is drawn. We shall content ourselves with just glancing at Dr. Miller's eminently useful life, and then endeavoring to find out the secret of it.

It is impossible to form a correct estimate of the good influence which Dr. Miller exerted, without viewing it in connection with his various relations; for each relation was a channel through which that influence, in some form or other, flowed out upon the world.

First of all, we may view him as the *head of a family*, and as a *Christian gentleman*. In no condition can a good man be placed in which his influence acts with greater power than in his own home circle. Here he is brought in contact with immortal mind in its earliest development; and has the opportunity of lodging in the memory and the heart, truths and principles which may ultimately give complexion to the whole character. It is not certain, indeed, that his best efforts will always prove successful—for there is sometimes an onergy in the proclivities of human corruption that no earthly power is able to control—and yet there is no other sphere in which his fidelity is more likely to be crowned with the Divine blessing. Dr. Miller was the father of several children, who have lived at once to honor their parentage and to bless their generation. One daughter (the oldest) was married to the Rev. Dr. John Breckenridge, whose life forms an important part of the history of the Presbyterian Church, and her beautiful character is the subject of a fitting and graceful memorial. Another daughter (also deceased) was the wife of an able lawyer in Princeton,—one of the trustees of the Theological Seminary,—and was a model in every relation that she sustained. Yet another daughter—thanks to a generous Providence—still lives; and may many years pass, before her whole life shall be a legitimate subject for review. Several of the sons have occupied important posts of public usefulness, while one of the two clergymen is the author of these

memorial volumes. It was indeed through the joint influence of the parents that this successful training was accomplished —they were fellow-helpers in the good work of thus moulding their offspring to lives of honorable usefulness.

But Dr. Miller's social influence reached far beyond his own domestic circle—as a Christian gentleman, mingling with different classes, and occupying various fields of useful activity, he made himself felt both benignly and powerfully. He would be at home as well in the hovels of the poor as the dwellings of the rich; in the vale of ignorance and obscurity as in circles of intelligence and refinement. With the former class he never took on airs of superiority, as if to make them sensible of the distance between himself and them, but, by his kind words and genial and accommodating manner, endeavored to breathe into their hearts the spirit of contentment and good-will. With the latter he could mingle with the utmost freedom, and, from his ample stores of intellectual wealth, could dispense thoughts on almost any subject to which it was a privilege to listen. Wherever he moved, or wherever he paused, his bland and gentle manner, and his well-ordered and kindly words, drew around him friends who felt it a privilege to listen to his conversation and share his regards.

Passing from the scenes of social life, in which Dr. Miller figured so extensively and so brightly, we may view him next in the higher relation of a *minister of the Gospel.* His whole pastoral life was in connection, first with the Collegiate Presbyterian churches, and, after the dissolution, with the Wall Street Church, New York. It lasted just twenty years —from 1793 to 1813; and though there were some causes of disquietude operating in connection with it, especially the question of a separation of the associated churches; yet it may safely be said that it was characterized throughout by great dignity, fidelity, and success. Not only was the congregation to which he ministered numerous and wealthy, but it embodied a large amount of intellectual culture and social and political influence; and it was no small matter, especially for a young man, to prepare sermons suited to such an atmosphere. He succeeded, however, admirably in this difficult

duty; and while he failed not to preach the whole counsel of God plainly and earnestly, his discourses were framed with so much symmetry and good taste that the most fastidious hearer rarely, if ever, went away unsatisfied. It is difficult, especially at this late period, to estimate correctly the measure of good influence which his ministry exerted; but we cannot doubt that the Gospel preached with such admirable simplicity and impressiveness, and to such a congregation, and for so long a time, must have produced the grandest results. Though he was, by no means, what, in modern phrase, would be called, a *sensational* preacher, yet he had a reputation in the country at large, that attracted many strangers to his church; and all who went with open ears and hearts were sure to be edified as well as gratified by his ministrations. Even in New England, where he was known much less than in some other parts of the country, his fine qualities as a preacher were often spoken of, and well do we remember that when it was announced, in the prospect of the retirement of Dr. Griffin in the Park Street Church, Boston, in 1811, that Dr. Miller was expected to preach on the occasion, a strong desire to hear him was expressed by many persons, and his ultimately failure to preach occasioned much disappointment.

But it was not merely as a preacher, but as a pastor, that Dr. Miller exhibited his rare qualities in connection with the ministry. His intercourse with his people was always genial and affectionate, and yet always marked by that dignity which constitutes a leading element of a minister's usefulness. His congregation were bound to him by the strongest of all cords—those of love; and they welcomed him to their houses with an intensity of good-will and affection, that could hardly have been exceeded if he had been a member of their respective families. He was at home especially amidst scenes of domestic sadness, his tender heart responded quickly to every expression of grief, and, from a richly-stored and deeply-sanctified mind, he poured forth the wisest counsel and the richest consolation. He was always forward to enlist his people for the relief of human woe, or for the prevention of folly and crime, or for the encouragement of any enterprise designed to act auspiciously on the well-being of society. While he recog-

nized his own congregation as forming the immediate field of his labors, much of what he did in connection with them had a wider influence, and was instrumental in originating or sustaining large plans of public usefulness.

That would be a very inadequate view of Dr. Miller's ministry, that should not include the great amount of timely and judicious labor that he performed in connection with the judicatories of the church. His influence in the presbytery, and the synod, and on the floor of the General Assembly, was scarcely exceeded by that of any other man. His plans were always the result of mature thought, and were generally marked by great wisdom and moderation. Sometimes he was thrown amidst scenes of excitement and collision, that ill became those who were legislating for the interests of the church; but his presence was generally found to be an element of quietude. Not that he desired peace at the expense of principle, or that he was not ready to stand up for the right against any opposition that could be arrayed against him; but he was always tolerant of men's mistakes and infirmities, and never imputed wrong motives when the necessity was not imposed upon him. Nearly all who were associated with him, even in the later period of his active ministry, have now passed away. But we greatly mistake if the recollections of the few who survive, are not in full harmony with our estimate of his influence in this department of his official duty.

After a twenty-years' ministry in New York, Dr. Miller entered on a professorship of nearly forty years at Princeton; and this was undoubtedly the crowning glory of his life. He had had an important agency in establishing the Theological Seminary, and had not only given his vote for Dr. Alexander as the first professor, but had publicly urged his acceptance of the appointment. The very next year he was himself appointed to the chair of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government; and though he shrank from the responsibility of the office, and would, on some accounts, have preferred to continue in pastoral life, yet, as a matter of duty, he yielded to the general wishes of the church, and was inaugurated as professor on the 29th of September, 1813. The discourse which he delivered on the occasion, on the characters and

opinions of some of the more conspicuous witnesses for the Truth during the dark ages, he declined to publish, on the ground that it was hastily written, and that some of its statements would require to be fortified by numerous references and quotations, which would make too large a draft upon his time.

Though the number of students that he found in the seminary did not much exceed a dozen, he lived to see it increased many fold; and all the successive classes that enjoyed the benefit of his instruction were witnesses at once to his ability and fidelity. His professorship was one for which his natural tastes and previous studies had eminently qualified him; and he entered upon it with great zeal and under the influence of a ruling passion. Not only was he perfectly familiar with the text-books used by his classes, but he had read and digested kindred works in other languages, so that the whole range of ecclesiastical history and church government seemed perfectly familiar to him. His questions were always simple and intelligible, and suggestive, never designed to embarrass or bewilder. His lectures were luminous exhibitions of his subject, full of well-digested thought, arranged with such graceful naturalness as to leave a vivid impression on the memory. There may have been some who thought they were sometimes deficient in vigorous earnestness; but we are sure that we speak for much the larger number when we say that, in respect to both thought and expression, they were admirably adapted to the purpose they were designed to answer.

But it was not merely as a teacher and lecturer that Dr. Miller reflected high honor upon his professorship, but in his oft-recurring labors in the pulpit, and in all his more private intercourse with his pupils. His preaching was singularly adapted to profit theological students; it was clear, direct, logical, and full of evangelical truth,—in short, each of his sermons seemed to have the force of a lecture on the art of preaching, while yet it dealt fairly and honestly with each individual's heart and conscience. In his meetings with the students on the afternoon of the Sabbath, he delivered himself with perfect freedom, and yet with great impressiveness; and never more than then were they brought to realize the dignity

and solemnity of the work to which they were destined. In his occasional meetings with them in private—in his own house or elsewhere—he always made them feel that they were in the presence of a friend, and often, by some wise counsel or some timely suggestion, left an enduring impression in favor of truth or right.

Such in general was the character of Dr. Miller's professorship. And now when we consider the length of the period through which it extended, and the great number—amounting to more than seventeen hundred—who were brought under its direct influence, and when we bear in mind that they have been scattered through every portion of our land as representatives of the seminary at which they have been trained, can we doubt that Dr. Miller lived pre-eminently for the benefit of his country and the world. Are there not multitudes now engaged in the ministry, and not a few even in heathen lands, who think reverently and gratefully of him, as one of the honored instruments by which they were formed for their high vocation? Do not the pulsations of his noble spirit vibrate to this hour in many a proclamation, from other lips, of the words of eternal life? And as the world grows old from the passing away of the ages, who can doubt that the good work that he performed will continue to develop itself in fresh accessions of light and strength and glory to that blessed cause to which he was so earnestly devoted.

There is one more relation in which Dr. Miller must be considered, or we shall fail to do justice to his eminently useful life—we mean that of an *author*. The productions of his pen began to appear very shortly after he became a settled pastor; and they came at brief intervals almost till the close of his life. The versatility of his mind, and the variety and extent of his knowledge, made him at home in almost every field, whether literary or theological.

Dr. Miller's occasional sermons and addresses that were given to the public, through the press, were not far from forty—the first having been delivered the very next month after he was ordained, and the last a few years before his death. These discourses are generally of a high order, being especially remarkable for their adaptation to the various oc-

casions that called them forth. They are all so good, that it would be difficult to determine which are the best; and yet, in casting our eye over them, the sermons on suicide, the sermon at the inauguration of Dr. Alexander, the sermon at the ordination and installation of the Rev. William Nevins, and the sermon on the danger of education in Roman Catholic seminaries, seem to us to have done, perhaps, the most ample justice to their respective themes. We exceedingly doubt whether any other minister of the Presbyterian Church in this country has published so large a number of occasional discourses, all of which have been so worthy of enduring preservation.

The number of volumes for which we are indebted to Dr. Miller's pen, if our estimate be correct, is thirteen. The first two are his "Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century," published in 1803. This work discovered an amount of laborious research, and of familiarity with the various departments of learning, that surprised even Dr. Miller's most intimate friends; and the marvel was, that the same man who could preach regularly on the Sabbath in so instructive and acceptable a manner, and who was so constant and faithful in the discharge of pastoral duty, could yet redeem time from his manifold professional engagements, to produce so elaborate and attractive a work as this. It was dedicated to the celebrated John Dickinson, President of the State of Delaware, who acknowledged the honor in very fitting and grateful terms. It was received with great favor by the more intelligent class of readers in this country, and was also published in Great Britain, where also it was met by many warm expressions of commendation. Though many years have passed since it was to be found in any of our bookstores, it may reasonably be doubted whether there is any work, treating of the same subjects, and covering the same period, that can be read with more advantage than this "Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century."

Two of Dr. Miller's larger works were memoirs; the one published in 1813, the other in 1840; and both were worthy alike of his head and of his heart. The former was the memoir of his venerable colleague, Dr. Rodgers, with whom he

had been associated in the pastoral office eighteen years. As Dr. Rodgers was ordained in 1749, and, of course, was among the early ministers of the Presbyterian Church, the record of his life involved, necessarily, to some extent, the history of the body with which he was connected; and we can hardly imagine how this service could have been performed in a more felicitous manner. At the same time, one is constantly kept in mind of the tenderness of the relation that existed between Dr. Miller and his colleague; and, while there is nothing in the book that savors of extravagant praise, there is every thing to show that it was written under the influence of a grateful and reverent spirit. The other memoir is that of the Rev. Dr. Nisbet, the first president of Dickinson College,—a man who was justly reckoned among the celebrities of his time. At the time this memoir was written, Dr. Miller was one of the few men living who had personal recollections of Dr. Nisbet, that could be rendered available in a biography; and it was well that so faithful and gifted a pen should have been employed upon so worthy a subject. Not only does the volume contain a very satisfactory account of his connection with Dickinson College, and of what he did, and what he was in his various relations during his residence in this country, but it also traces his eventful history in Scotland, especially showing the value of his services in connection with the interests of evangelical religion. As Dr. Nisbet's character was strongly marked, so Dr. Miller's account of him is full of simplicity and beauty, and worthy to be an enduring memorial of one whom both hemispheres may well consider it a privilege to honor.

Several of Dr. Miller's publications, and those, too, which had the widest circulation, were of a decidedly controversial character. In 1807 he published his letters on the "Constitution and Order of the Christian Ministry;" and, two years later, published another work on the same subject in reply to strictures from several Episcopal clergymen, which the preceding work had called forth. In October, 1820, he preached a sermon at the ordination of the Rev. William Nevins, as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Baltimore, in which were some very plain utterances concerning Unitarianism.

The sermon was noticed in the *Unitarian Miscellany*, a periodical then published in Baltimore, with marked disapprobation; and this seems to have been the occasion of Dr. Miller's writing a series of "Letters on Unitarianism," making an octavo volume of upward of three hundred pages. In 1840 he published a volume, entitled "The Primitive and Apostolical Order of the Church of Christ Vindicated," containing a somewhat elaborate view of the claims of Presbyterianism and the objections to Episcopacy. Several other of his works, especially his "Essay on the Office of Ruling Elder," and his "Sermons on Baptism," have more or less of a controversial bearing. While Dr. Miller's natural gentleness of spirit and love of peace disinclined him to controversy, his clear and comprehensive mind, his freedom from prejudice and love of the truth, eminently qualified him for it; and hence he may be regarded as one of our best authorities in that department of theological literature. While his aim was to confound his adversary by unanswerable arguments, and to bring out what he believed to be the truth in the light of noonday, he never sought aid from vague insinuations or bitter invective; never forgot his own personal dignity even in the closest conflict in which he could be engaged. It is within our distinct recollection that an individual who had held for some time the relation of a vigorous opponent to him in a theological controversy, assured us that he was deeply impressed by his uniformly fair and gentlemanly bearing, and that, much as he differed from him, he could not but regard him with the highest respect.

Several other of Dr. Miller's works deserve special notice, both for the subjects to which they relate, and the able and interesting manner in which the subjects are treated. In 1827 he published a series of "Letters on Clerical Manners and Habits, addressed to a student of the Theological Seminary at Princeton," which have passed through several editions, and which deserve to pass through many more. These letters convey a most accurate impression of the writer's own character; and none who read *them* and knew *him*, will need to look at the title-page to settle the question of authorship. We have heard it objected that some of the rules are too

minute, and therefore unnecessary; but that they are not unnecessary is proved by the fact that they are very often violated, and *that* at the expense of lowering ministerial character and influence. In 1843 Dr. Miller published another small volume, containing "Letters from a Father to his Sons in College;" and these again are adapted in the most felicitous manner to the end for which they are designed. They include every subject that a college student has occasion to consider; and it would be well if the work could be introduced as a manual in all our higher institutions of learning. In 1848 he published a work entitled "Thoughts on Public Prayer,"—the last, we believe, that came from his pen; and we know of nothing better fitted to aid and encourage the spirit of devotion on the one hand, or to render the exercise edifying and profitable on the other.

There are some other of Dr. Miller's works to which we might refer as evidence of the high place which he attained in the ranks of authorship, but enough has been said to show that he was among the most accomplished and most voluminous writers of his day. Considering the great number and variety of his productions—literary, theological, controversial, practical, and devotional; considering that nearly all of them have passed to a second or third edition, and have been received with great favor in every part of our country, while some have attracted much attention on the other side of the Atlantic; and finally, considering that they are still, and are likely to be for generations to come, the channels of a benign influence to the church; can we doubt that here was one of the elements of his greatest power; that though he might have been a great and good and eminently useful man, if he had never been known as an author, yet that, but for this, he could have not lived as he has done, and now does, in the thoughts and feelings of multitudes who never saw him.

After having thus glanced at Dr. Miller's life, and traced some of its results in the different departments of active usefulness, it is natural that we should contemplate what he did in connection with the higher power by which his character was formed, and his destiny controlled.

Dr. Miller possessed, originally, admirable qualities that

constituted the foundation of his eminently attractive character. With a finely-proportioned form, he had a countenance full of generosity, manliness, and intelligence; and though he could not be said to have an unusually vigorous physical constitution, his health was generally adequate to the arduous duties devolved upon him. His countenance was indicative of great purity and nobility of character; and his manners, though cultivated possibly at a slight expense of naturalness, were uncommonly bland and graceful. His intellect was naturally clear, comprehensive, and symmetrical. His taste was so perfect as to set criticism at defiance, insomuch, that in reading his published works, one rarely meets with an expression that admits of being essentially improved. Well do we remember to have heard an eminent scholar and author, who had been brought into sharp antagonism with Dr. Miller, say that he hardly knew a writer in the English language, who he thought equalled him in a fine and classical style. And his intellect, we may safely say, though richly endowed, was no better than his heart—he was naturally genial, gentle, and sincere; incapable alike of double dealing and of needless severity. We remember instances in which some of his expressions of dislike were characterized by great intensity; but there was usually a reason for it in the circumstances that called them forth. And we remember many other occasions, on which his native kindliness of spirit found an apology for mistakes, or delinquencies, which a different temperament would have met with severe reprehension.

So also the hand of God was strikingly manifest in the ordering of Dr. Miller's lot. His grandfather, John Miller, emigrated from Scotland, and settled in Boston, in the very early part of the last century, and was a well-educated and highly-respectable man. His father, John Miller, was a native of Boston, where he received his early training, became a member of the Old South Church, studied for the ministry, and finally was ordained with a view to his becoming the pastor of two associated churches in Delaware. He was a man of excellent talents, of liberal culture, and of great devotedness to his work. He was married to a Miss Millington, a lady of superior education, of great personal attractions, and of de-

voted piety. Trained under such a parental influence, it was to be expected that the son, especially considering the original qualities of his mind and heart, should early develop the germ of a noble character. His first eighteen years were spent under the paternal roof, and his preparation for college was all made under the direction of his father. In 1788, he became a member of the senior class in the University of Pennsylvania, having already gone through the studies of the previous years. Here he found himself surrounded by influences, social, intellectual, and religious, that were eminently favorable to the development and culture of his naturally fine qualities. He graduated in 1789, with the highest honor in his class, in token of which it devolved on him to deliver the salutatory oration. It was during his college life that he first became acquainted with the Rev. (afterward, Dr.) Ashbel Green, of Philadelphia, with whom he continued on terms of great intimacy until the close of Dr. Green's life. Among his instructors, the provost of the university, Rev. Dr. Ewing, with whom he afterward became connected by marriage, seems to have left upon him the most enduring impression. He prosecuted his theological studies at Carlisle, under the learned, and justly celebrated, Dr. Nisbet; and the acquaintance thus commenced he recognized as an enduring source of gratification and improvement. In due time he became one of the pastors of the Collegiate Presbyterian churches in New York; and though he was called, in 1799, to the First Church in Philadelphia, he preferred to remain with his first charge, and did remain with them until his removal to Princeton, in 1813. By his settlement in the ministry he was placed in circumstances most favorable to his improvement and usefulness. His associates in the pastoral charge were men of commanding powers and far-reaching influence, while there were ministers outside of his own denomination, with whom he was in the habit of familiar intercourse, who were justly reckoned among the lights of their day. Indeed it were hardly possible that his lot should have been cast in any other clerical circle in which he could have had better opportunities for communicating a fresh impulse to great minds, or coming under their quickening powers. And then, it is to be borne in mind that

the people to whom he ministered, were many of them, not only of the highest standing in society, but distinguished for their intellectual culture, thus presenting to him a powerful motive for the faithful improvement of his faculties, and the utmost diligence in his work. During the whole period of his ministry, and indeed, throughout the residue of his life, many of his most intimate friends occupied some of the highest places of public usefulness; and it cannot be doubted that in many cases at least, he and they were fellow-helpers in the great cause of human improvement.

Dr. Miller's marriage proved an important auxiliary to almost every good work in which he engaged. Mrs. Miller was the daughter of the Hon. Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, one of the most eminent lawyers of his day, and a member of the Continental Congress; and this connection brought her husband into intimate relations with the whole circle to which she belonged. She was herself a lady of remarkable powers, of the highest culture, and of deep reverence for religion, though it was not till some time after her marriage that she ventured to hope that she was the subject of a saving change, and to make a public profession of her faith in Christ. From that time it was manifest to all who had an opportunity of observing her daily life, that her treasure was in heaven; and while her fine intellectual and moral character was the subject of universal admiration, it was impossible to resist the conviction, that her crowning attraction was her religion. Though we cannot determine the exact measure of influence that she exerted upon her husband, we cannot doubt that not her heart only, but her hand, was in much of the good that he accomplished.

Another event in Dr. Miller's history, to which he was indebted for a large increase of his usefulness, was his being appointed to a professorship in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. Though his influence as a pastor was wide and deep, it was doubtless greatly exceeded by his influence as professor; for in the latter case he was brought in direct contact with the minds of those who were in a course of training for the Gospel ministry; and through them, his sound instruction and benevolent activity, would tell on the destinies of

coming generations. At the same time he became by this means a much greater power in the church at large; his opinion on difficult questions was generally regarded as of higher authority; for every one felt that he occupied a place, to which none but the wisest and best could be called. Indeed his office as professor opened to him many new channels of Christian and ministerial activity, and gave him opportunities for doing good which were enjoyed by few of his generation.

We only add that Dr. Miller was favored with many tokens of his Redeemer's gracious presence, and thus rendered strong for the arduous duties to which he was called. His path seems to have shone brighter from the day of his conversion to the day of his death. Mistakes and errors, like every other good man, he sometimes committed; but when he became convinced, he was always ready to confess and correct. He seemed ever to be in communion with the Lord, his strength, so that when difficult duties devolved upon him, his courage did not falter; or when great trials were in prospect, he could gird himself to meet them with calm submission. He had a triumphant meeting even with the last enemy, knowing in whom he had believed. Through his whole life, God was his helper, and hence he was always ready to do his Master's will, and had the pleasure to see every good work prospering in his hands.

In the view of Dr. Miller's life, and the estimate of his character, which we have now given, our main design has been to direct the attention of our readers to a work in which may be found an account of him alike interesting and faithful. And we deem it proper, before closing this sketch, to refer a little more distinctly to some of the prominent features of this work, with which its attractiveness is specially identified.

And the first that occurs to us is the minuteness of its details. It is quite possible that some readers may think that this is carried so far as to be an imperfection; and if it were not for the great purity and elevation of the character delineated we might think so too; but as it is, we find little or nothing in the volumes that we could have wished was not there. On the contrary, there are many things that seem of

small importance in themselves, that are yet full of meaning, and, to a thoughtful mind, they bring out character far more impressively than many other things that seem far more imposing. We may add that the whole work is constructed with great simplicity and naturalness, so that one in reading it almost forgets that he is not holding a familiar conversation.

Another characteristic feature of the biography is that it covers a long and deeply-interesting period. The account of the ancestry of both Dr. Miller and his wife takes us back among generations that have long since passed away, and includes in it reminiscences of many individuals of Revolutionary and even ante-Revolutionary fame. But if we limit ourselves to the time in which he was in the full discharge of his duties as a minister of the Gospel, and as an educator of ministers, we shall find that it reaches through several years more than half a century. And during these years, the Presbyterian Church was more than once in a state of great agitation, and once, at least, thoroughly convulsed; while several outside controversies, at different periods, awakened a deep and general interest. Of all these polemic scenes, especially those with which he was more immediately connected, Dr. Miller has left a faithful record, which is preserved in these volumes. Indeed, one cannot read them carefully without becoming acquainted with the more important events of our history, especially the history of the Presbyterian Church, during the period to which they relate.

It is worthy of remark, also, that the work which we are reviewing contains incidental notices of most of the distinguished clergymen of that day within the Presbyterian Church, and of not a few outside of it. From many of them there are letters; or else there are facts stated illustrative of their characters; and one can hardly help feeling, as he passes along through the work, that, in reading the biography of a single individual, he is brought into communion with a host of illustrious men, who, having served their generation faithfully have fallen asleep. The names of Doctors Green, Griffin, Janeway, Romeyn, Dwight, Morse, and many other noble spirits—some of a later date—are often repeated, and may be said to be embalmed in these pages.

The last, and by no means the least, important characteristic of this work that we shall notice, is its signal impartiality. As a general rule we regard it as rather an unsafe matter for a son to attempt the biography of a distinguished father; and most of those who read such a work are prepared to make many grains of allowance for concealment or exaggeration. But the reader has nothing of this kind to encounter in these volumes. There is no attempt to make it appear that Dr. Miller did not share the ordinary infirmities of humanity; nor the slightest indication of a wish to attribute to him any thing beyond his deserts. There may be a difference of opinion in regard to the writer's estimate of particular acts, but all must agree that the work gives no evidence of filial partiality.

We rejoice that so worthy a monument should have been erected to the memory of such a man. We are sure that there are those scattered all over the church who honor him as a friend and a father, and to whom these volumes will come as a most grateful offering. Let the work live through successive generations, not only to honor the memory of its subject, but to open fresh channels of blessing through the remembrance of his eminently useful life.

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## Art. IV.—*A Fragment. What the Greeks thought of the Religion of the Jews.*

The following extract from the *Moralia* of Plutarch is from the version of the learned Abbé Ricard, who devoted forty years of his life to the study and translation of that author.

The Romans and Greeks appear alike to have held the Jews in detestation,—whether from their turbulent and ferocious character, or from traditions respecting them, handed down by the Egyptian Priesthood,—perhaps it would be difficult to say. Doubtless much of the cruel persecution of the earlier Christians is to be attributed to their identification

with the Jewish race. Singular indeed is it, that this nation, to whom alone the knowledge of the true God had been imparted in all its grandeur, should have been looked down upon by the rest of the human family; across whose Pagan darkness the divine light had been permitted to flash at intervals only, like the sudden, crinkling lighting in the tempest; for such must we view the elevated ideas of the Deity occasionally emanating from the master spirits of the human race,—from Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Plutarch, and other philosophic minds.

Plutarch was born A. D. 50 or 70, within a few years of the crucifixion of the Saviour, being contemporary with St. John the Evangelist. It is sad to think, that one so virtuous and learned, should not have had the privilege of hearing, and reflecting upon, the simple teachings of Jesus Christ. When intellect like his was thus smothered in the mists of Paganism, how deep must have been the darkness of the masses, through which the Christian revelation was destined to pierce.

. . . When Lamprias had finished, Callistratus said, to the other guests, "What do you think of the reproaches which Lamprias makes of the Jews; that they abstain from the flesh of the hog, of which, of all nations, they should be the first to make use?"

"They merit indeed this reproach," replied Polycratues; "but I am uncertain, whether it is from reverence or horror of the hog, that they abstain from eating its flesh. What they themselves say, bears the air of fable, unless, indeed, they entertain secret reasons which they are unwilling to divulge."

"For myself," said Callistratus, "I believe that the hog is honored by this nation. It is objected that it is dirty and hideous; but I do not see in what it is more deformed and disgusting than the beetle, the griffin, the crocodile, or the cat; each of which has worshippers, among the Egyptian priests, and which pass for wholesome animals. The Egyptians reverence the hog, also, out of gratitude; for it is said, that this animal first taught them the art of agriculture, and that the rooting with his snout gave them the idea

of the ploughshare; the name of which instrument is derived from it. The inhabitants of the lower part of Egypt are unacquainted with the use of the plough. When the Nile retires from their fields, they sow their seed broadcast on the alluvial deposit, left by its recession, subsequently turning in the hogs, who, digging with their feet, and rooting with their snouts, soon upheave the earth and thus bury the seed to its proper depth. It is not surprising then, that there are peoples who, for this reason, abstain from using the flesh of the hog, since we see, with the Barbarians, other animals receive the highest honors from trivial and often ridiculous causes. It is said, for example, that the Egyptians have deified the Musaraigne on account of its blindness; because they deem darkness more ancient than light. They also consecrate the lion to the sun, because, that of all the quadrupeds with crooked talons, its young alone are born with their eyes open; that it sleeps but little, and that its eyes shine during sleep. They ornament the spouts of their fountains with lions' heads, because the Nile inundates their fields when the sun is in the sign of the lion. They also assert that the ibis, when it is born, weighs two drachms, exactly the weight of the heart of an infant when it first sees the light, and that the spread of its feet forms with its beak an equilateral triangle. Wherefore, then, should the Egyptians be censured for these ideas as ridiculous, since the Pythagoreans themselves worship, it is said, a white cock, and among fishes abstain particularly from the surmullet and the ortie de mer; and the Magi, disciples of Zoroaster, honor with especial reverence the ground hedgehog, while they detest water-rats; regarding the man that kills the greatest number of them as the happiest of mortals, and especially favored of the Gods. I think that if the Jews really held the hog in horror, they would kill it as the Magi do the water-rats, but they are alike prohibited from killing or eating it. Perhaps in the same manner that they reverence the ass from its discovering to them a source of water in a time of extreme drought, they revere the hog from its teaching them the culture of the earth. Is it to be assumed that they abstain from eating the flesh of the hare, because it is a dirty and impure animal?"

"It is not for that," said Lamprias; "but it is from its resemblance to the ass, of animals, the one they most reverence; for though these animals differ in size and quickness, on the other hand they are of the same color, have long ears and shining eyes, and resemble each other in other respects, so that there are none, great or small, which are so alike as the ass and the hare. Perhaps, also, with the Egyptians, who attribute a mysterious signification to the qualities of animals, the Jews recognize something divine in the activity of the hare and the acuteness of its natural senses. Its sight is so keen that it sleeps with its eyes open; and sense of hearing so delicate, that the Egyptians make use of the figure of its ear in their hieroglyphics, as the emblem of the sense of hearing. As for the Jews, I think that they abstain from the flesh of the hog from fear of disease, for there are no maladies the Barbarians so much dread as the leprosy and the mange; believing, as they do, that these diseases end finally in the entire destruction of their victims. The hog, as we see, has, nearly always, parts of its body marked with white and leprous spots, and these eruptions appear to be the result of interior corruption. The filth in which it lives must give an additional bad quality to the flesh, for there is no animal which so delights to wallow in filth and ordure, with the exception of those which are born and exist in it. It is also said that the eyes of the hog are so fixed on the earth that he can see nothing above him, nor look upon the heavens, unless he is turned on his back; his eyes then take a direction contrary to their natural position, and though at first very noisy, when he is thus reversed, he soon becomes silent and tranquil, astonished either at the sight of heaven, to which he is unaccustomed, or in terror at seeing it. If it were necessary, fabulous traditions might be cited. Adonis was killed, it is said, by a boar, and it is thought that Adonis is identical with Bacchus; and this opinion is confirmed by the ceremonies which are practised at the feasts of both of these divinities. There are those who assert that Adonis was the favorite of Bacchus, and it is the opinion of Phanocles, as is proved in this verse:

'Bacchus, in roaming o'er the fields of Cyprus,
Saw, and made captive, the beautiful Adonis.'"

Symmachus, surprised at this last allusion, said: "What! Lamprias, would you tolerate that the mysteries of the Jews should be confounded with those of the god of our country! or, is it indeed probable, that this God may be identical with that of the Jews?"

"Permit Lamprias," interrupted Meragenus; "I, who am an Athenian, assert that he is one and the same God. Most of the proofs which confirm it, can be communicated only to those who have been initiated in the third, and highest, order of the mysteries of Bacchus. But that which we are not prohibited from revealing to friends, and particularly at the table where we are enjoying the gifts of this God, if you so desire, I am ready to impart."

The guests all urging him warmly, he resumed: "First," said he, "the greatest and most solemn of their feasts is celebrated at a time, and in a manner, which proves its analogy with those of Bacchus. They give to it the name of the *fast*, and solemnize it in the height of the vintage, covering their tables with all kinds of fruits, and during the time that it lasts, living under tents constructed mainly of palm branches and ivy interlaced; and the first day of this solemnity they call the feast of the *Tabernacles*. A few days after, they celebrate another, the connection of which, with those of Bacchus, is no longer even enigmatical, but formally consecrated to this God. It is called the feast of the *Crateraphorie* and the *Thyrsophorie* (the cups and the thyrsies). In it they bear in their hands branches of palms or thyrses, with which they enter into their Temple. What they do there, we are ignorant of; but it is probable they celebrate some Bacchanal; for they make use, to invoke their God, of little trumpets, similar to those which the Greeks employ in the feast of Bacchus; other priests play on harps, and are called *Levites*, either from the name *Lysius*, or more probably that of Evius, two surnames of Bacchus. Neither is the celebration of the Sabbath as it appears to me foreign to Bacchus. Even now, in many parts of Greece they give the name of Sabbes to the initiates of Bacchus, who, in their mysterious ceremonies, pronounce this word. The oration of Demosthenes on the crown, and Menander, furnish proofs of this fact. It appears also proba-

ble that it is from this name that there has been formed that of *Sabbat*, and that it indicates that species of furor or enthusiasm with which those who celebrate the mysteries of Bacchus are inspired. What confirms this conjecture as to the worship which they render to Bacchus *Sabbasien* is, that on the day of the feast they urge each other to drink to intoxication, and if any by grave motives are prevented from becoming inebriated, they are at least compelled to drink their wine pure. To these proofs can be added others of still greater force. For instance, those derived from the costume of the high priest; who, on days of solemnity, wears a mitre on his head, and is clothed in a tunic, made from the skin of the stag, trimmed with gold, with a training robe hanging from his shoulders; his feet clad with laced buskins. Below and around the bottom of the robe are attached little bells, which cause as he walks, the same sounds that we hear in the nocturnal mysteries of Bacchus, and from which reason they are called the nurses of this god. Still another proof, is the thyrses and the tambourines, which are seen engraved on the walls of their temple. All this can have relation to no other god than Bacchus. The Jews do not employ honey in their sacrifices, because, mixed with wine it spoils it. Before the art of cultivating the vine was understood, honey was made use of, both as a drink and in the libations to the Gods. Even now, the Barbarians who are unacquainted with the use of wine, make a drink composed of honey, the insipidity of which they correct with bitter and vinous roots.

The Greeks themselves render sacrifices to *Sobriety*, in which they offer honey; because its qualities are antagonistic to those of wine. Another, and very strong proof of the worship they render to Bacchus, is that the greatest and most ignominious punishment that they can inflict, is to deprive the criminals from the use of wine during a certain time prescribed by the judge. Those who are thus punished" . . . . . .

[The rest of the book is lost.]

ART. V.—*The Reign of Law.* By the DUKE OF ARGYLE. Fifth edition. Alexander Shahan. London: 1867.

WE regard this as a work of decided interest and value. The noble author holds no mean place among the philosophical thinkers of the day; a position fairly won by the acuteness of his reasoning powers, and the clearness and ability with which his views are enforced. Acting in the spirit of the motto on his escutcheon, "*vix ea nostra voco*," and determined to win an honorable fame which should be all his own, he early entered, as an author, those lists in which fortune, rank, and illustrious ancestry avail nothing, but success must depend on personal merit alone. There is a manliness in such a course which naturally enlists the sympathies and good wishes of the public, and secures their congratulations on his well-earned reputation.

The volume presents some of the mature and revised opinions of its author, the greater part of which had already appeared as contributions to the *Edinburgh Review* and other British periodicals of high character. The subject, as the title imports, is the Reign of Law; not, however, of human law, but of that which controls the course of nature and the operations of the mind of man. Over all this region he thinks its empire is absolute, binding the universe, as far as we know it, in the relation of cause and effect, as in a chain of necessity which is never broken even by the power of the Deity himself. This hypothesis has always been a favorite with those scientific men who disclaim the authority of faith to impose checks on the speculations of reason, but has generally been regarded with suspicion and dislike by orthodox Christians, as scarcely compatible with those intimate personal relations which religion teaches have been established between man and his Maker. Yet the author is not a sceptic, but a believer in revelation, and one object of his work is to wrest from the practical atheist the advantage he claims in that uniformity of natural operations, which appears to exclude all immediate divine intervention.

He distinguishes law (pp. 64'–5), with sufficient precision, into five different senses: as applied, 1, "simply to an observed order of facts;" 2, "to that order as involving the action of some force or forces of which nothing more may be known;" 3, "to individual forces, the measure of whose operation has been more or less defined or ascertained;" 4, "to those combinations of force which have reference to the fulfilment of purpose, or the discharge of function;" 5, "to abstract conceptions of the mind—not corresponding with any actual phenomena, but deduced therefrom as axioms of thought necessary to our understanding of them. Law in this sense is a reduction of the phenomena, not merely to an order of facts, but to an order of thought." These different significations all "circle round the three great questions which science asks of nature, the What, the How, and the Why." In inanimate nature the first three, we suppose, are the phases of law most clearly discernible; but the world of organisms, though embracing all, is more peculiarly distinguished by the regulative power of the fourth and fifth, which appear to constitute what are known as teleology and the more recent doctrine of morphology. In considering these last, the author introduces many curious and interesting illustrations of contrivances directed to specific ends, whether of utility, ornament, or order, and opposes with much earnestness and force the systems of Darwin and others, who endeavor to explain away all proofs of design by such hypotheses as development, or natural selection, or some not very intelligible idea of morphology acting as a living, power in nature. But throughout all, he persistently maintains the universal reign of law, more especially, perhaps, as respects those primary properties of matter which, as far as we know, are indestructible by natural causes—law in this sense, certainly, and probably in others, according to him, being never suspended or altered, but all the infinitely diversified effects witnessed in creation being produced by natural forces conspiring, through adjustment, to purposed ends. The chapter on "Contrivance a Necessity" is to us one of much interest. In it his illustrations are all taken from the flight of birds, with the structural adaptations to that function, and represent in a very striking manner how mechanical laws are made

to subserve the power by the most exact, beautiful, and (if we may use the expression) ingenious contrivances for the purpose. Two following chapters, called "Apparent Exceptions," and "Creation by Law," illustrate, in different phases, the same general argument of design working under conditions imposed by law, and show the author's power of dealing with those somewhat transcendental ideas which have in recent times become imbedded in the philosophy of natural history. The last two chapters consider law in the realms of mind and of politics, where its reign is recognized as not less absolute than it is in matter, and where, also, order, purpose, and adaptation to specific ends are equally principles of controlling authority. The author had designed to add a chapter on "Law in Christian Theology," as necessary to complete his plan, but for the present has "shrunk from entering on questions so profound, of such critical import, and so inseparably connected with religious controversy."—*Preface.* The work, which throughout has the impress of an able, cultivated, and manly mind, is perspicuous, animated, and unaffected in its style, exhibits much vigorous thought, and contains a variety of scientific information which is made more interesting by its connection with the philosophical argument.

With a thesis so wide and so varied as the work presents we do not propose to deal, but we would offer some remarks on the relation which its views, as to the immutability of natural laws, seem to bear to the fundamental truths of religion.

The nineteenth century appears to present, in sharper antithesis than most of its predecessors, two antagonistic mental tendencies—great superstitious credulity in one class, with a determined scepticism as to every form of the supernatural in another. The first is seen in the prevalence of Mormonism, Mesmerism, Spiritualism, and other wild systems of belief, to which multitudes of minds, generally ill-trained, and little used to the scrutiny of evidence, yield implicit faith. The second is often found with intellects of a higher order, being, indeed, a frequent characteristic of reasoning and philosophic minds. Within the church both are exhibited, sitting side by side, or following each other in rapid succession. In Oxford, thirty years ago, a powerful ecclesiastical party sought to re-

introduce into the English Church many of the superstitious observances of Popery. Twenty years later disguised infidelity prevailed there to such an extent that a deistical lecturer could boast, with apparent justice, that the work called "Essays and Reviews," written by an association of Oxford clergymen, propounded the views of Paine and Voltaire with just that mixture of cloudiness we might expect from men who remembered they were in orders, and therefore not quite free to utter all they thought. More recently, by another revolution, the credulous element is again ascendant in that city, and the tractarianism of a past generation is eclipsed by the ritualism of the present.

Yet, if we compare the two—credulity and scepticism—in the extent of their prevalence and the class of minds affected by them respectively, we cannot well doubt that the latter is much the more decidedly a distinguishing trait of the age. Probably at no former time were reasoning men less disposed to submit to the authority of received opinions; probably never before were the foundations of religious faith searched by a criticism so cold and so unshrinking. Not only have philosophers denied the being of a God, the truth of the moral sense, the necessary inherent distinction of right and wrong, and the objective reality of time and space, but what is still stranger, they have even doubted their own personal existence in the very act of self-conscious deliberation upon the point. These are men who have pursued too far the phantoms that haunt the dim bewildering regions of ontology. There are others, again, who have never questioned their own personal identity, or the reality of the external world, but who look upon the universe as a machine that works out its ends by its inherent forces; and, therefore, like the old Epicureans, they exclude all divine agency as superfluous if not mischievous, and deliver up man, hopeless, helpless, prayerless, to the blind fatality of natural causes, except as his own powers may avail to influence his destiny. Nor is this scientific scepticism content with denying the Deity all share in the supervision and control of his works; for one object toward which it zealously presses is to efface all those proofs of design from which his existence even as a Creator can be deduced. Such is the tend-

ency of Laplace's celebrated cosmological hypothesis, by which he seeks to construct a universe without supernatural assistance; and also of the more recent Development theory, which, taking different shapes in the hands of different advocates, tends equally in each to banish all immediate divine agency from the department of organized nature. "It is superfluous," says Comte, "to establish specially the indispensable preliminary that all idea of *creation*, properly speaking, must be utterly rejected as in its nature wholly inconceivable, and that the only reasonable inquiry, if indeed that is attainable, must relate to successive *transformations*."* So speaks the hierophant of positivism, laying down a canon which embodies the true doctrine of his school. We are aware that many advocates of these theories of Laplace and Darwin deny their atheistical tendency, and find room, not only for an intelligent Creator, but for his special providence, and even his fatherly attribute as the hearer of prayer. They assume that far back in past eternity, or that inconceivably remote period when the Creator laid the plan of his works, he foresaw the exact conditions, wants, and characters of all his intelligent creatures, judged their deeds, beheld their sufferings and temptations, and listened in advance to their prayers; and then with special reference to each, instituted that series of causes which should in their distant future operations produce the specific results, whether of judgment or mercy, which his infinite wisdom decreed. This hypothesis may not be free from speculative difficulties to some minds; but it affords, perhaps, a possible basis for the support of personal religion, provided the emotions of the heart can be made to respond to the theoretical conclusion. But the natural desire is for a personal God, whose sympathy and approbation are an instant vital principle, not one whose relations to mankind would be the same if he had sunk into annihilation the moment the great universe, with its infinitely complex web of causalities, had been called into existence. Constituted as the human mind is, existing essentially in the associations to which its finite conditions have given birth, such a Deity must necessarily be, at least to the great majority,

* *Philosophic Positivism*, tome ii., p. 363.

but a cold and lifeless abstraction which could kindle no devotion in the soul.

The able treatise which stands at the head of this article asserts, as we have said, the absolute supremacy of natural law, but without detriment to the doctrine of special providence, to the historical truth of miracles, or to their decisive authority as the credentials of revelation. These dangerous consequences the author escapes by a somewhat peculiar definition of terms, to which we shall have occasion again to refer. At present we would extract some remarks on the relation of science to theology that in our opinion convey a grave and weighty truth which it is the duty of all parties fairly to confront.

"We see the men of theology coming out to parley with the men of science, a white flag in their hands, and saying: 'If you will let us alone, we will do the same by you. Keep to your own province; do not enter ours. The reign of law which you proclaim we admit—outside these walls, but not within them:—let there be peace between us.' . . . It is against this danger that some men would erect a faint and feeble barrier by defending the position that science and religion may be, and ought to be, kept entirely separate;—that they belong to wholly different spheres of thought, and that the ideas which prevail in the one province have no relation to the other. This is a doctrine offering many temptations to many minds. It is grateful to scientific men who are afraid of being thought hostile to religion. It is grateful to religious men who are afraid of being thought to be afraid of science. To these, and to all who are troubled to reconcile what they have been taught to believe with what they have come to know, this doctrine affords a natural and convenient escape. There is but one objection to it, but that is the fatal objection, that it is not true. The spiritual world and the intellectual world are not separated after this fashion; and the notion that they are so separated does but encourage men to accept in each ideas which will at last be proved to be false in both. . . . No man who thoroughly accepts a principle in the philosophy of nature which he feels to be inconsistent with a doctrine of religion can help having his belief in that doctrine shaken and

undermined. We may believe, and we must believe, both in nature and in religion, many things which we cannot understand; but we cannot really believe two propositions which are felt to be contradictory. It helps us nothing in such a difficulty, to say that the one proposition belongs to reason and the other proposition belongs to faith. The endeavor to reconcile them is a necessity of the mind."

This is not only bold and frank, but the author takes the true ground. We fear there has been in this matter something of a disingenuous composition, not unlike that of which we read in Pascal's "Provincials," where two sects of Jesuits, to avoid embroilments, agreed to use a technical term of divinity without defining it. But this is worse than vain. The consciousness that these are reputed scientific truths, of dangerous import to some of the tenets of religion, which we dare not examine, tends to diffuse through the mind a secret corrosive doubt of the authenticity of revelation itself. By all means let the truth be examined. If Christianity is indeed divine, it has no assaults to fear, since no fact or principle can ever be established which is really in conflict with it. The faith of many may be shaken, it is unfortunately true, by the agitation of questions which are thought to concern the life of religion. That is one unhappy effect of the rash assertion of unproved hypotheses; but the remedy that involves the least amount of evil is a thorough investigation, which may determine whether the obnoxious opinion rest on positive and sufficient proof, or merely on vague and precarious inference.

The Duke of Argyle strongly insists that no truth, theological or other, which is really such, can ever have a contradictory proposition proved against it. To ordinary apprehension nothing can be more self-evident than this, or less in need of a distinct and formal enunciation; yet there are men who are not daunted even by such a paradox. Thus, his grace mentions a late eminent professor and clergyman of the English Church, who was so deeply impressed with the inexorable reign of law that he believed no place was left for special providence or for answers to prayers; yet "he went on, nevertheless, preaching high doctrinal sermons from the pulpit until his death. He did so on the ground that proposi-

tions which were *contrary* to his reason were not necessarily beyond his faith. The inconsistencies of the human mind are indeed unfathomable, and there are men so constituted, as honestly to suppose that they can divide themselves into two spiritual beings, one of whom is sceptical, and the other believing,"—p. 59. This apparent self-contradiction is by no means new. We are informed that no principle was more insisted on by Bayle, than that the insolubility of objections against a dogma was no legitimate reason to reject it. On this Leibnitz remarks, that "it is in effect to say that an unanswerable argument against a thesis is no legitimate reason to reject it. For what other legitimate reason to reject an opinion can there be, if an opposing argument of invincible force is not such? and what other means remains of demonstrating the falsity, or even the absurdity, of any proposition?"* Bayle's principle, if by "insolubility" be meant *conclusiveness* of objections, appears to surrender the mind to absolute Pyrrhonism, making it as impossible to prove the truth as the falsehood of any proposition; for on his assumption no demonstration, however seemingly perfect, can exclude the possible existence of other facts from which a counter-demonstration of equal force might be deduced. Yet it is well known that a similar principle is maintained by Kant in his celebrated Antinomies, from whom it passed to Sir William Hamilton, and in his philosophy plays an important part. From a paper entitled "Contradictions proving the psychological theory of the conditioned,"† we cite several examples of what Sir William regards as contradictory demonstrations, from which the reader may surmise what ground he has to assert a principle which tends so directly to subvert the foundations of all knowledge: "Infinite maximum, if cut in two, the halves cannot be each infinite, for nothing can be greater than infinite; nor finite, for thus two finite halves would make an infinite whole." From his postulates it would result that the halves are neither finite nor infinite, but something distinct from both. That, however, is not his meaning, for he intends a double demonstration,

* *Discours de la Conformité de la Loi avec la Raison*, § 58.

† *Metaphysics*: Appendix, No. V, note (G).

proving them to be both finite and infinite. The fallacy appears to be in assuming that "nothing can be greater than infinite;" or, in other words, that all infinites are equal. A bar an inch square, if infinite in length, would contain an infinite quantity of matter; but one two inches square would contain four times as much. Or, add a single pound to one of the bars, and the infinite quantity is increased by a pound. To deny this contradicts our most elementary conceptions, and deprives the terms we use of all definite meaning—"An infinite number of quantities must make up either an infinite or a finite whole. I. The former.—But an inch, a minute, a degree, contain each an infinite number of quantities, therefore an inch, a minute, a degree, are infinite wholes; which is absurd. II. The latter.—An infinite number of quantities would thus make up a finite quantity; which is equally absurd." As the number of parts increases, each is diminished in the same exact proportion; and when the number becomes infinite, each part is infinitely small; so that the same infinite enters both the numerator and denominator of the fraction expressing the quantity. Let the finite magnitude be $m$, and the number of parts $n$; then $\frac{m}{n}$ is one part, and $\frac{nm}{n}$, $= m$, represents the whole; thus showing, what is indeed self-evident, that dividing the magnitude into even an infinity of parts leaves the quantity unchanged. The fallacy seems to be in ascribing some actual magnitude to each part, even when the division is infinite. If it be objected that parts without magnitude are inconceivable, we reply that the infinite division first assumed is not less so, as it involves the same difficulty. "A quantity, say a foot, has an infinity of parts. Any part of this quantity, say an inch, has also an infinity. But one infinity is not larger than another. Therefore an inch is equal to a foot." If the inch has an infinity of parts, the foot which contains it has that infinity, with the infinities belonging to eleven other inches superadded. The aggregate of the latter is therefore larger than the former, and the inch is not equal to the foot; nor are the numerical infinities in the two cases the same. Of such are Sir W. Hamilton's antinomies; by which he designed to prove that essential and inseparable conditions fetter reason, to such a degree, that positive con-

tradictions can be forced upon it as absolutely demonstrated. It is to us a wonderful phenomenon that a mind of such force and penetration should have accepted fallacies which to common view are so palpable. They seem in each case to have proceeded from an inaccurate *a priori* idea of infinity, to which he adhered, though contradicted at every step by conceptions of a more definite character drawn from elementary notions of quantity. Sir W. Hamilton had a contempt for mathematical studies, which he regarded as intolerably wearisome to a genius of the sublimer order, from their great facility.* His opinions on this point may suggest a doubt whether he had any very profound acquaintance with a science which, according to Comte, is the product of "a vast concatenated series of prolonged intellectual exertions, offering inexhaustible aliment to the mind;"† and of which Sir J. Herschel, referring to certain analytical researches, says that "the contention of mind for which they call is enormous."‡ However that may be, we have sometimes thought that if the great Scotch metaphysician had been more thoroughly on his guard against the undefined and fluctuating conceptions so often veiled by the generalities of abstract terms, he would have avoided some errors into which he has unfortunately fallen; and we believe the more difficult mathematical investigations, requiring, as they often do, highly subtle and exact discriminations, founded on real differences which cannot be neglected without error in the result, are mental exercises well suited to teach that cautionary lesson.

* "To minds of any talent, mathematics are *only difficult because they are too easy.*"—"Mathematics are found more peculiarly intolerable by minds endowed with the most varied and vigorous faculties....The continued and monotonous attention they necessitate to a long concatenated deduction, each step in the lucid series calling forth, on the same external relation, and to the same moderate amount, the same simple deduction of reason. This, added to the inertion to which they condemn all the noble and more pleasurable energies of thought, is what renders mathematics—in themselves the easiest of rational studies—the most arduous for those very minds to which studies in themselves most arduous, are easiest. In mathematics, dulness is thus elevated into talent, and talent degraded into incapacity."—*Discourse on the Study of Mathematics.*

† *Phil. Pos*, vol. i., p. 91.

‡ *Outlines of Astronomy*, § 10.

But, to return to the Duke of Argyle. He begins with the question: What is the supernatural?—adding, "M. Guizot tells us that belief in it is the special difficulty of our time—that denial of it is the form taken by all modern assaults on Christian faith; and again, that acceptance of it lies at the root, not only of Christianity, but of all positive religion whatever." His grace then proceeds to inquire in what this difficulty consists, and thinks it must in part be ascribed to a vague use of the word supernatural. "There may be some men," he says, "who disbelieve in the supernatural, only because they are absolute atheists; but it is certain that there are others who have great difficulty in believing in the supernatural who are not atheists. What they doubt or deny is, not that God exists, but that he enacts, or perhaps can act, unless in and through what they call the laws of Nature." The conclusion he comes to at length is, that they find it so hard to believe in supernatural power, because by it they mean "power independent of the use of means, as distinguished from power depending on knowledge—even infinite knowledge—of the means proper to be employed." But this difficulty, in his opinion, is unnecessarily encountered. The action of the Deity, in creation, providence, or revelation, he believes, suspends or violates no law of nature; and, therefore, is not with strict propriety termed supernatural. The properties of dead matter, the physiological laws of organized beings, and the spontaneous forces by which the volitions of brutes and of man can modify the effects of other causes; all those are within the domain of nature. And, if a great immaterial Being exists, capable, by the mysterious relation he bears to matter, of exerting infinite physical force, and possessing knowledge in equal degree to make the laws of nature subserve his purposed ends, he might employ powers which, though superhuman, would so far resemble those exercised by man, as to justify equally the application of the term natural. By such means, he could alter the course of natural sequences without suspending natural laws, and thus subject the world to special providential regulation. If it pleased him to send a revelation to man, he could, by similar displays of superhuman power, authenticate the message by miracles; and, in that way, raise it above the pos-

sibility of human contrivance. He could also, by the same means, grant special answers to prayer, and thus establish that immediate personal dependence on himself, without which, religion, as a living practical principle, cannot exist. All this is not only natural, but becomes more credible *a priori*, because it is the result of means exactly analogous to those employed by man in accomplishing his own ends, the difference consisting mainly in the infinite superiority of resources possessed by the Deity. The relation which this great Being bears to the laws of nature themselves is left undetermined, as unnecessary to the argument: but certain expressions used by the author have fallen a little unpleasantly on our ear, because they might perhaps raise a doubt whether he did not think it possible that some of those laws—such as flow directly from the essential properties of matter, for example—were uncontrollable even by the Divine will. "It may be," he says, "that all natural forces are resolvable into some one force. . . . It may also be that this one force. . . . is itself but a mode of action of the Divine will. But we have no instruments whereby to reach this last analysis. Whatever the ultimate relation may be between mental and material force, we can at least see clearly that, in nature, there is the most elaborate machinery to accomplish purpose through the instrumentality of means. It seems as if all that is done in nature, as well as all that is done in art, were done *by knowing how to do it*. It is curious how the language of the great seers of the Old Testament corresponds with this idea. . . . Exactly the same language is applied to the rarest exertions of power, and to the gentlest and most constant of all natural operations. Thus, the saying that 'The Lord by wisdom hath founded the earth: by understanding, hath he established the heavens,'—is coupled in the same breath with this other saying, 'By his knowledge, the depths are broken up, and the clouds drop down the dew.'"—Pp. 129–131.

It seems that our author would lessen the difficulty Guizot thought the present age had, in believing the supernatural, by discarding that word, and by comprising within the bounds of the natural whatever is essential to the being of a personal, moral, wise, powerful, and all-controlling God. To this exten-

sion of the latter term, and to the positions it includes, he seeks to conciliate favor by pointing out the analogies between the powers exercised by man, and those he ascribes to the Supreme Being. The objectors, indeed, deny that God "ever acts, or perhaps can act, unless in and through what they call the laws of nature;" yet, since the power man exerts modifies their operation and produces specific results, so the infinite power of God, acting through similar means, may produce results infinitely greater, and, therefore, sufficient for all his designs, whether in nature, in providence, or in the miraculous attestation of his will. From the same analogy, he concludes that "the mind of man has within it something of a truly creative energy and force—that we are in a sense 'fellow-workers with God,' and have been in a measure 'made partakers of the Divine nature.'"—P. 10.

We trust the exacter classification of ideas offered by his grace's definitions may relieve some honest minds perplexed by doubts and groping through darkness to find the truth; but, we confess, we are not very sanguine as to the result. The views he presents may give consistence and clearness to some speculative opinions in regard to the connection of a special providence with the immutability of natural laws; but we fear it will not meet the objections of the class to whom M. Guizot referred. The only powers they recognize as acting in nature, appear to be that series of physical causes which embraces the material universe, with so much power of spontaneous action in addition as is placed within the control of brutes and men. They allow no immaterial agents, neither God, angel, spirit, nor devil, to interfere in any way with this great chain of causation, since any force acting upon it from without, whether analogous to that exerted by man or not, they regard as quite inconsistent with the observed order of nature.

Nor do we very clearly perceive how any substantial difficulty in admitting the truth of miracles would be removed by the author's scheme. Let us take, as an example, Christ's feeding the multitude with the loaves and fishes. By his grace's hypothesis, the miracle was wrought by superhuman power, which acted in strict accordance with natural laws. But in what way are we to suppose the effect was produced?

Shall we assume that spirits, moving with inconceivable celerity, collected the constituent elements of the food, and, by aid of chemical laws, combined them together in the proportions and relative positions necessary to produce both the qualities and appearance of the substance required? This might respect those laws which issue directly from the primary properties of matter; but, another law requiring that all products of organization should grow from germs deriving life from a parent stock, appears to be violated. Or shall we suppose some invisible agent collected the food, ready prepared, from distant localities, and with it supplied the waste caused by the distribution? This avoids the former difficulty, but leaves another unanswered,—that by this world's constitution, as we know it, spirits never act on matter, except through the medium of an organized living body. But whatever hypothesis, consistent with the recorded facts, is adopted, we think it will hardly take the faith of most readers, less than the simple supposition that the Saviour, by Divine power, called into existence the additional food with which the multitude were fed.

It is very probable his grace would not accept either of our suppositions as fairly representing his theory; and, indeed, we offer them but as suggestions, because we are really at some loss how to give his abstract principle a particular application in the case of miracles. His distinction between the superhuman and the supernatural, between power which may be infinite, but acts only through law, and power which for the occasion suspends the operation of some law, though sufficiently clear in many cases, seems undefined and shadowy as applied to this.

In the chapter on "Creation by Law," he considers the development theory, quoting from Darwin the admission that if structural modifications subserving beauty merely, apart from utility, could be shown to exist, his hypothesis must fall. For answer, he brings forward many curious facts in regard to the colors and ornaments of the numerous species of humming-birds, and argues that there is sufficient proof that differences abound among them which cannot be referred to the principle of utility, which do not better adapt the birds

to special conditions of existence or give them aid in fighting the battle of life. In this he seems to us to be right, for we think he establishes his position by a very strong array of probable evidence. He agrees with Darwin, however, so far as to believe that new species originated under some peculiar and unknown conditions from living progenitors. Organic creation was not a single primordial act, never afterward repeated. A succession of distinct animal and vegetable types has appeared throughout a geological period of indefinite length. These his grace thinks were not in any absolute sense the product of distinct acts of creation—not original formations from dead matter, animated by the immediate act of the Deity. He believes that by some natural law unknown to us they were ordered from organic forms previously existing. This opinion is expressed with direct reference to the humming-bird family, and does not, as we are given to understand, extend indefinitely to other examples of specific difference in animated nature. Nor does it appear that in regard to humming-birds his belief had a more definite support than the complete separation of the group from all other birds, and the striking general resemblances pervading the entire family, suggesting to his mind the probable bond of consanguinity. He, however, elsewhere refers to rudimentary and aborted organs in some other animals as probably showing a state of transition to or from a fuller development through a series of natural generations. But without that relation all such appearances might be explained as morphological analogues, by that reduction of the phenomena to an order of thought, of which he elsewhere speaks. His opinion may notwithstanding be correct; though, apart from the want of all positive proof, difficulties are involved which are not sufficiently met by any modification of the theory of development.

That theory has exhibited two principal phases. One of these, presented in the "Vestiges of Creation," assumes that when in any instance the unknown essential conditions supervene, the organized being proceeds *per saltum* to a higher form, which constitutes a new species; the regulation law in this case somewhat resembling that of chemical combinations, which take place at different numerical intervals, but never

occupy the space between. The other—supported in the last century by Helvetius, but since recast and greatly improved by Darwin, who brings to his aid much exact scientific observation—maintains that new species arise from "numerous successive slight modifications," gradually moulding the older forms into others of distinct specific characters. Both these hypotheses are regarded with dislike by the religious world, because, if they do not favor positive atheism, they at least seem to veil and obscure the Divine wisdom in creation by the obtrusive intervention of natural causes. But other objections are urged on more strictly scientific grounds. For the first, it has been contended that if any such sudden evolution of a new order of being should take place, the chances are almost infinite that it would at the same time and place exhibit but a single specimen, in which case the species must become extinct almost in the moment of its birth. The combination of all the necessary conditions must be extremely rare, or we should not wholly want ascertained examples within historic times. But against the contingency that two of different sexes should be created together by the mere agency of natural laws, there would seem to be the improbability of the first supposition multiplied into itself, thus reaching a degree quite beyond human calculation, and leading almost irresistibly to the conclusion that a supervising Intelligence must have ordained it. Darwin avoids this consequence by his doctrine of natural selection; in virtue of which, among innumerable minute congenital deviations from the parent type, those are preserved which better adapt the species to the conditions of its being, while the rest perish. The silent gradual operation of this principle he thinks will suffice to modify organic structures indefinitely, and serve to originate all those organs of special function which have from the earliest times excited wonder by the infinite creative wisdom they were supposed to display.

To his hypothesis it is objected that there ought to be fossil remains, not merely of distinct species, but of some at least of those innumerable multitudes that by the supposition thronged the interval between, forming one great continuous procession. In reply he alleges the imperfection of geological explorations. This, however, will scarcely avail; for in many

cases the remains of numerous individuals of the same extinct species have been found, and there seems no reason why the spaces that separate them should present a total blank, if in reality they had once been so numerously filled.

Another objection arises, which the "successive slight modifications" assumed are inadequate to remove. According to this theory physiological utility, offering valuable aid in the struggle of life, is the presiding power which conducts the development from its first inception to its natural form. But some organized structures it is impossible to suppose could possess any utility while the mere shapeless rudiments which, by the hypothesis, they must at first have been: certain dimensions appear to be required, and determinate advances toward perfection, before they could cease to exist as useless incumbrances to the frame. Of this class we will cite but a single example, the legs of vertebrate animals. These are in function essentially levers, to which a measure of length is necessary before they can serve any beneficial end. But the requisite length it seems, by Darwin's postulates, they could not have possessed when first originated, and hence we do not perceive how their existence in their present form can be made to consist with the requirements of his hypothesis.

There is still another objection, which applies equally to any phasis of the development theory that regards reproduction as the result of forces inherent in nature, without the special intelligent volition of a higher power. Any form this theory may assume requires as essential a law of general resemblance between parent and offspring. The simplicity of the formula in which the principle may be expressed is apt to conceal the numerous important assumptions it necessarily involves. Let us therefore examine it more nearly.

The production of motion by gravitation, which observes an exact numerical ratio, is perhaps the simplest of all natural laws. We ascribe it to an essential property of matter, and though we are totally ignorant what that property is, yet we have no reason to suppose any intermediate principle is needed to produce the effect. The production of muscular force by volition is another natural law which in its expression may seem as simple as the first. Yet consider for an instant

the difference. The effect in the latter case is not the direct result of the volition, but a highly complicated system of organic machinery must be put in action to produce it. When a man purposes to lay his hand on a book lying near, the force which causes the motion issued from the brain; though what it is, by what process eliminated, how graduated in intensity, and how directed to its proper channels, we cannot tell. This is sent along the nerves, and through the countless filaments into which these ramify is distributed to the innumerable muscular fibres of the arm, which must be made to contract with almost endless differences of force, that from their combined action the desired motion may result. Thus the problem, we may safely affirm, becomes so complicated that no human intellect is competent to grasp the details, nor would the combined powers of all the mathematicians from Newton and Leibnitz down suffice to integrate such a differential equation as the case involves. And, therefore, though in a sense true that the volition causes the motion, yet it is only as a child may be said to perform a difficult composition of Handel or Haydn when he touches the spring of a musical box adjusted to play that air; or, to vary the illustration, as Aladdin prepared a magnificent feast when, in answer to the command, "I am hungry—bring me something to eat," the genius of the lamp vanished, and instantly re-appeared with a train of slaves bearing costly viands in oriental vessels of gold, which dazzled and overpowered the honest peasant by their splendor. Volition is in fact but the signal on which a power and wisdom above our comprehension accomplish the result. On a similar principle, a real inconsequence must disunite that law of progenitive resemblance from its attributed effect, if it appears to the mind merely as some mysterious relation between parent and offspring, without implying a system of means as diversified as the result produced. But if such elaborate and exact mechanism is needed to produce an effect so comparatively simple as the regulated motion of the hand, what must that be which secures the required resemblance in the almost infinitely varied details of the organization? Each separate organ or part of an organ, which is not a mere repetition of

some other, must have its appropriate contrivance to produce it; to which must be added another contrivance of proportionate complexity to combine the parts together according to the general plan. This follows from the fundamental principle that every difference in the effect implies a corresponding difference in the cause. Nor is this all: for the complexity of the contrivances, already approaching infinitude, reaches it quite when it becomes sufficient to perpetuate the species. In illustration, take the following supposition. A is a watch, designed like common watches merely to measure and mark the flight of time. B is also a watch, but with machinery added to construct another like the first. Of course this reproductive machinery must have special adaptations to all the parts of A, and be competent moreover to put them together correctly when finished. B must therefore be multiplex in proportion to the number of offices it has to perform. C is a third watch with machinery adapted to the construction not only of A but also of the reproductive machinery of B; for which purpose its contrivances must be still more numerous. So D must in this respect advance beyond C; and so with each ascending step in the scale the difficulty and complexity of the mechanical arrangements must progressively increase. This seems inevitable from the very nature of contrivance, which is the specific adaptation of proper and sufficient means to the purposed ends. And hence, by an extension of the principle, to make the reproductive machinery of the watch suffice to produce a perpetual line of succession, the complexity of arrangements in the primordial machine must be infinitely multiplied. But if reproduction in organized nature also proceeds wholly from a system of contrivance, or natural forces adjusted to determinate ends, then similar consequences appear to follow, unless we totally abandon the fundamental conception implied in the terms we use.

We come to the conclusion then, that if reproduction is accomplished solely by special organisms, it must at length fail from sheer exhaustion, and the species become extinct; or else that those organs contain within themselves, if sufficient to perpetuate the race, an infinite multiplicity of adaptations.

If we suppose the former, then without supernatural aid to arrest the decline, or creations from crude matter to repair the loss, all animal and vegetable life must at length expire. No principle of development, no transformation of species, will save us from this consequence; since nothing of the kind avoids the inherent necessity of a reproductive system complicated in proportion to the length of the series to which it is ordained to give birth. But if we take the alternative supposition, then it may be asked is it possible that within a finite space of matter—the reproductive organs of a flower for example—an infinity of separate contrivances can be embodied. Each must contain in itself a special mechanism, requiring a combination of molecules to constitute it, or at least a single molecule endowed with special powers; and of these there cannot be an absolute infinity within the mass. Or if we assume that in some mysterious way the same combination may serve for any number of results—in other words, if we vary the effect indefinitely without varying the cause—we either directly violate a fundamental law of human belief, or leaving the sphere of the intelligible, we pass into those transcendental regions where the mind grasps at phantoms and finds no reality.

This difficulty assumes somewhat portentous dimensions on Darwin's hypothesis, who traces back the organization, through forms progressively more imperfect, to the first progenitor of all animal and vegetable life, which he supposes a simple protozoic cell, that came into being as if by accident.

We, therefore, conclude, that organic contrivances alone are not sufficient to perpetuate life, and that our globe, if abandoned to these must at length become but a dead and desolate waste. If this last supposition is inadmissible, we are then led to infer that an unseen intelligent power averts the consequence, either by supplying the deficiencies and arresting the decay of the generative principle, or by new creations replacing from time to time the species which become extinct. But if the phenomena of reproduction require more than material laws, those of life in general, so closely related to the former, may not improbably be within the same category. Hence it is possible that, as in the Mosaic creation, God formed man

from the dust of the earth and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, so he has ever since reserved to himself the same great prerogative, and has never imparted to organized forms that portion of his creative power; employing indeed elaborate mechanism in accomplishing physiological ends, but superadding a higher principle which, unlike the former, is bound in the fatalism of no material laws.

Before concluding, it may not be amiss to refer to certain vague inferences disparaging the infinitude of the divine attributes which may be suggested by the apparent subjection of all creative design to the fixed laws of matter and of motion. Throughout organized nature the supremacy of these laws seems to be recognized as absolute. All structural adaptations to functional ends are made in subordination to them. When their operation subserves the design, they are employed for that purpose; when it is adverse, contrivances are adopted to avoid or to lessen the inconvenience. But in no case do we find these laws suspended, or their authority disregarded. On the contrary, they appear to prescribe positive limits within which the range of creative power must be confined. These indications we confess give a semblance of plausibility to the hypothesis of the ancient philosophers, which is not wholly without advocates in the present day—that matter is uncreated and eternal, and possesses certain indestructible properties which are but partially subject to the divine will, and necessitate a creation not absolutely perfect, but the best the material will admit. In reply to such sceptical surmises, we beg leave to offer a few remarks.

It may be assumed that no creation can ever demonstrate to man the absolute omnipotence of the divine Being; because, if finite, the argument is inconclusive, and if infinite, it swells beyond his grasp. The universe which actually exists affords as near an approach to such demonstration as the mind is capable of receiving from external exhibitions of power; since the portion brought within its survey is of dimensions so vast that the imagination sinks overpowered under the effort to conceive it. Hence the conviction, aided by the mind's instinctive sentiment, that the Being who possesses powers so stupendous is really omnipotent, is in general irresistible. On

the other hand a finite or imperfect creation, though admitted to be such, could not prove him less than infinite, because nothing could exist to show that it displayed his utmost power. If, moreover, we can distinctly see that there may be reasons why material laws should be allowed a fundamental place in the order of nature, that old hypothesis of the eternity of matter and its evil and refractory properties loses its show of plausibility. Let us then assume that the Supreme Being is not simply a Creator, but also the Lord and Ruler of intelligent moral beings to whose character and wants it is proper this external condition should be conformed, and we think the seeming incompatibility between the constitution of nature and the infinity and perfection of the divine attributes will disappear, leaving the absolute optimism of the system unimpeached. He has impressed properties on matter, and then conformed each individual organism to the physical necessity they impose. But this appears indispensable to give that stability and consistence to the course of nature without which the world would be to human apprehension a wilderness of confusion and inconsistency; without which experience would be a false and dangerous guide, prudence and recklessness occupy equal ground, and the primeval decree that man should subdue the earth become an impossible task. Another part of the design may be to teach by natural examples how inherent difficulties in the accomplishment of physical objects may be met and the desired end best secured. Natural organisms have often furnished useful lessons to man in aid of his designs, and probably if studied expressly with such a view, would afford yet greater advantages.

These are considerations addressed to the physical and intellectual wants of the race; those which respect their moral characteristics may have still greater weight. A certain degree of uniformity in the operation of natural laws is indispensable, if the divine benevolence, wisdom, or power is to be displayed, however imperfectly, in the works of creation. Without fixed properties in matter, and regularity and system in the course of nature, it is impossible that the mind, constituted as it is, should discern the adaptation of means to ends, or appreciate in any degree the design which pervades the

organized world; and without evidence of design there could of course be no inference as to the attributes of the Creator, nor indeed any proof of his existence. If, therefore, his plan required that there should be indicia by which man might, in the absence of revelation, trace his hand and divine his character, it involved necessarily a degree of immutability in material laws from which a perverse and sceptical spirit might argue in disparagement of his sovereign power. Then, too, the unchanging persistence of such laws under all diversities of condition and circumstance may be designed to teach an important lesson as to the fixed eternal character of the Deity's attributes, the immutability of his will, and the inexorable necessity of submitting to his decrees, and regulating the life by the laws he is pleased to prescribe. Another great moral end is answered which we do not well see could be secured by other means. It is a divine prerogative, shared probably by no created being, to suspend or sustain at will the operation of natural laws. By this means any revelation the Deity chooses to make may be authenticated by credentials bearing the seal of his sovereignty. But unless the order of nature were in general fixed and uniform, no deviation from it would be so signally marked as to bear the certain impress of Divine power. It would seem, therefore, that, without that feature in the constitution of nature which we have been considering, man could have no knowledge of his Maker, either through his works or by revelation.

But it may be objected that the design apparent in organic structures is imperfectly accomplished. Elaborate provision is made in animals to procure subsistence; to this end structure, instincts, and habits conspire; yet they often suffer great privation, and even die of want. Or if such partial failure is a necessity of the laws originally impressed on matter, there is still a possible approach to perfection which few organisms exhibit. We find in the same species great disparities in size, form, and strength, some being much better fitted to the necessities of their position than others. This suggests that the machinery of nature, though the product of wisdom infinitely beyond man's comprehension, is not absolutely perfect, but accomplishes its object only by approximation. Then there

are monstrous formations—misshapen abortions which excite wonder, as if some malign power were at work baffling nature's kindly designs. These seem marked as failures when they pass from nature's hand, like fabrics of human skill marred and ruined in the making.

Our interpretations of the Creator's real purposes, however, is extremely precarious. That the certain attainment of what seem special organic ends, is not always the object, is evident from the fact that such ends are in innumerable instances antagonistic, so that the success of one is necessarily the failure of another. Thus rapacious birds are fitted both by structure and instinct to capture a living prey, while their quarry is equally fitted, by speed or stratagem, to escape pursuit. Then we have no warrant to assume that the Creator's design is not one into which what seem blemishes enter as an integral part. He is a sovereign Ruler as well as Creator, and we must believe that the government and discipline of his rational creatures constitute an object far more important than the physiological development of the inferior world of organisms. But if the constitution of nature, in the particulars drawn into question, gives exercise to caution, vigilance, energy, patience, and other traits which are admitted to elevate the moral character, and also afford inexhaustible employment to the higher powers of the mind, we may regard the objection as sufficiently repelled; especially since the latter advantage may not be confined to man, but embrace innumerable orders of intelligence superior to ours. Perfection of organization would then be, not the amplest development of animal powers or vegetable properties, nor the certain attainment of the objects to which structures and instincts tend, but the exact accomplishment of those higher designs compared with which mere physical ends are insignificant. Now let us suppose that the faultless typical standard the objection seems to require were in every case exhibited—that the corn in the fields, for example, the fruit on the trees, and the cattle on the hills, were all of the finest quality and kind, of the largest size, and without blemish—no place would then be left for the exercise of judgment or taste in selection, no scope for sagacity in detecting the hidden causes of deterioration and

devising a remedy, no prospect of improving the species by patient toil and care. In short, as far as this monotonous system of perfection prevailed, its influence would be to shed a listless torpor over the faculties of man. Nor would it serve to exempt any supposed domain of human industry from the paralyzing operation of the rule; since man's charter embraces the whole earth, stimulating energy and research into nature's laws by the reward proposed, and we cannot pronounce that any part of this inheritance can never subserve his wants, or become the object of his labor and attention. Besides, such a discrimination as that supposed would be repugnant to man's intellectual nature; for it would seem a capricious decree, impairing the unity of the general plan confusing and obliterating the analogies that bind the parts of creation together, and weakening the force of the moral lesson taught by the inviolability of natural laws. Monstrous formations are but other examples of defective organisms. A peach blossom without a germ, though really a monster, involves no more difficulty than a blighted and shrunken peach. Aborted forms of the higher animal life surprise and shock us more, from peculiar associations, but they follow the same analogy. Nor is it correct to speak of an organism as passing at birth from nature's hand. Throughout its course—from the first deposit of the cell that forms the nucleus of the germ, till the vital principle is extinguished, and the chemical affinities commence their disorganizing work—the same hand guides its development and works its decay. If, then, a formation abnormal from birth is a blot on nature's works, the untimely destruction of a more perfect organism must be viewed in the same light. But much more rational it appears to us to regard such seeming blemishes as parts of some high plan of celestial wisdom reaching beyond the fate of mere physical forms, and embracing moral designs which the narrow grasp of the human mind is inadequate to span.

One advantage abnormal formations may be specially adapted to supply. Most of that department of physiology which relates to the functions of life, its preservation and transmission, is as yet unknown to science; but we must not suppose it will always remain unexplored. Important dis-

coveries hereafter made will, doubtless, illuminate this dark region, and, as in similar cases, valuable practical applications will probably follow, of which we can now form no anticipation. In these future conquests of science we have a right to suppose that those strange departures from the normal type, those revolting distortions of the natural form, which strike us as something ill-omened and portentous, will contribute important assistance, by the light they shed on the obscure principles of vital organization.

In supposing the physiological laws of our globe were designed in part for the discipline and instruction of man, we do not forget that, long before his creation, laws, in all respects similar, were in operation upon earth. It may probably be thought that man's requirements, as a reasoning philosopher, or his condition as a probationary moral agent, would have had no influence in moulding the physiology of that day. The conclusion is, however, not quite clear. Nothing tends more to impress the mind with the certainty and permanence of its principles of knowledge, or more to enlarge and liberalize its views, than to find the phenomena with which it is familiar exhibited in distant localities and remote eras. In the vast fields opened by modern geology, the lines of analogy which unite dispersed phenomena, have a far wider sweep and more commanding sway, and emancipate the mind from any lingering doubt whether natural laws might not be mere local, transitory, and variable expedients. Considerations drawn from such sources give to many minds high intellectual gratification, when, "immersed in rapturous thought profound," they contemplate the unity, consistence, and order of the grand design which pervades creation. Such exalted pleasure, blending admiring wonder with religious awe,* was doubtless felt by the sages of Newton's time when his great discovery allied our planet, and every particle of its dust, with the remotest realms of space; and so too felt philosophers in more recent days when the present laws of organic life were found to have prevailed on earth innumerable ages before it became

* His tibi me rebus quædam divina voluptas,
Percipit, atque horror, quod sic natura tua vi
Tam manifesta patet ex omni parte retecta.—*Lucretius*, iii., 28–30.

the abode of man. Nor must we overlook the probability that in tracing the hand of the Divine Artisan from our globe's earliest epoch down to the present time, intelligences far superior to that of man may find subjects of absorbing thought and of adoring wonder; to whom also the apparent anomalies in nature's works that perplex our minds arrange themselves into systems of perfect symmetry, order, and beauty.

But the clearest light shed upon the dark questions of nature is that of revelation; which teaches that man is in a fallen state, estranged from his Maker, whose benevolent regard is in consequence mingled with judicial displeasure. Accordingly we find that mercy and judgment are blended in the created system in which we have our part. Beneficent design appears the prevailing characteristic; but its lines are everywhere checkered and blurred by evils of every degree, and sickness, pain, and bitter disappointment, resulting not always from the fault of the sufferer, but issuing directly from the conditions and necessities by which his life is invested, are portions of the universal lot. From the same source, however, we learn that the present world was never designed as the home of man, but merely as a place of probationary sojourn, where his appointed duty is to prepare for a higher state of being. If, therefore, the earth is full of blemishes and abortions, if evil abounds in all its departments, diffusing pain, want, and death throughout animated nature, and blight and mildew through the vegetable kingdom, we must remember that the high moral destiny to which man is appointed requires that his heart should not be detained and engrossed by an earthly paradise.

We would also indicate another dark plan in nature which is illuminated by revelation. The power and wisdom of the Supreme Being are seen exhibited on a stupendous scale in the works of creation, but his benevolence and his moral character are far less clearly displayed. We do not now refer to such seeming anomalies as have in all ages furnished themes of atheistical descant; but from the nature of the case we think any indications of those moral attributes which the work of an infinite Creator can ever present must, as a demon-

stration, be inconclusive. Let us consider this point more closely.

Contrivances for beneficial ends are with us the result of toil and care, and when executed by man solely for the benefit of his fellows, we regard them as indicating a high order of that benevolence which incurs personal sacrifice for the sake of others. This instinctive judgment is by association transferred to the works of creation; these, replete with admirable designs for beneficial ends, and, in the accurate finish of the different parts seeming to require, not only consummate skill, but diligence and care, deeply impress the sentiment of the Creator's benevolent regard for the works of his hands, and especially for man, whose elaborate structure, combined with the extent to which other organisms are made subservient to his wants, seems so clearly to evince the divine consideration for his welfare. If, moreover, the powers of nature, beneficial in general, are often productive of evil, his conscience may from this enforce his moral responsibility, with the conviction of ill-desert, which mingles punishment with the blessings bestowed; especially since observation teaches that vice and crime are distinguished from virtue and integrity by a large allotment of pain, want, and shame. In this way, through associations so intimately penetrating his mind as almost to form a part of its substance, he receives intimations of the benevolence and moral purity of the Divine Being. Still these principles whenever existing must, if intelligible to us, be willing to incur self-sacrifice in attaining their respective ends; if they refuse, we regard them as spurious; and if the opportunity is wanting, the proof of character is defective. But the beneficence of the Almighty exhibited in creation involves no labor, no diminution of resources, no interruption of other pursuits, in short no apparent *sacrifice* of any kind, and consequently can offer no absolute demonstration of benevolent feeling in any sense in which we can appreciate its value. Similar remarks are applicable to the divine holiness, of which it seems essentially impossible that the works of nature should supply a perfect demonstration, because they afford no opportunity of personal sacrifice for the sake of principle. The proof of these attributes, therefore, which suffices for the

extinction of all scepticism, is not to be found in visible creation; and whoever attempts to supply the deficiency by metaphysical reasoning will be apt, we suspect, to wander in mazes of doubt and error, when the moral instinct, the safest guide in such a search, grows faint and dubious, until perhaps its voice ceases to be heard. But when the divinity becomes incarnate, bears to the full the evils of our immortal lot, and submits to ignominy, pain, and death in expiation of human guilt, we have the required demonstration in a form which renders the justice, holiness, and benevolence of God no longer a vague poetic sentiment, but a truth of vital importance, establishing with him relations of infinite consequence, and supplying the most urgent and animating motives to the conduct which he prescribes. Then, too, the hard decree that mingles so much pain and sorrow in our earthly lot is seen to be a merciful severity, that the hope of promise of this life may not be suffered to veil our interest in the life to come. Thus the works of creation cease to be the obscure and ambiguous oracles they seemed before, but become intelligible types and symbols which in their own mystic characters represent heavenly truth, and so reflect back on revelation a portion of the light received from above.

It is dangerous, as Bacon long since remarked, to seek the truths of revelation in the realms of philosophy, which he compared to seeking the living among the dead:* for since in such speculations the mind is apt to accept fancies for realities, and presumptions for proofs, the tendency is to perpetuate error by a sort of consecration to religion, and to rest theological tenets on postulates which, when examined, are discovered to be false. A creed founded on unsound arguments, though in itself true, has a precarious existence; for if the fallacy is detected the faith may suffer shipwreck, and sink to rise no more, before it finds a firmer support. On the other hand revelation, when its true meaning is cautiously determined, may shed its light on departments of reason in which, if we may infer the future from the past, absolute certainty must otherwise be for ever unattainable. As philoso-

* *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, lib. ix., cap. 1, § 3.

phy grows more inquisitive, and with more daring scepticism tries in its crucible opinions once held axiomatic, it is possible the creed of the Christian may be recognized by the soundest thinkers, as offering the firmest support to fundamental truths which reason is incompetent to demonstrate, and therefore as being not only the sole basis of religious hope, but also an intellectual necessity. The human spirit's possible existence apart from the body, its immateriality and immortality are questions in philosophy as well as in divinity which reason alone has appeared quite unable to solve. Then there are men who bring into doubt the reality of the external world, and even the actual substantive existence of their own mind. Perhaps no one will ever be convinced by such arguments; but the agitation of self-evident or axiomatic propositions may infuse into some minds a vague scepticism as to the certainty of any possible subject of knowledge, and thus cause a degree of recklessness in regard to truths of the most momentous import. But if Christianity is sufficiently proved, the reality of our own existence, of time and space, of the external world, of other human beings besides ourselves, of our relations and duties toward them, and of the eternal distinction of right and wrong become established and unquestionable truth; and perhaps on this ground alone can some inquiring and metaphysical spirits rest in perfect conviction. Happily the evidence for our religion is such as to deprive every hostile hypothesis of plausibility. There are indeed difficulties remaining which may in some instances never be removed; but still the vast preponderance of proof seems sufficient to dispel all rational doubt as to the essential truth of the system. Yet if corroboration were needed, one circumstance would to us afford it; though upon the point we would speak with reverence and caution, avoiding all dogmatism, and presenting merely the view which has struck our own mind. It is a principle of law that what is said of a man in his presence, if he expresses no dissent, but leaves others to act on the presumption of its truth, will in many cases charge him with a responsibility; a rule which is founded in reason and equity. On a principle somewhat similar, it might be difficult, we apprehend, to make it appear that the Deity had maintained perfect

good faith, if he had suffered a false religion to be promulgated with such an array of evidence as confirms the pretensions of Christianity. The case is quite different from that of mere historical or scientific inquiry, in which men might be fully convinced on the strongest probable evidence of what was in reality false, without disparagement of the Divine sincerity. There is nothing in such cases that in any aspect engages the attributes of the Most High for the discovery of the truth. But when a revelation comes professedly from him, commanding under promises and threats, which Omnipotence alone can redeem, a course of conduct involving potentially the sacrifice of the dearest interests of life, and even life itself, then, if that religion were false, and he had yet allowed such credentials to attest it as suffice to produce a rational belief in minds formed as he has made ours, we do not clearly see how our great Sovereign could be exculpated from a charge which we must not venture to name.

We have expressed the hope that many metaphysical minds might, as to some important truths, find refuge from scepticism in the certainty of religious belief. It might be objected, however, that the fundamental principles of knowledge must be settled affirmatively before the evidences of religion can be examined; that if a man doubts of time and space, his own continuing existence, or any other truth so primordial, he is in no condition to begin his investigation of a subject resting on an external proof. So indeed it would be if he were fixed in absolute disbelief, but not if only a sceptic; and, in regard to such questions, we suspect the mind can never advance beyond that twilight region into utter darkness. If, however, he merely doubts, there may be a like indecision as to the truth of Christianity; in which case, considering its transcendant importance, the most momentous question of fact that can possibly engage the human mind, he will, if quite sincere, be led to earnest inquiry. Proceeding from his own starting-point, with all principles unfixed and floating like shapeless phantoms around him, he might, indeed, anticipate only deeper and more bewildering doubt as the result, if it were not for the peculiar definitive test proposed by the religion which claims his attention. The Saviour declares that whoever will do the

will of God (or perhaps "is willing," ζέλῃ) shall know whether the doctrine is true; * and similar engagements of the Divine veracity are made in other places. Here then is a challenge to the sceptic, and it may be remarked, that a religion which dares to give such a pledge, offers in its calm self-confidence a presumption of its truth. If, therefore, he undertakes the examination, with the honest purpose required, and conscientiously maintains it, then (unless we misread the text), either the religion is false or the inquirer must be led to recognize it as divine. Whatever his position, and however impenetrable the clouds that invest him, he has in this promise a principle which, if the Gospel is false, must detect the imposition, and if true, will be his guiding star through the night of darkness and error.

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## ART. VI.—*Adjourned Meetings of the General Assemblies at Pittsburg.*

ACCORDING to adjournment, at the close of their respective meetings in New York last spring, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, O. S., assembled in the First Presbyterian Church, and that of the New School in the Third Presbyterian Church, in Pittsburg, Pa., November 10, 1869, at 11 A. M.

The great object of these meetings, it is hardly necessary to say, was to receive duly attested reports of the votes of the Presbyteries on the overture sent down to them touching re-union, and if they found it sanctioned by two-thirds of the Presbyteries of each body, to declare the same to be of "binding force." Thus the re-union would be consummated, and the two churches become one body organically, in fact and in form.

Some items of unfinished business, laid over to this meeting,

* John vii. 17.

comprised principally of the reports of committees appointed *ad interim*, required first to be disposed of in each body. In the New School Assembly this consisted chiefly of a report on amusements by a committee, of which the Rev. Herrick Johnson was chairman, which is judicious and discriminating. It however prescribes little to relieve the practical difficulties of the subject, beyond what may be found in an elevated tone of piety. They also uttered a strong protest against the present tendency in our State and municipal governments to appropriate the public moneys to the support of Papal schools, and exclude the Bible from all. They likewise took decided action in favor of having manses provided in all congregations. They further adopted some measures respecting their relations to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, rendered necessary by the re-union, to which we may briefly recur hereafter. Their other work, outside of re-union, was mostly formal or devotional.

Our own Assembly had two reports from committees *ad interim* of the gravest importance—we refer to those on the Chicago and Danville seminaries. The conflicts among the friends of these seminaries have been so earnest, protracted, and, in some cases, embittered, that it was feared by many that the measures and discussions necessary to their pacification at Pittsburg, would greatly mar, if not delay, the consummation of re-union. Thanks to the thorough, patient, and wise labors of the respective committees sent to examine and report upon the difficulties of these institutions, such fears proved groundless. Owing to the patient and judicious labors of the respective committees, the troubles had already been composed on such a basis as commanded universal assent, and left nothing to be done by the Assembly but to accept and adopt the reports of the committees without debate. This was accomplished during the first day of the session. The substance of the settlement by compromise at Chicago was flashed through the country by telegraph a few days before the meeting of the Assembly, and sent a thrill of joy through the whole church. It is contained in the following extract from the report of the committees, of which Senator Drake was chairman:—

"After having heard all the evidence in the case, the committee determined it to be their duty to make an effort to secure an amicable adjustment of the difficulty. They therefore appointed two of their number (Drs. Musgrave and Backus), to undertake this delicate duty. The effort, we are happy to say, proved successful by the great mercy of our Lord; and the following are the terms of this adjustment, accepted by all the parties, the original copy of which, signed by a representative of each party in the presence and with the concurrence of all, is herewith submitted to the Assembly:—

"The parties to the controversy in regard to the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the Northwest, have agreed to this amicable adjustment, viz.: I. That by-gones shall be by-gones. No further controversy respecting past issues to be indulged in, and all shall cordially unite in efforts to promote the prosperity of the institution in the field of usefulness now about to widen so greatly before it. II. That, on the one hand, Dr. Lord shall retain the chair of Theology, to which he has been assigned by the General Assembly; and that, on the other hand, the General Assembly will order the release of Mr. McCormick from the fourth instalment of his bond, and that the instalments of the endowment already paid shall be regarded as a fulfilment of his entire obligations. III. That the three trustees last elected shall resign, and their places shall be supplied by others not unacceptable to either party. IV. That hereafter, all the friends and patrons of the seminary shall have a proper share in the management of the institution; and that, as far as practicable, all the Synods particularly concerned shall be duly represented; it being understood that those friends of the seminary, who have not contributed to its endowment, shall make a prompt and earnest effort to raise for it the sum of at least twenty-five thousand dollars ($25,000).

"Signed on behalf of the parties we respectively represent, on this third day of November, A. D. 1869.

"(Signed), D. C. MARQUIS,
"(Signed), H. F. SPAFFORD."

We should be glad, if we had space, to copy the entire report. The main feature of it is the argument which the release of Mr. McCormick from the legal obligation of his bond to pay the last $25,000 of his munificent subscription of $100,000 to endow the seminary, after having already paid $75,000. The argument is simply this, that Mr. McCormick stipulated to pay it in view of a mutual understanding between him and the Assembly which founded the seminary, that its professors should not agitate the subject of slavery. In the altered state of the country since that time, the Assembly cannot and will not impose such conditions on its professors. They cannot therefore fulfil their part of the understanding with Mr. McCormick. They cannot, of course, in Christian honor, however they might in law, compel him to

fulfil his part of the contract, if he chooses to decline payment; for it is a first principle of ethics that promises are binding in the sense, and only in the sense, in which the promisor believed the promisee to understand them, at the time of making them. It is a matter of unspeakable rejoicing that this obstinate and bitter strife has been composed. It would have been sad to carry such a root of bitterness into the re-united church.

The committee on the Danville Seminary, having the Hon. Stanley Matthews for its chairman, was no less successful in its labors. They were deeply impressed with the importance of the seminary, and of its continuance on the soil of Kentucky; they also found that the want of harmony in the faculty made its reorganization very necessary. The professors nobly relieved the Assembly of all embarrassment by placing their resignations in the hands of the committee. The Assembly accordingly declared their chairs vacant, and ordered an election to fill these vacancies. It wisely discontinued the system of summer sessions recently tried in that institution. It ordered that no professor in the seminary should be either a trustee or director. The following persons were elected to the several vacant chairs: Dr. E. P. Humphrey, Didactic and Polemic Theology; Dr. Stephen Yerkes, Biblical Literature and Exegetical Theology; Dr. N. West, Biblical and Ecclesiastical History; Dr. L. J. Halsey, Church Government and Pastoral Theology.

The following gentlemen were nominated and elected Directors of the Presbyterian Seminary of the Northwest, in place of those whose terms expired last spring: Ministers—J. M. Buchanan, D. D.; Robert Patterson, D. D.; J. D. Mason; M. C. Anderson; Robert Beer. Ruling Elders—Jesse L. Williams; Charles A. Spring; J. G. Grier; S. N. Moore; Chas. E. Vanderburg.

And the following to fill vacancies in the Board of Trustees of the General Assembly: Rev. George Hale, D.D.; Rev. D. A. Cunningham; Hon. J. K. Findlay; Archibald McIntyre; James T. Young; Robert Cornelius; H. Lenox Hodge, M. D.

ACTION LOOKING TO CLOSER UNION WITH OTHER PRESBYTERIAN AND CALVINISTIC BODIES.

Both Assemblies upon hearing the reports of Dr. Fisher and Dr. Musgrave, touching the causes of failure to obtain another meeting of the Joint Committee of New and Old School, and United Presbyterians, in order to negotiate an organic union between the three bodies, adopted the following resolutions:—

"*Resolved*, That, rejoicing in the immediate re-union of the two Presbyterian bodies, so long separated, we would gladly hail a Pan-Presbyterian Union, embracing all branches of the Presbyterian family, holding to the same confession of faith and form of government.

"*Resolved*, That until such desirable union shall be accomplished, we will gladly welcome to our church connection all congregations, pastors, and members who embrace the doctrines of the confession.

"*Resolved*, That all uniting with us may freely enjoy the privilege of using such songs of praise to Almighty God as their conscience may dictate; as, indeed, is already allowed to, and variously enjoyed in, and by the several congregations now in our communion."

It having become manifest, however, that the second and third of these resolutions were injuriously misconstrued, they were afterward reconsidered, and wisely stricken out, in both bodies.

Upon a memorial from the Synod of St. Paul asking our Assembly to send delegates to the Assembly of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church in this country, the Rev. Mr. Roberts moved that this Assembly send two delegates—one minister and one elder—to the next General Assembly of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church.

The motion was adopted, and the Rev. W. C. Roberts and Ruling Elder Mahlon Mulford were appointed said delegates.

HEIDELBERG CATECHISM.

Rev. Dr. Knox—As this is a time of union, I ask leave to present the following paper:—

"*Whereas*, The Heidelberg Catechism unquestionably states and defends the doctrines of God's word, held by our own in common with the other reformed churches, and inasmuch as the Reformed (late Dutch) Church has, by an act of its General Synod, formally placed the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly by the side of this, its own standard, allowing its churches to make use of either one at their option; therefore

"*Resolved*, That this Assembly is of opinion that if any churches desire to employ the Heidelberg Catechism in the instruction of their children, such usage may be permitted."

Upon this, a committee of five was appointed to report to the next General Assembly, consisting of Messrs. Plumley, Rodgers, Knox, ministers, and L. J. Fox and A. B. Belknap, ruling elders.

An extended and elaborate protest was presented from the Board of Publication against the practice of making drafts on their treasury to defray expenses foreign to the purposes of the Board, and of its endowments—particular reference being had to the order of the Assembly last spring, that it advance $5,000 to discharge the expenses of the church litigation in Kentucky, on which it reported that $2,000 had already been paid. We wish we had room to place this able and conclusive document entire upon our pages. A motion to lay it upon the table failed by a large majority. It was referred to a committee consisting of Dr. A. G. Hall, Dr. Cyrus Dickson, and Hon. J. T. Nixon.

The chairman of the committee, Dr. Hall, presented the following report, which *was adopted.*

"The committee to which was referred the memorial of the Board of Publication, touching the order of the General Assembly in May last, to the said Board, to pay the sum of $5,000 to the committee, of which Dr. Humphrey is Chairman, appointed by the Assembly to counsel and co-operate with parties to a suit at law, involving the rights of property of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, respectfully report:—

"1. That the memorial be admitted to record by this Assembly.

"2. That the order of the Assembly above recited shall not be hereafter regarded as a precedent for any appropriation of the funds of said Board, aside from the legitimate objects of their creation."

We hope that in such exigencies hereafter the liberality of the church will be found equal to its necessities, without diverting the resources of any of our Boards from their appropriate ends. Although the proposition had been made to defray the expenses of the committees at Danville and Chicago from the funds of the same Board, it was happily abandoned, and they were ordered to be paid from the treasuries of the respective seminaries on account of which they were incurred.

CONSUMMATION OF RE-UNION.

Early on the first day of the session both Assemblies referred all matters concerning re-union to the joint committee who arranged the plan of union last sent down to, and approved by, the Presbyteries. The stated clerk of the Old School Assembly, Rev. A. T. McGill, D. D., reported that,—

"The Presbyteries in connection with this Assembly have reported, in writing, on the overture of re-union, as ordered in the Brick Church, at New York, except the following ten, viz.:—Austin, Corisco, Knox, Knoxville, Maury, Ogdensburg, Shantung, Siam, Stockton, and Western Africa.

"The stated clerk of the Santa Fé Presbytery has reported by letter that it is impossible for this Presbytery to have a meeting in present circumstances. The Presbyteries of Allahabad and Canton, being unable to meet within the time specified, have sent circulars, signed by a majority of each, to indicate the will of the Presbytery in favor of the re-union as now proposed; but these are not counted in declaring the result. Another Presbytery, Lahore, formed by the Synod of Northern India, in December last, but not regularly reported, as yet, by any officer of that Synod, has sent its answer to this overture in written form, and this has been counted; on the presumption that the Assembly will recognize, at this meeting, the existence of that Presbytery on our roll.

"We have thus *one hundred and forty-four Presbyteries.* One hundred and twenty-eight of these have answered the overture sent down affirmatively in writing. Three—Hudson, Rio de Janeiro, and West Lexington—have answered in the negative. Fifty-eight have been unanimous in the vote. Not including Presbyteries in which the divided vote is not specified in the answers, and those in which the want of unanimity is expressed only by a *non liquet* and "excused from voting," there may be counted two hundred and forty-five negative votes detailed in these returns, and distributed among sixty Presbyteries, and in about equal proportion of ministers and ruling elders. The Presbytery of Nassau has reported a formal protest along with the detail of negative votes."

The stated clerk of the New School Assembly reported that,

"The number of Presbyteries connected with this General Assembly is one hundred and thirteen. Official responses have been received from every one of them. They have *all answered the overture in the affirmative.* In each of the Presbyteries of Albany, Millsboro, and the District of Columbia, a single negative vote was cast. In each of the remaining one hundred and ten Presbyteries, the vote was *unanimous.* Respectfully submitted.

"EDWIN F. HATFIELD, Stated Clerk.

"PITTSBURG, November 10, 1869,"

REPORT FROM RE-UNION COMMITTEE.

Elder Henry Day, Secretary of the Joint Committee of Conference on Re-union, submitted the following report from the Committee:—

The Joint Committee of Conference on Re-union met on the 10th of November, 1869, in the lecture room of the First Presbyterian Church.

The following resolutions and plans of procedure for the consummation of the re-union of the churches, were adopted, and recommended as proper to be passed by the respective Assemblies:—

1. That each Assembly should declare the vote of the Presbyteries in the following language:—

"This Assembly having received and examined the statements of the several Presbyteries on the basis of re-union of the two bodies now claiming the name and rights of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, which basis is in the words following: —

"'The re-union shall be effected on the doctrinal and ecclesiastical basis of our common standards. The Scriptures of the Old and New Testament shall be acknowledged to be the inspired word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice. The Confession of Faith shall continue to be sincerely received and adopted, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures, and the government and discipline of the Presbyterian Church in the United States shall be approved as containing the principles and rules of our polity;'

"Do hereby find and declare that the said basis of re-union has been approved by more than two-thirds of the Presbyteries connected with this branch of the church.

"And, whereas, the other branch of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, now sitting in the Third Presbyterian Church, in the city of Pittsburg, has reported to this Assembly that said basis has been approved by more than two-thirds of the Presbyteries connected with that branch of the church; now, therefore, we do solemnly declare that said basis of re-union is of binding force."

2. That this committee do recommend that a special committee of five from each branch of the church shall be appointed to take into consideration the affairs of each of the Boards and Committees of both branches of the church to recommend to the Assembly of the United Church, next to be held, what changes are required in said boards and committees.

3. That each Assembly also pass the following:—

"*Whereas*, It is apparent, from the size of the two Assemblies, that some changes must be made in the present method of representation; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That each of the Assemblies of 1869 do appoint a committee of five, to constitute a joint committee of ten, whose duty it shall be to prepare and propose to the General Assembly of the United Church, a proper adjustment of the boundaries of the Presbyteries and Synods, and the ratio of representation, and any amendments of the constitution which they may think necessary, to secure efficiency and harmony in the administration of the church so greatly enlarged and so rapidly extending."

4. That the Assemblies do meet at nine o'clock on Friday morning next, and that the vote of the Presbyteries be declared in each Assembly at ten o'clock, and that each Assembly be then dissolved in the usual manner prescribed by the form of government. That each Assembly do immediately repair to the Third Presbyterian Church, there to hold a joint meeting for prayer and praise, and that a joint communion service be held on the same day at three o'clock in the

afternoon. That all business before each Assembly be concluded on this (Thursday) evening, and no new business taken up. That a committee of arrangements, of two from each church be appointed to decide upon the form, manner, and place of our public meeting, and that a statement on the subject of raising funds for the use of the church be also prepared for said meeting by said Committee of Arrangements—the Rev. Samuel W. Fisher, D. D., Rev. A. G. Hall, D. D., Mr. Robert Carter, and the Hon. William E. Dodge to be said committee. That the first meeting of the Assembly of the United Church be held in the First Presbyterian Church in the city of Philadelphia on the third Thursday of May, 1870.

That a committee of five from each branch of the church be appointed to take into consideration the subject of raising funds for the use of the United Church, and the best methods of doing the same, and the objects to which the same should be directed; and to report at the next General Assembly.

That a joint meeting on the subject of Home Missions be held this evening at the First Church, and to-morrow evening in the Third Church, on Foreign Missions, at half-past seven o'clock.

The report was unanimously adopted, and the following committees, called for by it, were subsequently appointed:

*On Reconstruction*—Rev. George W. Musgrave, D. D., Rev. C. C. Beatty, D. D., Rev. Cyrus Dickson, D. D., and *Ruling Elders* Henry Day and W. M. Francis.

*On Board of Foreign Missions*—Rev. J. C. Lowrie, D. D., Rev. W. M. Paxton, D. D., Rev. S. F. Scovel, D. D., and *Ruling Elders* Judge J. B. Skinner and Judge Martin Ryerson.

*On Board of Domestic Missions*—Rev. G. W. Musgrave, D. D., Rev. D. A. Cunningham, Rev. D. McKinney, D. D., Rev. J. Trumbull Backus, D. D., and *Ruling Elder* H. D. Gregory.

*On Board of Education*—Rev. Wm. Speer, D. D., Rev. George Hill, D. D., Rev. S. J. Niccolls, D. D., Rev. S. C. Logan, and *Ruling Elder* R. S. Kennedy.

*On Board of Publication*—Rev. W. E. Schenck, D. D., Rev. E. R. Craven, D. D., Rev. W. P. Breed, D. D., and *Ruling Elders* George Junkin and J. T. Nixon.

*On Disabled Ministers' Fund*—Rev. George Hale, D. D., Rev. Alexander Reed, D. D., Rev. T. H. Skinner, Jr., D. D., and *Ruling Elders* Robert Carter and A. B. Belknap.

*On Church Extension*—Rev. H. R. Wilson, D. D., Rev. O. A. Hills, Rev. A. A. E. Taylor, and *Ruling Elders* J. C. Haven and Jesse L. Williams.

*On Freedmen's Committee*—Rev. A. C. McClelland, Rev.

E. C. Swift, Rev. A. McLean, and *Ruling Elders* John McArthur and J. E. Brown.

*On Raising Funds, etc.*—Rev. John Hall, D. D., Rev. C. K. Imbrie, D. D., and *Ruling Elders* W. S. Gilman, Sr., Robert McKnight, and Hovey K. Clarke.

The same report was likewise unanimously adopted in the New School Assembly, and the following members of the various Committees called for by it were appointed by that body.

*Committee on Reconstruction of Synods and Presbyteries and Change of Constitution*—Revs. Messrs. Fisher, Patterson, and Hatfield, and *Elders* Wing and Suttle.

*Committee on Church Work and Progress*—Hon. Wm. E. Dodge, Hon. Wm. Strong, and Revs. Drs. Stearns, Goodrich, and Hawley.

*Committee on Home Missions*—Drs. Adams and Kendall, Mitchell, H. W. Williams, LL. D., and Mr. Farrand.

*Committee on Church Erection*—Revs. George W. Lane, Ellingwood, and Taylor, and O. H. Lee and Samuel T. Bodine.

*Foreign Missions*—Dr. Nelson, Dr. Booth, Rev. F. A. Noble, and *Elders* Allison and Scarritt.

*Education*—Drs. James P. Wilson, John G. Atterbury, E. D. Morris, and *Elders* A. W. Walden and T. P. Hardy.

*On Publication*—Drs. Humphrey, J. G. Butler, Dulles, and *Elders* Brown and Knight.

*On Freedmen*—Drs. Hopkins, Hatfield, H. Johnson, and *Elders* Wm. Thaw and J. W. Edwards.

All other business having been concluded, the Assemblies met, in conformity to the plan proposed by the Committee of Arrangements, on Friday morning, Nov. 12th, at 9 A. M. Committees were sent from each body to the other, to announce from each to each, the votes of the Presbyteries on the Re-union overture, and its full ratification in each body. Then, in each Assembly, the following resolution was adopted by a unanimous and rising vote :—

"*Whereas*, This Assembly, having received and examined the statement of the votes of the several Presbyteries on the basis of the Re-union of the two branches now claiming the name and the rights of the Presbyterian Church in

the United States of America, which basis is in the words following:—'The Union shall be effected on the doctrinal and ecclesiastical basis of our common standards; the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments shall be acknowledged to be the inspired word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice; the Confession of Faith shall continue to be sincerely received and adopted, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures; and the government and discipline of the Presbyterian Church in the United States shall be approved, as containing the principles and rules of our polity'—does hereby find and declare that said basis of union has been approved by more than two-thirds of the Presbyteries connected with this branch of the church.

"*And whereas*, The other branch of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, now sitting in the Third Presbyterian Church in the city of Pittsburg, has reported to this Assembly that said basis has been approved by more than two-thirds of the Presbyteries connected with that branch of the church;

"NOW, THEREFORE, WE DO SOLEMNLY DECLARE THAT SAID BASIS OF RE-UNION IS OF BINDING FORCE."

From this moment the two bodies became organically ONE—constituting the one Presbyterian Church of the United States of America. Each Assembly was dissolved in the usual form, and another required to be chosen in like manner, to meet in the First Presbyterian Church in the city of Philadelphia, on the third Thursday of May, 1870, at 11 A. M.

After close examination, the Committee of Arrangements found the Third Presbyterian Church the most commodious room in the city for the union meeting of prayer and praise, solemn gratulation, and jubilation, which it was agreed should immediately follow the consummation of the Re-union. Accordingly, it was arranged that the New School Assembly should move in procession, two by two, headed by their officers, and their portion of the Re-union Committee, to the First Church, and meet the other Assembly, marshalled and headed in like manner. Then the Moderators, followed by the other officers, the Re-union Committee, and the members, locked arm in arm, each member of one Assembly with one of the other. And so the two Assemblies, now, we trust, happily united, marched, arm in arm, and two by two, to the union meeting in the Third Church. The streets, balconies, and windows along the line of march were filled with thousands of deeply interested spectators, handkerchiefs were waved from hundreds of hands, prolonged and hearty cheers rent the air.

The streets were thronged all along the route of procession,

and at the Third Church an immense assemblage had collected, in anticipation of the opening of the audience room.

When the head of the procession approached the church, the doors were thrown open, and the combined assemblies entered the centre aisle.

The gallery had already been filled to overflowing, and a goodly number of vocalists occupied places about the organ. As the procession entered, the audience rose and sang, to the tune, "Lenox," the stanzas beginning:—

"Blow ye the trumpet, blow!
The gladly solemn sound
Let all the nations know,
To earth's remotest bound," etc.

The officers of the respective Assemblies, and as many of the commissioners as could find room, were then invited to seats on the platform, which was soon filled to its utmost capacity.

The pressure outside the church was immense, and in a few minutes—we might almost limit it to seconds—the spacious audience chamber, including the aisles, was literally packed with men and women. Thousands more would fain have entered, but that was impossible.

The surroundings were crowded, not only with the vast Presbyterian and other population of Pittsburg and vicinity, but with thousands of ministers and people that had come in from all parts of the land to witness the august scene—a scene to be witnessed but once in a life-time—a scene of such moral sublimity as occurs but once, if once, in a century. It was truly good to be there; it was a very Mount of Transfiguration. The Moderators shook hands, in token of the union now accomplished between the two bodies over which they presided. Addresses, highly pertinent and eloquent, were made by the two Moderators, Doctors Musgrave, Adams, Fisher, John Hall, Judge Strong, William E. Dodge, Henry Day, and (in answer to a call from the audience) George H. Stuart, Esq., with appropriate prayers by Doctors Beattie, Hatfield, and Robert Carter, Esq. The chief scope and end of all their addresses, and of the whole service, was that the reunion ought to be signalized by a great advance in prayer, effort, and lib-

erality in all the departments of Presbyterian evangelization, and that, if it ended in mere exultation and glorification, without such advance, it would be a disgrace and calamity rather than a blessing. It was also urged that there ought to be an immediate and special contribution, of the nature of a thank-offering for so great a boon, which should at once replenish and enlarge the resources of the various institutions and agencies of the church, now weakened by the scantiness or endangered by the exhaustion of their funds; one that should at once lift theological seminaries, colleges, missionary boards, the education and support of ministers, every evangelic agency, to a higher grade of strength and efficiency. Dr. Fisher, from the committee on this subject, offered the following resolution to the meeting:—

"*Resolved*, By the ministers, elders, and members of the church here assembled, as in the presence and behalf of the entire body of the disciples connected with us in this land, and those beloved missionaries on foreign shores, now meditating our action with tender and prayerful interest, that it is incumbent on the Presbyterian Church, in the United States of America, one in organization, one in faith, one in effort, to make a special offering to the treasury of our Lord of one million of dollars; and we pledge ourselves, first of all, to seek, in our daily petitions, the blessing of God to make this resolution effectual; and, second, that we will, with untiring perseverance and personal effort, endeavor to animate the whole church with the like purpose, and to secure the accomplishment of this great work before the third Tuesday of May, 1871.

"*Resolved*, That this preamble and resolutions be signed by the Moderators and Clerks of the Assemblies of 1869, by the members of the late Joint Committee on Union, (and all the members of the two Assemblies,) printed by the Stated Clerks, and sent to every pastor of our church.

This was adopted, after being amended by substituting $5,000,000. Let not the church come short of this high mark —she has wealth enough to reach it. May her zeal be in proportion, and may God speed the effort!

There was a united celebration of the Lord's Supper, in the First Church, in the afternoon, and a large meeting in behalf of Foreign Missions, in the Third Church, in the evening, as there had been one in behalf of Home Missions, in the First Church, on the previous evening. We were glad to hear Dr. Kendall, the efficient New School secretary for Home Missions, declare that their Board had fixed $800, as the minimum salary of the missionaries; that they had sought and obtained

young ministers for the pioneer work of the West, from both Old and New School seminaries; and had never yet wanted funds to pay the above sum to all in their service. We hope the minimum standard in the United Church will never be less than this, and that herein we shall provoke and be abundantly provoked to love and good works.

As discussions have been started, indicating a disposition in some quarters to have the United Church substitute the agency of a voluntary society for that of the Presbyterian Board in the conduct of Foreign Missions, we are happy to entertain and declare the conviction that this will meet little support from our brethren lately known as New School. The following action by their Assembly shows that, while they justly refuse any sudden withdrawal of their contributions from the American Board until arrangements shall be adjusted to their new relations, they intend to be true to the understanding had on this subject in the "concurrent declarations":—

"The Standing Committee on Foreign Missions would report upon the paper emanating from the Prudential Committee of the Assembly, which was referred to them, as follows: That, in view of the fact that appropriations of the American Board to the support of its missions have been made in advance for the year ending September, 1870, and it is not only a great embarrassment to the Prudential Committee, but also great injury to the cause of mission will result from a sudden contraction in the receipts of the Board, Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the Permanent Committee be requested to urge upon the churches, hitherto contributing to the American Board, that they do not withhold their contributions from it during the present fiscal year.

"*Resolved*, 2*d*, That the Permanent Committee be also directed to call the attention of our churches to article sixth of the concurrent resolutions passed by the Assembly at the May meeting, which reads as follows: 'There should be one set of committees or boards for Home and Foreign Missions, and the other religious enterprises of the church, which the churches should be encouraged to sustain, though free to cast their contributions into other channels if they desire to do so.'

"Since, 'in this resolution the Assembly has presented its matured and well-balanced judgment in regard to the future relations of our churches to the method in which the work of Foreign Missions should be carried on.'"

The *Evangelist* assures us that there will be no wavering in their body in regard to keeping this in its obvious meaning, and that, while the liberty of contributing to other organizations will not, of course, be interfered with, yet the body will be faithful to the one ecclesiastical Board of the United Church con-

templated in the concurrent resolutions ; and this, not only for the sake of good faith in the premises, but because the convictions of our brethren are in favor of church organizations to do church work, not less in the foreign than the home field.

The following overture from the Presbytery of Kansas to the New School Assembly shows that the principles advanced in this journal, once and again, in favor of providing an adequate Sustentation Fund by the whole church, for the respectable support of all its ministers, are beginning to take root in the church at large. The facts and reasonings of this document it is hard to gainsay. Dr. Chester, chairman of the Committee on Bills and Overtures, read the following report:—

OVERTURE FROM THE KANSAS PRESBYTERY.

*To the General Assembly:—*

The committee to whom was referred the subject of a Sustentation Fund to prepare an overture on it to the General Assembly, submit the following paper:

The Presbytery of Kansas has felt for years the embarrassments attending the inadequate and uncertain support of the ministry. Ministers are crippled—their energies are divided, if not distracted. Spirituality suffers—entire consecration is a figment. The great fields are not cultivated, our Lord's work is not done, Presbyterianism lags behind in the peaceful contest of denominations. Why is this? What are the facts in the case? Ministers are obliged to labor with their own hands, to supplement the scanty support furnished by the feeble Western churches, and the Presbyterian Committee on Home Missions. The promised support is not only inadequate, but it is also uncertain. The ability of the people changes from year to year. In their struggles to get homes, or to improve their condition, they often become crippled in their resources. Selfishness grows as freely as our prairie weeds, and worldliness is almost certain to abound. Denominationalism, in the absence of educational institutions controlled by our denomination, is weak, and Presbyterians are ready, in many instances, to abandon their church for a cheaper one. The aid furnished by our Committee on Home Missions is also uncertain. It is liable to be reduced from year to year, if not entirely withdrawn, and in circumstances which are oppressive to the missionary or stated supply. These are *facts*, and in connection with others we place *two* other facts. The minister is a man, and is bound by the laws of God and man to provide for himself and his own household. There is the struggle—he would give himself entirely to the ministry, but the cry for bread is in his ears, and he must hurry to the field or workshop.

The embarrassments felt by the Presbytery of Kansas are felt in some form both East and West, so that Presbytery in overturing the General Assembly on a Sustentation Fund that will do away with these difficulties, speaks for the whole church, and in sympathy, it is believed, with the felt necessities of the hour on this subject. The extravagant style of living at the East and in large cities, the restless adventure in all forms of material resources and action, the strife of corporations, the emulation of individuals, the show and display of private and public

life, the worldliness of the age, and the unwise excess of living, in numerous cases beyond available means, indispose and incapacitate the members of our churches and congregations to meet the necessary increasing expenses of living, and support adequately the ministry. They give up experienced ministers, especially if they have families, for young and inexperienced ones, who can live for moderate salaries. The church in such an unhappy state of things loses the benefit of ripe scholarship and rich experience, and is necessarily led into superficial actions and forms of life by those whose scholarship and experience are necessarily immature. Nor is this all. The ministry in many cases is demitted entirely, and good talent lost to the church and the world.

The capricious and unregulated voluntary principle, in which we have reposed for a stable and sufficient ministerial support, has failed us, in one important thing at least—*a certain support.* The fluctuating means furnished by the church have been governed by no law. Complaints have rung out on all sides, and after reiterated efforts to bring the church up to her duty, the hearts and homes of many of the ministers have been pained with the question, "What shall we eat, and what shall we drink, and wherewithal shall we be clothed?" We speak advisedly when we say that the capricious and unregulated voluntary principle is, and has been all this. If the church were wholly consecrated to God, if his revealed will were the law of giving, as well as the law of action, and the church could be made to understand that it is not the support of a certain man as a minister that is provided for in the word of God, but the ministry as a consecrated body of men, not unlike the tribe of Levi under the Old Testament dispensation, then the voluntary principle would cease to be capricious and unregulated by the express will of God, would become a stable support, and able churches would not be content to meet liberally the wants of their own ministers. They would see that every minister is furnished for his work, and amply supported in its performance. What is to be done? Is this state of things to continue, and the work of the Lord to suffer by its continuance? Is the tribe of Judah never to provide comfortably for the working tribe of Levi? The approach of the re-union of the two great Presbyterian bodies in the United States offers a good opportunity to change this unjust state of things, and inaugurate a general movement to raise a *Sustentation Fund* for the certain and adequate support of the ministry. We have the noble example of the Free Church of Scotland, so that the movement is not of the nature of an experiment, and we are in far more favorable circumstances to attempt it than the Scotch Church ever has been. The fund *can be* raised, and the *minimum* stipend of every minister can be placed at $800. What would be the consequences? The churches would be better served, the pastoral relations would be more sacred, the ministry could give undivided attention to the ministerial work, an increasing supply of good candidates could be secured, the work of the Lord in the pulpit, and in every other place and form would be urged forward with more devotion and zeal, and the homes and families of ministers would be made comfortable. The Presbytery of Kansas, thus viewing the whole subject, and believingly entertaining these views, is constrained to overture the General Assembly to take steps to secure, if possible, at the consummation of the union, the attention of the united churches to the raising of a *Sustentation Fund* for the ministry.

WM. H. SMITH,
Stated Clerk of the Presbytery of Kansas.

October 13, 1869.

ANSWER TO THE OVERTURE FROM THE PRESBYTERY OF KANSAS.

To the overture from the Presbytery of Kansas, commended by the Synod of Kansas, asking that measures be taken by this General Assembly to provide a *Sustentation Fund*, by which the salaries of our ministers may be secured and equalized, the Assembly would reply by referring to its answer given to similar overtures at its session last May, and recorded on page 262 of the minutes.

This answer is given, not at all to express opposition to this overture, which treats of a subject of vital importance to our whole church, but in view of the propriety of originating specific action upon such a momentous matter in the United Church.

Thus the re-union of the sundered Presbyterian Church is fully completed and inaugurated. What next? Shall this great body content itself with rejoicings and jubilations over this grand event? We quite agree with those who would count such an issue of the re-union of these great bodies simply a disgrace and a calamity. We trust that the energies of all, whatever may have been their hesitation or opposition at any previous stage of this movement, will now be devoted to rendering it, in every good sense, a success—a success not of pride, self-complacency, and vainglorious boasting, but a success of real inward unity, animating this external organic union, so that the one body may be inspired by one spirit; that it may be cemented and consolidated in a real, great, and glorious advance of truth, unity, and charity; in an immense growth of sound Christian evangelism, true piety, and of Presbyterian doctrine, order, polity, institutions, life, and manners. Among the periodicals now existing in the United Church, this belongs to the few planted in the original undivided church, years before the division. It then labored to build up the church, and prevent disruption, by advocating the doctrines and order of our standards against heterogeneous and divisive elements. It often incurred the censure of extremists on all sides, while approved by the great heart of the church it sought to edify on the basis of sound conservatism; and its labors have not been in vain, nor have we spent our strength for naught. The cardinal principles which we have maintained in regard to the immiscible nature of Congregational and Presbyterian polities; the conducting of church work by church agencies, and Presbyterian work by Presbyterian agencies; making the standards the only doctrinal

and ecclesiastical basis of union, leaving to the several series of courts of the church to decide what deviations from their *ipsissima verba* are not inconsistent with the essentials of the system they contain, are now accepted as the true and characteristic principles of the re-united church. And in this church again undivided, with that charity which rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth, it will endeavor to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace; to promote wholesome progress and a sound conservatism; to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, against the triple alliance of rationalism, ritualism, and materialism; to study the things that make peace, and things whereby one may edify another; and to summon to its aid the ablest contributors, new and old, from all, of whatever past or present ecclesiastical connection, who are ready to make common cause with us in maintaining and spreading true Christianity, Calvinism, and Presbyterianism, to the end that—

"SPEAKING THE TRUTH IN LOVE, WE MAY GROW UP INTO HIM IN ALL THINGS, WHO IS THE HEAD, EVEN CHRIST: FROM WHOM THE WHOLE BODY FITLY JOINED TOGETHER, AND COMPACTED BY THAT WHICH EVERY JOINT SUPPLIETH, ACCORDING TO THE EFFECTUAL WORKING IN THE MEASURE OF EVERY PART, MAKETH INCREASE OF THE BODY UNTO THE EDIFYING OF ITSELF IN LOVE."—*Eph.* iv. 15–16.

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ART. VII.—*The Life of Joseph Addison Alexander, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J.* By HENRY CARRINGTON ALEXANDER. 2 vols., cr. 8vo. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870.

THIS is one of the most skilfully executed biographies within our knowledge. It will not address itself to those interested only in secular affairs. It does not delineate the character or unfold the history of a man, whose life was spent in the sight of the world, and whose influence determined the

destiny of nations. Its subject was a theologian and a secluded man of letters. His sphere was comparatively limited; and the number of those disposed to concern themselves with his history may be small compared with the mass of our teeming, agitated population, who seldom raise their eyes from the ground on which they tread. Nevertheless, the delineation of the character and work of a great and good man of eminence and usefulness in the sphere in which he moved, is a matter of high interest to all to whom greatness and goodness are attractive.

The task of the biographer in the present case was, in some respects, easy. He had a great subject, and his materials were abundant. In other respects his task was peculiarly difficult. The character with which he had to deal was so manifold or many sided; its peculiarities were so marked; it was so different from itself at different times, that to do it full justice was no easy matter. The biographer has done his work admirably. If any man in the world knew Dr. Addison Alexander thoroughly, we thought we did. We lived in the same town with him from the time he was three years old until we saw him die. For nearly a quarter of a century we were his colleague. We were associated with him during all that time in different enterprises. Yet we acknowledge that after reading this book our conception of the man is more comprehensive, and in some respects more just than it ever was before.

The materials at the command of his biographer, although abundant, were scattered, disjointed, and fragmentary. These have all been woven together with consummate skill.

The style of the work also is excellent. It is clear, pure, and racy. There is no prolixity; no amplification,—all is rapid and vivacious. There is at times the introduction of unimportant or irrelevant details. But the movement is so rapid, the reader is neither impeded nor annoyed by these small matters.

Having expressed our opinion of the book before us, we feel inclined to lay down our pen. We have so often, on different occasions, expressed our estimate of the greatness and worth of Dr. Addison Alexander, that it seems unnecessary to say any thing more on that subject. Our readers would regard it

as a work of supererogation to attempt a synopsis of the life or sketch of the character of a man of whom they have such a biography as this. No one wants to look at a photograph when he has before him a full-length portrait from the hands of a first-rate artist.

Nevertheless, Dr. Alexander was ours; our friend; our colleague; our *decus et tutamen*. He was a Princeton man; and the *Princeton Review* cannot refrain from placing its chaplet, though withered and tear-bedewed, upon his grave. His memory is loved, reverenced, and cherished here, as it can be nowhere else.

Dr. Alexander was a truly great man, without being a prodigy. That term is commonly applied to those who seem to be endowed with some faculty denied to other men; or who possess some one mental power in an abnormal degree. It may be a talent for numbers, for language, for music, or any thing else. Dr. Alexander did not belong to that class. He was not thus one-sided. He had great power for every thing he chose to attempt. His acquisitions were determined by his tastes. He studied what was agreeable to him, and left unnoticed what did not suit his fancy. After leaving college he had a strong inclination to study law. Had he done so, there can be no rational doubt he would have become one of the greatest jurists and advocates our country has produced. Few men were ever less indebted to instruction or external educational influences. He was taught what he learned in the same sense that he was taught to walk. He needed and received as little assistance in the one case as in the other. His father, seeing his precocious and extraordinary ability, and his disposition to study, left him very much to himself. He went to the grammar school and afterward through college; but a very small part of his time or attention was given to the prescribed curriculum in those institutions. He walked the course absorbed with other things.

The three departments to which his taste and providential circumstances led him to devote his principal attention, were language, history (sacred and secular including interpretation), and general literature. It was in the first of these that his earliest, and perhaps his most extraordinary attainments were

made. Finding an Arabic grammar in his father's study he took it down, and began to study it; and, before he was fourteen years old, we are told, he had read the whole Koran through in the original. Shortly after he took up the Persian, and soon attained a familiarity with language, which he continued to cultivate as long as he lived. Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, were soon added to his acquisitions. And subsequently, Coptic, Rabinnical Hebrew, Sanscrit, and even in a measure Chinese. Most of the languages of modern Europe were early mastered: French, German, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Danish, etc., the majority of which he wrote as well as read. His biographer gives a list of twenty languages with which he was more or less familiar. In Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Arabic, he was a thorough and accomplished master. To no language, however, did he devote so much attention as his own. Its history, its authors, its resources, were all at his command. One of his great excellences was his English style. He was almost unequalled for clearness, conciseness, felicity, and force. It would be a great mistake to regard him as mere prodigy in the acquisition of languages. He was a scholarly linguist, critically acquainted with the structure, origin, and affinities of the languages which he studied.

History was for several years his department in the Theological Seminary. He was familiar with the original sources of church history as well as with the works of all the principal historians in all the modern languages. And here again as in regard to language it was the hidden spirit, the life, the philosophy, of history which was the special object of interest. He was as far as possible removed from being a mere annalist. No course of lectures ever delivered by him in the seminary was more useful, more impressive, or more instructive, than that devoted to the Old Testament history. He unfolded with such clearness the organic relations of the several parts of the old economy, as to make its unity, its import, and its relation to the Messianic period, plain to the dullest minds. It was thus, as his pupils expressed it, he glorified the Word of God; exalting and enlarging their conceptions of its import, and confirming their faith in its divine origin, to a degree unattain-

able by any process of apologetic argument. He applied the same method with equal success to the New Testament history, comprising the period covered by the Gospel and the Acts. But when he came to deal with ecclesiastical history, he found the field so extensive, the materials so exhaustless, and his time so limited, he wearied of the task, and longed to get back to the study and exposition of the Bible.

It need hardly be said that he read and re-read the classical historians of Greek and Rome, and was familiar with the whole course of European history. His memory was so retentive that no leading event, civil or military, affecting the state of Europe was unrecorded in his mind, or not ready at any time for appropriate use.

In his study of languages, as we have said, it was not merely the vocabulary that interested him but their structure and relations, and still more their literature. His main object seemed to be to gain access to the productions of the great minds in all ages of the world. He became a first-rate Greek and Latin scholar, not so much for the sake of understanding the languages of those leading nations of antiquity, as for appreciating and enjoying the works of their poets, orators, and historians. The same remark is applicable to the other languages, with which he became familiar. He delighted in reading the Persian poets, and the classic works of all the nations of modern Europe, at least of England, Germany, France, Italy, and Spain. He was indeed an omnivorous reader. On one occasion when walking the streets of Paris with a young friend, he went up to one of those long tables of books which abound on the quays, and moving along, said, "read that," "read that," "read that," and so on almost to the end. It was difficult to find any thing in the heterogeneous collection which he had not read.

Although thus varied in his acquirements, there were departments of which he was of choice comparatively ignorant. This, as was evident to all who knew him, and plain from the powers which he displayed, did not arise from a want of capacity, but simply from a want of interest, or rather from his interest being engrossed by more congenial subjects. He paid comparatively little attention to the natural sciences;

and still less to metaphysics. On subjects connected with the last-named department, we never heard him converse. So far as we know, he never wrote upon them. On the contrary, we have heard him avow his utter distaste for them, and his purpose not to attend to them. Still more remarkable was his determination to know as little as he could on every thing relating to physiology and hygiene. He constantly violated the laws of health, because he did not know what they were. The illness which resulted fatally, commenced its ravages a year or more before his death. From having been corpulent, he became thin; instead of perspiring freely, as was his habit, for months there was not a drop of moisture on his skin. For a year his mouth had been so dry he could not moisten a postage stamp. And when surprise was expressed that these symptoms had not arrested his attention, he said, "Oh, you know I never put that and that together." Ten days or a fortnight before his death, we went into his study and found him sitting at his table with a great folio open before him and a pen in his hand. He said, "I am under the weather to-day. You know what I mean. It is not the state of the atmosphere. I feel perfectly comfortable. I can read and write; but I am utterly indisposed to move." Then slapping his breast, he said, "I am just as well as you are." These incidents are of interest, as they reveal the man. They may also teach the lesson that no one is so great or good as that he can safely remain ignorant of ordinary things, etc.

The mental gifts of Dr. Alexander were greater and more varied than his attainments. What he learned and what he accomplished were far from being the measure of his ability. The most sensible impression which he made on those who came in contact with him, was that of strength; of mental power. Whatever he did, he did with such ease, that every one felt that his ability was never taxed; that there was a reserve of unexercised strength, adequate to the production of much greater effects.

The ease with which he acquired so many languages, and his mastery over historical details, showed that his memory was very tenacious and retentive. Indeed, in this respect, he was a wonder to his colleagues. At the opening of the ses-

sion of the seminary, the new students are called up, not alphabetically, but just as they happen to be known to the professors, to record their names in the matriculation book. The next day after having heard the names thus called off, he has taken a sheet of paper, and, from memory, written them down alphabetically, giving the first, middle, and surname of each student, without hesitation and without mistake.

Not less marked was his power of analysis and of orderly or logical arrangement. This was evinced in his lectures on biblical history, in his introductions to his commentaries, especially in that on the prophecies of Isaiah, in his sermons, and in his essays and reviews. Few men equalled him in the power of argument. He was never weak, illogical, or sophistical. Every thing was clear, valid, pertinent, and exhaustive.

His imagination was brilliant and chaste. This is clearly evinced in many of his sermons, which those who heard will never forget. We specify the discourses on the text, "Not as though I had already attained or were already perfect;" "The last state of that man was worse than the first;" "Awake thou that sleepest, and Christ shall give thee life;" and, "Remember Lot's wife." The same power is evinced in his fugitive pieces of poetry, of which enough are preserved to show that he might have attained eminence as a poet had he devoted himself to that difficult vocation.

One of the most marked characteristics of Dr. Alexander as a man, was integrity. No one ever did, or ever could suspect him of any thing like disingenuousness. There was nothing of designing or indirectness in any thing he said or did. He was frank, open, and always trustworthy. He was kind and tender in his feelings, and lenient in his judgments. Although his temper was irritable, yet he never gave way to it without compunction and atonement. If betrayed into any momentary severity in the class room, the next time he officiated at prayers, there was sure to be something to indicate his regret; so that the students on leaving the oratory would often ask one of another, "What has Dr. Addy been doing now?" We never saw in him the slightest manifestation of malignity, or envy, or of vanity. He was singularly impatient

of commendation. He was of course conscious of his strength and of his superiority. But he never displayed the one for the sake of attracting attention, and never asserted the other. No one ever thought of disputing it.

One of the most marked traits of his character was his fondness for children. He always had them about him. A selected few had free access to his study. With them he would unbend himself; devise things for their amusement. He would narrate to them, sing to them, play with them, write for them. The productions of his pen designed for the amusement of children, would make a little library, and are among the most characteristic, and, in one view, among the most creditable, of his literary works. They were often executed with wonderful beauty, as to penmanship. They were in prose, in poetry, rhyme, and blank verse; filled with wit, humor, knowledge, and good sentiments. He would carry this on for years with the same set of delighted auditors. This was his relaxation.

Dr. Alexander's temperament was nervous. The effect of temperament on the social life and on the conduct, are obvious and undeniable. These effects are variable and are not under the control of the will. They, to a greater or less extent, dominate the man. Some men are constitutionally hypochondriac. Such persons are not always in a state of depression. One day they are bright and cheerful; another, they are in the depths of melancholy. And when depressed, it is impossible for them either to feel or act cheerfully. This was not the case with Dr. Alexander. He was not subject to low spirits; nor were his feelings much under the influence of the state of the weather. Nevertheless, he was very nervous. There were states in which all society was irksome to him; when he was indisposed to talk or to be talked to. These states were so frequent and so continuous as to give rise to the impression that he was a complete recluse, shunning society whenever he could. To this impression his biographer frequently refers, and endeavors to remove or counteract it by adducing the testimony of numerous witnesses from all parts of the country, that they had found him a cheerful and delightful companion. The number of such witnesses might be

increased indefinitely. There is no doubt, as none knew so well as those most intimate with him, that he could be, and very often was, full of animation and cheerfulness, overflowing in conversation, abounding in humor and wit. The other side of the picture, however, is no less true. He was often in such a state that he avoided all society. He would sometimes come into our study after his lecture day after day for weeks in succession; and then, perhaps, would not come for a month. Sometimes, when visiting him, nothing could be more cordial and courteous than his manner. At other times it was at once apparent that he wished to be alone. He would remain perfectly silent, or answer only in monosyllables. There was nothing in this to take umbrage at, any more than if one should at one time find a friend shaking with a chill, and at another burning with a fever. It was an involuntary nervous state as painful to the subject of it, as it was trying to others.

To this same peculiarity of temperament we are disposed to refer the impatience which Dr. Alexander often manifested. Some men's sensations are more acute than others. A false note in music will make some men's flesh crawl. So a false pronunciation, a blunder in recitation, a typographical mistake, would affect him much more sensibly than others whose nerves were less finely strung.

To the same cause in a great measure is to be referred his impatience of sameness. He did not like to live long in the same house; to have his library in the same room; or his books arranged in the same way; or to teach the same thing, or the same subject in the same manner. His department in the seminary was changed three times, and always at his own request. And his method of instruction was constantly varied. This temperament may have been the necessary condition of some of his excellences. It was nevertheless in other respects very unfortunate. It led him to undertake too many things; to take up and throw aside first one thing and then another, and thus bring to completion far less than with the same amount of labor he might easily have accomplished.

Having graduated in the College of New Jersey, in 1827, he devoted two years to laborious and diversified study. We do not propose to indulge in extracts from a book which we

hope will find its way to the hands of all of our readers. But as a specimen of his daily work, we select at hazard the record for Jan. 15, 1828. "Read a part of the 29th chapter of Isaiah in Hebrew; the 4th chapter of Louis XV.; the 4th chapter of the 2d section of Condillac's Essai sur les Connaissances Humaines, in French, and the 12th chapter of Don Quixote, in Spanish; then read about a hundred lines in the Clouds of Aristophanes; then read about the same number in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales; then went to the Philological Hall, to attend a meeting of the Board of Criticism of the Philological Society, and received from the president an anonymous translation of Horace's Book 1, ode 22, to criticise. Read in the Hall the 14th canto of Dante's Inferno, and finished the article on Arabian Literature in the Foreign Quarterly Review; returned home and examined the anonymous translation aforesaid, noting down some observations on the same; then read a review of Hase's Dogmatic and Gnosis in the Theologische Studien; then read the remainder of Isaiah 29th in Hebrew; then read De Sacy's Arabic Grammar; then read Genesis 22, 23, in Hebrew; then wrote a sheet of French exercises—and to bed."

Under date of Feb. 10, is found the following critique on Aristophanes and Shakespeare:—

"I have finished the famous Clouds of Aristophanes, but can scarcely say what my feelings and opinions are as I close the book. Such a combination of extremes, intellectual and moral, I have never before known. Such transitions from earth to heaven, from Parnassus to the dunghill, are to me new and startling. Shakespeare is unequal, but his inequalities are nothing to the fits and starts of Aristophanes. The English poet never dives so deep into pollution, nor rises, in point of artifical elegance, so high as the Athenian. Shakespeare's genius is obviously untutored. His excellences and his faults are perhaps equally attributable to his want of education. It is altogether probable that many of these original and most significant and poetic modes of expression which he has introduced into our language, arose entirely from his ignorance of grammar and of foreign tongues. Had he been familiar with technical distinctions and etymological analogies, his thoughts would have been distracted between *words* and *things*. The dread of committing solecisms, and the ambition to exhibit that sort of elegance which results from the formal rules of an artificial rhetoric, would have cooled his ardor. His 'muse of fire' would never have reached 'the heaven of invention,' but would have stayed its flight amidst the clouds and mists of puerile conceit. I never read any of Shakespeare's real poetry (for much of his verse is most bald prosing) without feeling, in my very soul, that no man

could write thus, whose heart was fixed on propriety of diction, as a principal or even a secondary object. He seems to have let his imagination boil, and actually to have taken the first words which bubbled up from its ebullition. Hence his strange revolt from authority in the use of ordinary words [in senses] as far removed from common practice as from etymology. And that reminds me of another circumstance. In the common blank verse of his dialogue, not only is he habitually careless, but seems not to know (in many cases) the method of constructing an harmonious verse; and perhaps his broken measure is more dramatic than one smoother would be; certainly more so than the intolerable tintinnabulum of the Théâtre Français. But let him rise into one of his grand flights, and his numbers are as musical as the 'harp of Orpheus.' I defy any man to bring forward any specimen of heroic blank verse, where the rhythm is as melodious as in some passages of Shakespeare, and the sense at the same time within sight—I mean comparably good in any degree. Milton, you say, etc. But who can read the Paradise Lost without thinking of the square and compass? Even when we admire, we admire scientifically—we applaud the arrangement of the cæsuras and pauses, and are forever thinking of iambuses and trochees and hypercatalectics, and all the hard words that Milton himself would have dealt forth in lecturing upon his own versification. Whereas, I do verily believe, that Shakespeare knew no more of Prosody, than of Animal Magnetism or Phrenology. Thomson, again, is among our finest specimens of rich and musical blank verse, but Thomson is labored too; not in Milton's way, by weight and measure, but in a way no less artificial and discernible. He is always laboring to make his lines flow with a luscious sweetness: everybody knows that he succeeds, but everybody, alas, knows how. He does it by presenting words in profusion, which are at once dulcet to the ear and exciting to the imagination. The method is the only true one, but he carries it too far. One strong proof that Shakespeare was a genius and a unique one, is that his excellence is not sustained and equal. Moonlight and candlelight shed a uniform lustre, but who ever saw or heard of a continuous flash of lightning? Our bard trifles and proses and quibbles, and whines (but always without affectation) till something (whether accident or not I cannot tell) strikes a spark into his combustible imagination, and straightway he is in a blaze. I think a good rocket is a capital illustration of his muse of fire. First we have a premonitory whiz—then a delicate but gorgeous column of brilliant scintillations, stretching away into the bosom of heaven and at last dying away in a shower of mimic stars and comets of tenfold—of transcendent brightness. What then? Why then comes darkness visible, or at best a beggarly gray twilight. But in talking thus to myself, I forgot what I am about. I began with Aristophanes, and have been raving about Shakespeare. All I have to say, however, about the former, is, that he is a perfect contrast to the Englishman. He is evidently a master of the art of versifying, but he knows how to temper the formality of systematic elegance with the charm of native poetry. Compared with the Greek tragedians, his flights of choral and lyrical inspiration appear to great advantage. More coherent and intelligible than Æschylus, more vigorous and nervous and significant than Sophocles, more natural and spirited than Euripides; he, notwithstanding, excels them all in the music of his numbers, and the Attic purity and terseness of his diction."

"February 17.—The historical style of the Arabs is very curious. It varies indeed, in different cases. Some of their histories are florid, inflated, and verbose.

Others, and, I suspect, the great majority, are hasty, confused, and crude enumerations of hetorogeneous facts. I was amused in looking over some of the historical facts in De Sacy, to observe the exquisite taste exhibited in the arrangement and enumeration of events; *e. g.*, Makriri says, speaking of Hakem, the Imaum of the Fatemists: 'He commanded that all dogs should be killed, in consequence of which a multitude were put to death. He founded a college called the House of Wisdom, to which he transferred the royal library. He was very cruel to his running footmen, and a number of them he put to death.' What a circumflective climax, *pour ainsi dire!* Dead dogs, colleges, libraries, running footmen."

These extracts may give some idea of what Dr. Alexander was as a scholar in the nineteenth year of his age.

In 1829 he became associated with Professor Patton in conducting the Edge Hill Academy, which, under their direction, became eminently successful. It was during this period that the change occurred in his personal religious experience which determined his future course for life. He was always remarkably reticent with regard to this subject. His piety was evinced in his character and conduct. Little could be learned concerning it from his own avowals or professions. For a few months, however, during this period, he kept a religious diary, the extracts from which, given by his biographer, show how thorough he was in his convictions, and what jealous watch he kept over his own heart. Under the date of January, 1830, he writes: "I have been engaged in a study new to me, and far more important than all others,—the study of the Bible, and of my own heart. I humbly trust that I am not what I was. I have still my old propensities to evil, but I have also a new will co-existing with the old, and counteracting and controlling it. My views respecting study are now changed. Intellectual enjoyment has been my idol heretofore; now my heart's desire is that I may live no longer to myself, but in Him in whom I have everlasting life. God grant that the acquisitions that I have been allowed to make under the influence of selfish motives may be turned to good account as instruments for the promotion of His glory."

"Intellectual enjoyment," he says, not the world, not fame, had been his idol. This is an indication of the exaltation of even his natural character. Henceforth, something more elevated than the pleasures of the intellect, was to be his absorbing object. It was Christ for him henceforth to live. Those

who knew him intimately, all who heard him preach or pray, saw that he was a devout worshipper of Christ; that to his teachings his mind was as submissive and docile as that of a child, that to the promotion of His truth and kingdom his whole life was devoted.

In an isolated record of a year or two later date he says:—

"June 5.—Read a considerable part of Halyburton's life with avidity and astonishment. I seemed to be reading a history of my own life. I speak within bounds when I say that up to the age of twenty his spiritual history is mine in almost every point. Both minister's sons, and both ministers of the same communion—both guarded in an unusual degree by circumstances from extra temptation—both outwardly exemplary, inwardly corrupt—both led to seek religion by distress—both tormented with the fear of death! The coincidence is truly wonderful. The account of his vows and resolutions; his frequent breaches of them; his distress in consequence; his subsequent resorts and shifts—I might transcribe and make my own. I was obliged to pause sometimes and wonder at these strange coincidences; and I bless God that the book fell into my hands. From the experience of one whose early history was so much like my own, I have learned some precious lessons. Some enigmas have been solved; some mysteries of iniquity developed; some obstacles removed; some useful hints suggested. On one head particularly, I have been much edified. When my conscience has been wounded by relapses into sin, I have always been tempted to sink down into a sullen apathy, or else to wait a day or two before approaching God again. It has seemed to me, on such occasions, that it would be awfully presumptuous and insolent to ask God to forgive me *on the spot.* I never knew why I thought so until Halyburton told me. I had been trusting in my abstinence from sin, instead of Christ's atonement, so that when surprised and vanquished by temptation, I felt that my foundation was removed, my righteousness gone, and I had no righteousness wherewith to purchase favor. It pleased God this afternoon to use the memoir as an instrument in fixing on my mind a strong conviction that the only reasonable course is to come at once, and ask forgiveness in the name of Christ. The remarks which particularly struck me as conclusive were these three:—

"1. After an act of known transgression, every moment that I spend without applying to the blood of Christ I spend in sin, and consequently aggravate my guilt.

"2. It was my folly to suppose that I should never sin again. He that trusteth to his own heart is a fool.

"3. Above all I seemed to have received new light upon a point which I never before thought of as I ought, viz., that God's chief end in dealing with men's souls is not to discipline them, nor save them; but to promote his own glory."

In July, 1830, he was appointed Adjunct Professor of Ancient Languages and Literature in the College of New Jersey, with the understanding that he was to reside in the college and act as tutor. The following extract from his journal, not

only gives an account of his studies at this time, but contains the first distinct avowal of his purpose to enter the ministry :—

"December 16.—On the 11th day of November I entered on my duties as actual tutor and nominal professor in the College of New Jersey. My official labors are not so burdensome but that they leave me considerable time for study. Indeed, I should not have accepted the appointment, except upon the supposition that I should be able to continue my professional pursuits. Having finally resolved upon preparation for the ministry, I feel the satisfaction and advantage of having some one definite object in my studies, instead of wandering amidst a thousand, under the mere guidance of capricious inclination. I have set before me as the specific end of my toils, to become thoroughly acquainted with the *Scriptures;* philologically, theologically, practically, and so on, to qualify myself for interpreting them properly to others. My studies having this for their chief end, will, at present, fall under three distinct heads: 1. Biblical criticism. 2. Systematic theology. 3. History. To the first I shall for some time devote one whole day in each week; to the second, four; and to the third, one. The first and third will, however, receive some attention every day. My course of study in the first branch will consist in studying the original Scriptures, and in reading approved works on criticism, under the direction of Mr. Hodge. Before taking up theology proper, my father advises a course of metaphysics; upon which I have already entered. My historical reading will, of course, be chiefly in the ecclesiastical department; but I have determined to embrace this opportunity of laying a firm, general foundation. This I shall do by reading the best *original* historical authorities in the languages with which I am acquainted. I shall avoid compilers and second-hand retailers. Content *adire integros fontes.* My object is to survey for myself the raw stuff—the material from which historiographers have wrought their patch-work. I shall begin with the historical books of the Bible, and then probably proceed to Herodotus. Further, I have not yet looked ahead."

The impression which he made on the students of the college as a teacher, may be learned from the statement of Parke Godwin, Esq., of New York, the distinguished editor and historian. In a note to the biographer he says :—

"I shall never forget the abruptness as well as the sagacity of the first remark he made to our class, during the Sophomore year. 'Young gentlemen,' he said, in a quick but positive way, 'all knowledge is pleasant.' He then stopped for a moment that we might digest the truth. 'All knowledge is pleasant,' he resumed; 'and I shall therefore take it for granted, when I hear that any one does not like any particular study, that he does not know any thing about it.' That was about the whole of his address, and you may infer from it that he received few complaints from us, during his incumbency at least. 'Addy' as we called him familiarly, was held in the profoundest respect by all the students; and for two reasons: the first was, that nobody ever saw him, except in the class; and the second, that we imputed to him a marvellous amount of human knowledge of all sorts. He was supposed to study about eighteen hours a day, adding to his already prodigious acquirements; and these acquirements were computed at no less than thirteen different languages, and all

the then known natural sciences.* You may imagine that we always approached him with a feeling of awe and veneration."

Mr. Godwin adds, "He was then so close a student that none but the members of his family saw much of him, and when a chance encounter brought you into his presence he was generally very shy and reserved. It was the ambition of all of us to become intimate with him; but we were not permitted the opportunity. I regret that I cannot furnish other particulars, as I have never ceased to love and admire the man, as one of the noblest and most highly gifted of our fellow-countrymen."

During his connection with the college, Dr. Alexander wrote constantly for the press. Some of these contributions were playful; the great majority, of course, serious and learned. Of the former we give as a specimen his "Diagnosis of the I and the Not-I." designed as a satire on the imitators of the German metaphysicians.

"Diagnosis of the I and the Not-I.—Assuming as we safely may that all the reflex actings of the rational idea toward the pole of semi-entity are naturally complicated with a tissue of non-negative impressions, which can only be disintegrated by a process of spontaneous and intuitive abstraction, it inevitably follows, as a self-sustaining corollary, that the isolated and connatural conceptions, formed in this antespeculative stage of intellectual activity, must be reflected on the faculty itself, or, to speak with philosophical precision, on the I, when viewed concretely as the Not-I; and in this reciprocal self-reproduction carried on by the direct and transverse action of the Reason and the Understanding, modified of course by those extraneous and illusory perceptions, which can never be entirely excluded from the mutual relations of the pure intelligence on the one hand and the mixed operations of the will and the imagination on the other, may be detected, even by an infant eye, the true solution of this great philosophical enigma, the one sole self-developing criterion of the elementary difference between the Not-I and the I."—*Princeton Magazine.*

"During the year 1832, Mr. Alexander contributed no less than six articles to the *Princeton Quarterly*, viz., one on Hengstenberg's Daniel, one on Arabian and Persian Lexicography, one on the Historical Statements of the Koran, one on Gibbs's Manual, one on De Sacy's Arabic Grammar, and one on Hebrew Grammar. There is something in the profusion of his mind at this time that strikes one with fresh astonishment and admiration. His efforts of this period are equal in most respects to any of his life. His continued preference of oriental themes to classical, would seem to show that whatever might be the ripening conclusions of his judgment, the governing bent of his inclinations was still toward the tongues that are spoken in the tents of Shem; though he tells us

* It is due to truth to say that Mr. Alexander's knowledge of the natural sciences was but slight.—*The Biographer.*

that he was now becoming daily more and more enamored of Greek, and soon came to rate it as his first choice among all his studies."

"Perhaps," says his biographer, "the most remarkable of these contributions is the one on the 'Historical Statements of the Koran,' though the one on 'De Sacy's Arabic Grammar' is of the same general character, and exhibits the same sort of philological and critical ability, and besides the remarks more strictly germane to the subject of De Sacy's volume, is distinguished by a luminous exposition of the relation between the Arabic and the Hebrew. . . . . But the article on the Koran is the one in which Mr. Alexander seems to have exerted the whole force of his mind, and gives what is possibly the best *coup d'œil* that can now be had of the grasp and reach of his acquisitions in Arabic literature. In this article he not only corrects many of the numerous blunders, loose translations, and wrong translations, into which Sale has wittingly or unwittingly fallen, but takes 'the Perspicuous Book' to pieces precisely as a watchmaker takes to pieces a watch, rearranging and systematizing the historical portions of the volume on a plan of his own. It must have been a gigantic toil, but it was a labor of love."

Eminently as Mr. Alexander was fitted for his position in the college of New Jersey, the conviction was universal among his friends that that was not his appropriate sphere. His extraordinary acquisitions in the department of Oriental languages and literature, and his devotion to Biblical studies, pointed him out as a man raised up by Providence to teach the Bible. The friends of the Theological Seminary in Princeton from an early period of his history had fixed their eyes on him for the department of Oriental and Biblical Literature in that institution. To this arrangement Mr. Alexander was himself very adverse. He was morbidly delicate on the subject because his father was a professor in the seminary; and he shrunk from the responsibility which he saw was inseparable from such a position. He feared also that it would trammel him too much. Accustomed as he had always been to vary his studies at pleasure, he dreaded being tied down to any one department. This feeling he never got over. He was always more or less restless during his connection with the seminary; and those who knew his inestimable value to the institution were in constant fear least he should resign his post and devote himself to independent studies and authorship. He was appointed instructor in Oriental and Biblical Literature in 1833, but he refused to accept the appointment except on the concession of a year's absence for travel in Europe. In 1835 he was elected professor in that

department; in 1851 he was at his own request transferred to the chair of Ecclesiastical History, and at the time of his death occupied that of "Hellenistic and New Testament Literature." * We insert the following letter, although long, because it not only contains interesting revelations of his literary history, but especially his views as to the chair which he filled the last year of his life. The letter is addressed to his brother James:—

"*May* 6, 1859.

"Dear Brother,—Although I never should have made the recent move without your strong concurrence and advice, and although I have consulted you at every step, I feel that I have not put you in complete possession of my views and feelings, and, more particularly, of my reasons for adhering to a form and title (viz., of his new professorship), not entirely in accordance with your better taste and judgment. This I cannot do without being a little autobiographical; to which I am the less averse, because this is a critical juncture in my history, not only on account of the proposed change in my position, but because I have just finished my half century. I need not remind you of my early and almost unnatural proclivity to oriental studies; but it may be news, even to you, that, under the potent spell of Scheherazade and Sir William Jones, it was my cherished wish for several years to settle in the East—not New England but בְּקֶדֶם—and so far from having any missionary zeal, that I was really afraid the Moslems would be Christianized before I could get at them. This boyish dream was early broken, and succeeded by a no less passionate desire to be a lawyer; but my oriental studies were continued after my college course, at which time I read the whole of the Koran in Arabic, and the Old Testament in Hebrew. It is nevertheless true that I had begun already to be weaned from Anatolic to Hellenic studies. The existing cause of this change was the influence of Patton—first as

* In 1835, the General Assembly elected Dr. John Breckenridge (son-in-law of Dr. Miller) Professor of Pastoral Theology, and Dr. Addison Alexander (son of Dr. Archibald Alexander) Professor of Oriental and Biblical Literature. It is due to the truth of history to state, that neither Dr. Miller nor any other of the faculty of the seminary was cognizant of this arrangement. The facts are these. As the endowment of the seminary was very inadequate, the directors found it necessary every year to appoint committees to solicit subscriptions to meet the current expenses of the Institution. This was very irksome. When the Board met that year, one of the directors proposed the appointment of a Standing Committee of Finance. Another director (Dr. Cyrus Mason, of New York) proposed that a financial agent, who should be also a professor in the seminary, should be appointed. Dr. Benjamin H. Rice, at once said, "That is the plan, and I have the man—Dr. John Breckenridge." To this the Board at once acceded, and agreed to submit the matter to the Assembly, by whom it was sanctioned. It took all the immediate friends of the seminary completely by surprise, Dr. Miller as much as anybody else. Mr. Alexander at first declined his appointment, but at the request of the Board agreed to defer his answer for a year. He was finally induced after two years to accept.

a teacher, chiefly by his making me acquainted with the German form of classical philology; then by means of his Society [The Philological Society] and library; and lastly, association with him at Edgehill. This influence, however, would have had no permanent effect, if I had not been led to lay the foundation of my Greek more firmly than it had been laid by Salmon Strong, Horace Pratt, or Robert Baird. Whatever accurate Greek scholarship I have is three years subsequent in date to my graduation, and owes its origin to my having undertaken to teach the language in Brown's school, for which I endeavored to prepare myself by thoroughly mastering Moore's admirable grammar, which contains the germ of all the late improvements. This I almost learned by heart in Latin, going over it a thousand times as I walked up and down in the old garden, where I am often now reminded of that toilsome but delightful process. Having got the grammar fairly in possession, I read every word of the Anabasis and Cyropædia for the purpose of grammatical analysis, and, having done this, for the first time felt that I was a Greek scholar, even of the humblest rank. All this labor seemed then to be thrown away; as I did not go to Brown's but to Patton's, and not as Greek but Latin teacher! This was more than made good, however, by my lexicographical labors, in translating parts of Passow, for the new edition of Donnegan; and although in this case, too, my hard work answered no immediate purpose, its value was inestimable to my own improvement, as I found when I began the next year to teach Greek at college. One effect of all this, never known to others, was, that when I was appointed tutor in the seminary, I had already left my first love for a second; so that when I heard of John Breckinridge's saying, in the Board, as an apology for moving me, that I was not a classical, but an oriental scholar, my conscience smote me as a literary hypocrite, for letting the mistake continue. Thus I began my course with a divided heart, and though I never disliked teaching Hebrew, but preferred it much to all my other seminary duties, I still spent much time upon Greek in private; not without a secret feeling of unfaithfulness to my official obligations. It was this, together with my strong distaste for prophetical studies, and the crushing load of authorship which Dr. Hodge had laid upon me from the first, that made me catch with a sort of eager desperation at the first suggestion of a change in my professorship (in 1845) as promising to free me from a very heavy burden, not so much of labor, as of responsibility, and to bring me somewhat nearer to the studies which I really preferred. A great stride was taken in the same direction when I was unexpectedly, and as I now see providentially, compelled to study and expound the historical books of the New Testament, the most delightful labor of my life, and the direct source of my latest and best publications. I still felt, however, that my studies were not classical; and cherished my old, childish prejudice against the Biblical Greek, as something illiterate and ungrammatical, a mere corruption and abuse of the first language in the world. My earliest glimpse of the modern German doctrine on this subject was afforded by Schaff's admirable chapter in his history, containing little of his own except the clear and captivating mode of presentation, but collecting the best thoughts of the best writers, in relation to the claims of the Hellenistic dialect, as a co-ordinate branch of the Hellenic tree, with a distinctive independent character, and no small merits of its own. From that time (about ten years since) these have been my favorite studies; none the less because connected

upon one side with the vast domain of classical philology, and, on the other, with the sacred field of Biblical learning. My interest in the language soon extended to the literature of the Hellenistic Jews, inspired and uninspired, as a distinct and well-defined department of ancient learning. It is this that I have always had before my mind, as my proposed field of study and instruction in my many schemes and efforts to attain my true position. It is not merely the New Testament literature, strictly so called, that I wish to cultivate—though that does lie at the foundation, and gives character to all the rest; but I covet the privilege of making excursions, without any violation of official duty, into the adjacent fields of Hellenistic learning, having still in view as my supreme end, the defence and illustration of the Bible, but at the same time opening a new field for literary culture in this country, and thus gaining for myself a more original position than that of simply sharing Green's professorship. I wish it to be fully understood, if the proposed change should be carried out, that while the New Testament department will have greater justice done it than was possible at any former period, it will have something new connected with it; which can only be suggested by a new name, the novelty of which is therefore an advantage, if it be not otherwise objectionable, which I cannot see to be the case. The more I reflect upon it, therefore, the more clearly I perceive that no description could more perfectly express what I have carved out for myself, than that of 'Hellenistic and New Testament Literature.'

"Affectionately yours,

"J. A. A."

It is a melancholy reflection that when he penned this letter, sketching out for himself a new and more congenial field of labor, the fatal disease which in a few months closed his earthly career, had, although unknown to himself or to his friends, almost completed its work.

As to Dr. Alexander's eminent success as a professor, there never was but one opinion among his colleagues, his pupils, or the public. He was from the first and universally regarded as unequalled as a teacher. His manner was clear, concise, rapid, and logical. He always had complete command of his subject, and had a rare talent for making it intelligible to others. He felt the importance of what he taught, and aroused the interest of his pupils. They felt their knowledge increased, their views enlarged, and zeal enkindled every time they entered his class-room. They all came to reverence and love him, and acknowledged themselves under a debt of gratitude to him which they never could repay. Of all this his biographer has collected abundant evidence in the cordial testimonials of his former scholars. Dr. John H. Rice, now of Mobile, says, "I have in the course of my life met with

three teachers of pre-eminent ability as teachers, and he was the foremost of them all, for pupils of intellect above the average. For dull boys he was not so good for reasons above stated. If a young man had any thing in him, and was disposed to use his advantage, Mr. Alexander could draw it out better than any teacher I ever saw. His instructions were characterized by surpassing clearness. There was no mistaking his meaning; and there was no mixing of subjects, no confusion of thought."

Dr. Ramsey, of Lynchburg, Virginia, says:—

"As an exegete, I hardly know how he could be excelled. His *analyses*, with which he introduced each exegetical lecture, so concise, so clear, so simple, were themselves far better than most commentaries." [To their class he lectured only on part of Isaiah and the Messianic Psalms.] "To his lectures on the first ten chapters of Isaiah I owe more than to all the other instructions received in the seminary, as to the method of analyzing and expounding the Scripture." [Speaking of the valuable labors of certain other expositors, the writer goes on to say that he profited comparatively little by them in this respect.] "I learned indeed the meaning of much I did not know before; I received a certain quantum of explanations: but I did not even *begin* to learn *how* to explain the Bible myself. But I had not got through with the first chapter of Isaiah with Dr. Alexander's lectures till I felt as if I had become conscious almost of a new power. Every passage he touched seemed to be suddenly lighted up with a new beauty and glory, and often a single remark would be so suggestive that it seemed at once to pour light all over the Bible, to bring up into new and striking association other truths and passages, and to stimulate the mind to the highest activity, and fill it with wonder at the amazing fulness of God's word.

"Another striking trait of his exegetical lectures was that his faith in the simple statements of the Bible was so childlike and so perfect. This reverence for the sacred text was one of his noblest qualifications for an instructor in these times. This was abundantly manifest in his works, but the impression made by his lectures as we heard them, was still stronger."

"The class of '37," says his biographer, "was pushed forward with the greatest vigor. The evidence of the professor's diligence was unimpeachable. He labored with a will and with quenchless enthusiasm. The poor fellows were almost exhausted, and some of them completely overwhelmed, in their effort to keep up with them. The class was divided into two sections; each section recited two lessons a day, and each lesson occupied an hour. Says the good-natured writer to whom I am indebted for these particulars: 'You may be sure that neither professor nor the students had much time to eat or sleep. For myself I was as busy as a nailer; and to keep up with the demands of the teacher, and attain enough Hebrew to pass the Presbytery, I had to rise up early and sit up late and eat the bread of sorrows. . . . As one division of our class came out the other went into the class-room, and mingling thus we were admonished by those before us of the danger ahead, in some such words as these: "Oh, you'll

catch it to day!" "Oh, 'tis dreadful!" and similar encouraging expressions of what we might expect.'

"It is but proper to say, however, that we were greatly encouraged by our progress under the Professor's admirable training; and by the knowledge that it was all for our own good that our present condition was not joyous, but rather grievous. The enthusiasm of the teacher imparted itself to the students; and under every green tree in the well-beaten garden walks, in the adjacent woods as well as in the seminary, in the study, and in the class-room, young men were seen walking, or lying down, or sitting; with their limbs stretched out on the grass, or over the mantel-piece, or on the backs of chairs; all intent on the perusal of one book—'Bush's Hebrew Grammar.' Memory loves to linger round those days of youth, gone never to return; and upon the pleasant employments and associations with which they were connected. Of all the great names we there venerated, not one now remains, except as an object of memory to which each passing year adds new lustre; for the memory of the just is blessed."

Mr. J. Park, of Tennessee, gives an amusing account of his first experience in the seminary, which he entered in the fall of 1843.

"When the term opened," he says, "the students came in with remarkable punctuality, and the 'old ones' seemed very kind and attentive to the 'new ones,' and took special pains to put us on our guard as to 'Dr. Addy.'

"Our first contact with Dr. Addison was on Hebrew Grammar. He had a roll of the class alphabetically arranged, and called upon the students in that order always looking steadily at him who rose in reply to the name called; but that roll we never saw any more after the last name on it was called once. He knew every man and called him by his right name after he had once responded to it, and the roll was no longer used."

There were two of the name of Park in the same class, and they were distinguished by their first initials, as Mr. O., and Mr. J. It was only at the third recitation, that the professor reached their names on the roll.

"Every member of the class had manifested some trepidation when he was first called up. My first appearance on the floor is memorable. I had begun to get homesick, not a strange circumstance considering this was my first separation from my family and friends; and my youthfulness favored it too, for I was next to the youngest student in the seminary. I rose *promptly, very*, at the call of my name, with quickened breath and bounding pulse. Dr. A.'s spectacles were wonderfully bright, yet not so bright as the eyes looking through them. He asked a question; I answered; he smiled; several students tittered. A second question, followed by the answer; Dr. A. smiled more perceptibly; all the class snickered, and I broke out in a sweat. A third question was answered; several students guffawed. *Rap, rap, rap*, on the desk, and with an indignant voice Dr. A. called out, 'Order in the class! I see nothing to laugh at.' And then to me 'That will do, sir,' and called the next. I sat down in a state of terrible excitement, perplexed, confused, and ashamed, supposing I had exposed myself to the contempt and ridicule of the class, and resolved to start home the next day.

When the class was dismissed, I was pushing my way to the door, anxious to escape from the gaze of the students, for some of them were still disposed to laugh at me; but as I approached the door, Dr. A. called to me, beckoning with his finger, 'Mr. J. P.! Mr. J. P.!' I was afraid not to go to him, and yet only expected to hear him say. 'Young man, you had better go home, you are too much of a ninny for this place,' or something else that would be as bad."

Instead of this, he asked him about two other young men in Tennessee, who he had heard were coming to Princeton (sons of Drs. Edgar and Lapsley, of Nashville).

"While this was going on, the class passed out, and then he said, 'Mr. P., I will remain in the class-room a few minutes each day after the recitation, to answer any inquiries the students may have to make concerning difficult points they may meet with, and I hope you will feel perfectly free to ask me any questions relating to your studies at such times. And at any other time that I am not engaged in class, I would be glad to have you call at my study, whenever you want any explanations or assistance.' It was all done with such simplicity and with a countenance and voice so full of kindness, that I choked with emotion, stammered my thanks, and when he had passed out, hurrying to my room, I locked the door and sat down and wept like a child."

From that moment all his feelings toward him changed, and while he still revered the dreaded professor of Hebrew beyond any man he ever saw, he loved him with a deep and abiding affection.

Mr. Park's own language is essential to the effect of what follows:—

"When my emotion subsided, and I had washed my face and brushed my hair, a rap on the door led me to open it. ——— came in, his countenance bright with good humor, to explain the conduct of the class during my recitation. He said every one saw my excitement when I was called up; my first answer was given in full voice, tremulous from agitation; the second in a tone loud enough to have been distinctly heard at a distance of forty yards; and the third, as if Dr. A. was in a mill in full clatter, and I on the outside, thirty or forty feet from the door.

"His kindness and sympathy overpowered me, and ever afterward I felt indignant at the bare suggestion of his being unfeeling or ungenial. As long as I remained in the seminary, nothing ever occurred to cause me to change my opinion. His heart was as great as his head. No man ever won my affections so completely, and it was an instantaneous transformation. The terrible dread and dreadful terror of him up to that time was never afterward experienced by me. Still, I had lost none of my profound reverence for him, nor did my desire to appear well before him abate one whit; but I had a new motive."

The testimony of his pupils is unanimous as to his pre-eminent success as a teacher. His biographer has brought together an array of testimony on this point, which leaves the

matter beyond dispute. They regarded him with reverence, "with awe," with fear, with admiration and confidence. Dr. Sprague, of Albany, says Dr. Addison Alexander "was a man of so much mark, and in some respects stood perhaps so entirely alone, that it was hardly possible to move in any intellectual circle without having a definite idea of him. So often as I met a Princeton student during the period of his professorship, I was sure to hear the highest possible testimony rendered to his great talents and learning, and to his almost matchless facility at communicating knowledge."

The testimony is almost equally strong and equally unanimous as to his severity in the class-room. On this point we confess ourselves to be surprised. We had of course heard of his being now and then irritated, and impatient, and on occasions painfully sarcastic, but we were not aware of this trait of his character being so prominent as his biographer, in his honesty, has represented. He tells us on p. 336, "The amount of truth I have arrived at in the premises is this: Mr. Alexander made his first classes in Hebrew work like Trojans; and was out of patience with gross negligence, vanity, or dulness, and sometimes treated the offenders without measure or mercy. But he was very peaceable after all was over, and gradually he became more and more tolerant and gentle, until toward the last his steady meekness was more noticeable than the occasional flashes of his first or mistaken resentment." Dr. Lyon, of Mississippi, one of his earlier pupils, says:—

"He was not considered amiable during the first years of his service in the seminary, but, on the contrary, rather severe and unforbearing. The students were afraid of him. How he became afterward, I am not able to say. Doubtless, however, he became more patient as he grew older. He was sometimes fearfully sarcastic, having no tolerance for the proud, impertinent, or self-conceited, whom, indeed, he did not hesitate to cut in twain with a word, or a look, or a sneer."

Dr. Rice, of Mobile, a student of a later date, says:—

"He seemed to entertain toward the very dull or incorrigibly stupid youths, who are found in almost every academical class, a feeling akin to resentment or indignation; and he frequently showed them no mercy. There are, I believe, several traditions in the seminary, of his unsparing severity to some very pious, good brethren, or who were esteemed such, which (so run these traditions) aroused the feeling of the class against him."

His biographer, on p. 384, speaks of "the intense abhorrence and disgust which the Professor ever showed to seminary drones." It is evident, however, the severity, such as it was, of Dr. Alexander, amused the students more than it either frightened or offended them. This appears from the humorous way in which his pupils commonly refer to this subject. Dr. Moore, of Richmond, tells us,—

"On one occasion, after a very lame recitation in Genesis, which tried his patience no little, he abruptly brought it to a close, and announced that he would give a lesson for the next day adapted to the capacities of the class, and they would, therefore, take the *next verse!* The usual lesson being from twelve to twenty verses, the rebuke was keenly felt, and he had no more such recitations. Sometimes he used his satire severely, though I do not think unjustly. On one occasion, a young gentleman gave a discourse in the oratory, on the destruction of Sodom, that was very pretentious; and Dr. A., being in the chair, thought it needful to perforate his mental cuticle somewhat, and remarked when it came his turn to criticise, that Mr. D's. discourse consisted of two parts: that which everybody knew, and that which nobody knew; and that he did not think that under either head Mr. D. had added to the stock of our knowledge."

Professor Charles Phillips, of Chapel Hill, N. C., says:—

"I was a pupil of Dr. Addison Alexander for one year only, and that, the first year of the course at the seminary. It was fashionable then to be afraid of him. —— used to say that he went into his recitation-room thinking of the sign-board on a railroad, 'Look out for the locomotive!' Once when he asked me at the close of a recitation to come to his study at a certain hour, the members of my own little coterie bade me an affectionate farewell. When I returned safe, they pretended to be very much astonished, and to be incredulous that the *awe-full* professor only wanted me to study Arabic. But I had been taught to admire Dr. Alexander before I went to Princeton, so that I had only to learn to love him, and this I did easily and quickly, as any Freshman will a great professor who is courteous to him and inspires him with the hope of doing something in this world."

On this subject it is to be remarked, that these complaints of his severity were confined almost exclusively to the first few years of his professional life. These exhibitions were moreover impulsive and momentary. The impression they made was counteracted by the clear manifestations of goodness and real kindness of heart, and especially by the discovery which the students did not fail to make, that he himself regretted them. Much of the effect produced by his censures was due to the inherent power of the man. If you lift the lid from a tea-kettle the steam escapes in harmless vapor; but,

if you raise the safety-valve of a boiler, the rush of scalding steam is impetuous, and excoriates any living tissue it touches. It was so with him. He could not fail to give force and pungency to what he said. Dr. Green tells us that Dr. Alexander disliked presiding when the students delivered their orations, because "criticise as gently as he could, the students who had undergone the process were sure to be coming to his room to ask if he did not think they had mistaken their calling, in seeking the ministry." Whatever of blemish must be conceded in this matter, we know that the students as a body loved, reverenced, and trusted him, and regarded it as an honor and a blessing to be under his instructions.

Dr. Alexander was licensed by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, April, 1838, and at once took his place in the foremost rank of preachers. His power in the pulpit did not depend on elocution. There are men who, in reading a familiar hymn, will arrest the attention and sway the feeling of an audience. There are others who, as speakers, have their hearers completely at command, whose discourses when read are found to be below mediocrity. It was not so with Dr. Alexander. He owed little to his manner of delivery. He was even apparently often careless and indifferent until excited by his subject. His power was due to his thoughts, his feelings, to his imagination, to his pure, faultless, and most felicitous diction. A great part of the charm of his sermons belongs to his printed discourses. Dr. Moore records his disappointment on hearing in Richmond, sermons which he had previously heard elsewhere with deeper emotion. But Dr. Alexander was then suffering under the ravages of the disease which, a few months later, carried him to his grave. And a distinguished physician, quoted by his biographer, says:—

"I remember hearing him deliver a sermon on the text, 'Remember Lot's Wife,' which I shall never forget while I live, if I forget it ever. The effect upon the audience was visible and audible; all present seemed drawn forward in their seats, and holding their breath; and when he paused to breathe, you could hear the inhalation of the mass of his hearers over the whole church. It always seemed to me that if there ever was a man whose sermons would read as well as they sounded, it was Addison Alexander; but many years after I read this very sermon, printed among others in the volume of his sermons, and I must say

that I felt as if a portion surely had been left out. I missed something—which something I now feel must have been the intense biotic force, magnetism, brain-power of the *man*. This sermon was one which no one but himself could have produced, or have delivered with the same effect."

This is true and forcible. No doubt the orations of Cicero and Webster had a power as delivered before an excited audience, which we miss on the printed page. Every thing is comparative. All we mean to say is, that the success of Dr. Alexander as a preacher was less due to what was physical—to tone, intonation, manner—and far more to what was intellectual and spiritual, than is the case in the great majority of distinguished speakers.

His brother James once remarked that Addison was very unequal in his preaching. This is of course true in a measure of every public speaker; but we think that it was less true of Dr. Addison Alexander than of any other preacher whom we ever heard. His sermons were of very different kinds, and therefore their appropriate effects were different. Such graphic and emotional discourses, as those on "Remember Lot's Wife," "There is a City which hath Foundations," "It doth not yet appear what we shall be," had of course a power of a very different kind from that which belonged to his exegetical sermons. But the intellectual and moral power of the latter was not a whit less than that of the others, etc. We select a few of the many testimonies given by his biographer of the impression produced by Dr. Alexander in the pulpit. His colleague Dr. Green, says:—

"The first time he ever saw Dr. Addison Alexander, was in the pulpit at Trenton, shortly before he came himself as a student to the seminary. He had no suspicion who the strange minister was when the service began, but he had not proceeded far in his discourse before he felt sure that he was 'listening to the prince of American preachers.' His text was, 'Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light,' one of the most striking and masterly of his discourses. Dr. Green's admiration of him as a speaker was always mingled with wonder."

Dr. Hall, of Trenton, his intimate friend, and himself one of our best preachers and best judges of preaching, was one of his greatest admirers. He thus writes:—

"It was a fault of his doings in the pulpit that he seemed to be afraid of the least approach to mannerism. There was a sort of carelessness in his reading and preaching which sometimes gave the appearance of hurry or negligence.

He would not try to give *effect* to a hymn or chapter by his mode of reading, and usually tumbled into his sermon as if it was to be dispatched as soon as possible. But he soon showed that he felt his subject, and though he got no nearer to artificial oratory or elocution, there came an earnestness and often an awful solemnity in his tones which literally *thrilled* his audience. His voice was delightful, and to me more melting in pathetic parts than any I ever heard, excepting perhaps Jenny Lind's. Some of his long sentences, rolling on to a grand climax, occur to me, which have made me put my handkerchief to my mouth lest I should *scream*. It of course happens with his printed sermons, as with all others that were delivered with feeling and melody, that their effect can be realized only by those who are so familiar with his manner of delivery that they can hear him while they read."

Rev. Dr. T. L. Cuyler thus describes the effect of his preaching in Philadelphia :—

"The second evening, which now comes before me, was passed, not beside Dr. Alexander at the fireside, but before him in the pulpit. It was during that winter of 1847 when he supplied the pulpit of the Rev. Dr. Boardman, then travelling in Europe. All Philadelphia flocked to hear him. The most distinguished lawyers of that city were glad to find seats in the aisles, or a standing-place in the crowded vestibule. It was during that season that he delivered nearly all of his most celebrated and powerful discourses. Among them were his sermons on 'The Faithful Saying,' 'The Broken and Contrite Heart,' 'Awake, Thou that Sleepest,' 'It doth not yet appear what we shall be,' and 'Remember Lot's Wife.' The first-mentioned of these was the most perfect; but the last one was the most popular. The impressions produced by the matchless discourses of that series can never be effaced. Finer displays of concinnate exegesis, of bold imaginative flights, of soul-moving appeals, of rich, strong, arousing presentation of Calvary and Christ, the Presbyterian pulpit of our day has not heard. His manner, at that period of his life, was exceedingly animated. He was in his splendid prime. His voice often swelled into a volume that rolled through the lobbies of the church, and reached to the passers-by in the street. In pathetic passages, that same voice had the plaintive melody of a lute. The rising inflection with which he was wont to close his sentences will at once occur to many of my readers. This peculiarity was sometimes insensibly imitated by the seminary students, who betrayed thus their Princeton origin by this rising *Addisonian* inflection. Well would it be if all the superb attributes of Professor Alexander's ministrations could be transferred to every pulpit in the land! On the evening of which we write, his theme was 'The Broken Heart.' That whole marvellous discourse, with its pictures of the scenes 'behind the veil' where the sacrifices were being offered; with its wailing outcry of contrite spirits; with its melting exhibitions of the soul's penitence and the Saviour's love; all moved before us like one of the inspired panoramas of the Apocalypse. When the sermon was over, a clergyman whispered to me, 'No such preaching as that has been heard since the days of Dr. Mason.'"

His biographer gives the following glowing account of his own experience under his uncle's preaching :—

"One Sunday night, the preacher, who had been expected to officiate in the First Church in Princeton, was absent, or for some reason unable to speak, and Mr. (then Dr.) Addison Alexander was applied to take his place. Seeing at once how the matter stood, he swiftly ascended the steps of the pulpit, and after the preliminary services, in which he seemed to be altogether at his ease, poured out one of the most enrapturing and overwhelming discourses to which I ever had the privilege of listening. It was spoken of by some as an extempore effort, but was the famous sermon on the 'City with Foundations,' which is printed in his works. He fairly ravished me with his enchanting imaginative pictures, and his wild bursts of music and pathos. He went through it as a summer wind goes through the trees before the outbreak of a thunderstorm. His voice was plaintive, but too low for the greatest popular impression. His tones, however, were diversified, and to him perfectly natural; though his intonation was singularly peculiar, and by the rules of rhetorical elocution, faulty. But it was the best manner for *him*, and with its wailing cadence and rising inflection was extensively copied by his students, much to their own detriment, and somewhat to the astonishment and amusement of their audiences. But there was no time to see or think of faults. The speaker was in breathless haste, and was going at 'railroad speed.' Sometimes he would glide in nobly and gracefully to the end of a paragraph or period, very much as a locomotive glides in through a fair prospect to the swinging bell which indicates the next stop. Now and then he would suddenly lift his right hand with a sort of upward wave, and then drop it again. This was almost his only gesture. To change the figure used just now, the sermon was a widening and foaming torrent, and closed in a perfect cataract of glorious imagery and high religious feeling.

"Of all Mr. Alexander's sermons this one is the most imaginative, in the popular sense of that term, that is, the most ornate and highly wrought, the most full of rare and captivating fancy. It is, also, in the strictest sense of the term, a noble work of imagination. It is, from beginning to end, a mass of gorgeous imagery, describing the kindred yet opposite illusions of the saint and the worldling. The peroration is descriptive of the rupture (fearful in the one case, and transcendent in the other) of these life-long deceptions. The Christian who had sought the glimmering city in the sky, with faint heart but steadfast purpose, finds that all beneath that city is shadow, and that this alone is substance. He awakes from his dream to pass an eternity in transport. The wicked man awakes from his dream also; he had thought the world was every thing, and had made light of the celestial vision as a puerile vanity. He awakes to shame and everlasting contempt.

"It is as sustained a description as any thing in Bunyan; but is not at all quaint, not primitive, not antique, homely, or crude. It is perfectly modern; and very rich in its elaborate coloring, as well as superb in its minute finish. The difference between the two in these respects is analogous to the difference between Perugino and Paul de la Roche. It was one of the earlier and more florid efforts for which, in after life, he had a supreme contempt. Macaulay thus despised the essay on Milton, and pronounced its noble ornaments gaudy."

Dr. Alexander's reputation as an interpreter of the Bible rests, so far as his pupils are concerned, largely on the impres-

sion made by his exegetical exercises in the seminary. They never can forget the clearness of his expositions, and the power which he possessed of unfolding the Word of God in its connections; nor can they ever lose the impression made on their minds of his reverence for the Scriptures, and his child-like submission to their authority. So far as the general public are concerned, his reputation must rest on his published commentaries. Of these, alas! he lived to complete only a small part of those which he intended to write. His works on Isaiah, on the Psalms, on the Acts of the Apostles, on the Gospel of Mark, and of the first sixteen chapters of Matthew, are enough to keep his name in grateful and perpetual remembrance. They evince great learning, accurate scholarship, great powers of analysis, sound judgment, wonderful clearness of statement and felicity of expression, and a devout and reverent spirit.

There are two kinds of commentaries. With the one the text and context are the immediate and special object; with the other, the truths the sacred writer intends to teach. The one is characteristical, verbal; the other doctrinal. These two methods can never be, or should never be, entirely dissociated. Grotius furnishes an example of the former, Calvin of the latter class of commentators. Dr. Alexander belongs to the former rather than to the latter. His work on the Psalms is the most verbal in its character. It is designed to give in English a fac-simile of the original. In his other commentaries his scope is wider; but in all there is the strictest attention to verbal exposition, giving each word, tense, case, and particle its proper force. Besides this, however, the subject-matter is exhibited in the clearest light; and the hand of a master is visible throughout.

Dr. Addison Alexander was for a long course of years one of the most frequent contributors to the *Princeton Review*. His contributions are on such a wide range of subjects, are so diversified in character, they exhibit such amplitude in his resources, such refined wit and sarcasm, such power of argument, such research, and such perfection of style, that many of his friends are disposed to think that they afford the best means for forming a correct estimate of the man—of his

tastes, talents, and attainments. On this subject his biographer says:—

"It is the judgment of some thorough Biblical scholars that Dr. Addison Alexander's contributions to the *Review* set forth his splendid literary abilities in a much stronger light than any of his other writings. It is very certain he wrote in the quarterlies and magazines with a bold, free hand which was somewhat fettered when engaged on the commentaries. He writes in the same free way in his newspaper-squibs, children's books, and some of his letters, and in his European journals. The greater part of what he did, however, in this reckless, slap-dash style, was not intended for preservation, and, though on merely literary grounds it is often exquisite, is for other but equally weighty reasons kept back from the eye of curious readers. The essays in the *Repertory*, on the whole, give one the best notion of the variety of his gifts and accomplishments as a writer of English. They give the best notion, too, of his masculine tastes, his general knowledge, his progressive moderation, his sterling good sense, his genial humor and true politeness, his fine wit, his facetious irony, his power (never used without provocation) of withering sarcasm, and the marvellous cunning of his diction. Viewed as an unbroken collection, these pieces certainly possess extraordinary merit; and all the more so that some of them were floated off as the veriest waifs."

By common consent of all who knew him, Addison Alexander was a man of profound and varied erudition; of extraordinary and manifold mental endowments; of sound judgment and practical wisdom; of elevated piety and of firm faith in the Divine authority of the Scriptures; he occupied a position in the first rank of teachers, of preachers, of commentators, and of reviewers or essayists. If there be any other man, whom our country has produced, of whom all this can be truthfully said, we do not know who he is. This man we lost in the maturity of his power and usefulness.

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## ART. VIII.—*The Presbyterian Church—its Position and Work.*

THE feeling is general throughout the land that the Presbyterian Church, by the recent re-union of the two branches, has entered upon a new career of spiritual life and missionary labor. It must, however, be kept in mind that the mere con-

junction of two smaller bodies will not in itself necessarily produce any marked change upon the character and operations of the enlarged organization.

A large body is not always the most efficient. In certain lines of duty and of effort, the co-existence of two similar yet independent churches may be weakness, but in others, they may so act and react upon each other as to arouse a higher devotion to Christ's cause, call forth a larger amount of individual strength, and sustain greater endeavors for the promotion of truth and righteousness in the earth. Something more is needed for the accomplishment of any great enterprise or moral result than mere bulk. Inertia is a danger of large bodies. This the re-united church must at the outset understand, so as to comprehend the pressing duties of the present, and the dawning necessities of the future, and rise at once to meet them.

The present time is auspicious for enlarged spiritual efforts. The idea has grown up in the church, that the two portions coming together harmoniously can do more for the great benevolent movements of the age, than by acting apart. This is in itself a power. If real, it will soon assume shape and be clothed in deeds which will give a quickening impulse to thought and a broader sweep to endeavor. The achievements of the past and the practical forces of the present will not suffice. These, however grand in themselves, are not, under this prevailing sentiment, what the united body can content itself to simply sustain.. Nobler deeds must mark its future, holier zeal its movements, and the flow of its benevolence must be more generous and deep. The change of vote, on the day of the union of the two branches, from one million to five millions of dollars must be an index of the advanced position which the church is ready to take in regard to work. Upon this every thing must tell. The exuberant joy, the earnest desire, the hopeful wish, the doubting spirit of different individuals or parties must now commingle, and these, if rightly blended and properly directed, may be the means, in the hands of the Spirit, of giving higher vigor to the action of the body.

The similarity of views in all that enters into and sustains Christian life and aggressive action will do much to fulfil the

general expectation for enlarged effort. The same standards are acknowledged, the same doctrines are avowed, and the same measures of policy are adopted by each. There is to be no change in ecclesiastical institutions and no re-adjustment of church relations. Both branches have been laboring in most departments of work, and both in their united capacity are prepared to give the preference to the ecclesiastical over the voluntary organization. Each has reached this result, if not in the same way and time, yet by such a process as to give the promise of unity in all co-operative movements in the future. Then there may be found on investigation in the different schemes, such variety in the details of labor and in modes of procedure as may impart to them hereafter greater vigor and efficiency—yea, there may be born in the very inquiry, What is this union to accomplish? some more decisive means of developing the resources and consolidating the strength of the church.

In aid of this feeling is the fact that this one church is not composed of two hitherto independent churches, with different names and principles. Each has kept, since the division, the same name, each has held to the same creed, each has the same polity, each has a common ancestry and a common heritage; the fathers of the one are those of the other, great names of the past are alike dear to both, and to them they have in turn appealed, or have gloried together in their labors, influence, and successes. Their origin is the same; but, like a river that is separated by a portion of land in its onward course, the two parts have flowed in parallel lines until the intervening obstacle is removed, when they have again met. The two were formerly one, and whatever their differences, jealousies, and alienations, they now believe that they see eye to eye in the essentials of faith, government, and work. In their aims and aspirations, in the forms of spiritual life, in geographical boundaries, and in administrative economy, the two are one. Side by side they have labored. The ministers of the one have passed over to the other, and the same has been freely done by the members, and each of these has felt at home in his new communion and relations. This frequent interchange has done much to smooth the way,

wear down the barriers that had been reared, and bring to a point the increasing *tendencies* of the two separate parts toward union. They can thus, without friction, readily fall into line and prepare themselves, with their combined energies, for work. In the separation, with its attendant conflicts, lessons have been learned and experience gained that will have a hallowed influence over modes of thought, policy, and life; and, in the future, they will live in more accord with the principles of their faith and with the policy of their church. If the one part be numerically the stronger, this will be generously used for the common good, while the other may seek to infuse new energy into the whole, to make up in any thing which either lacketh, that the cause of Christ may be more rapidly advanced and God's glory be promoted in the earth. But the dissolving process of the two parts *may* go on so rapidly that it may soon be difficult to tell to which distinctive organization any one belonged—

Tros Tyriusque—nullo discrimine agetur.

One other hopeful sign may here be mentioned—that this re-union is effected without loss. Before this, Presbyterian bodies have been incorporated into one. The Secession Church in Scotland was made up of two parts. The United Presbyterian Church there and in this country were each composed of two distinct organizations, with different names. But in all of these, and others that could be mentioned, there was a part missing, that would not go into the union. Thus far, we have heard of no separatists from the joint body. Previous to its consummation, there was considerable discussion as to the desirableness of union, and not a few objections urged against the thing itself. These were generally set forth with manliness and frankness, and did much to prepare the way for the harmonious action of the two Assemblies at Pittsburg. The men who feared and doubted will neither leave the church nor work coldly in it. They feel that it is not now a mere policy or party, but a beloved church whose interests and success are involved, and these will receive their sympathy, prayers, and active, generous aid. They can individually say, with deep and true emotion—"Thy people shall be my people,

and thy God my God: the Lord do so to me, and more also, if aught but death part thee and me."

But turning from these things, which promise increased strength and efficiency, we find much that is encouraging, with God's blessing, in the numbers, wealth, ministry, and creed of the combined host.

There is, first, the force of numbers. The union has brought into one organization the largest body of Presbyterians in the world, which, when thoroughly compacted together with buoyant energies and bright anticipations, can do much for the enlargement of its borders. It embraces 4,532 ordained ministers and licentiates, 4,371 churches, and 431,463 communicants. In sympathy with this church, or brought under its influence, are at least two millions of people. These are found in most of the States and Territories. The chief strength of Presbyterianism in the South is, since the commencement of the war, independent of the re-united church. Few efforts, and these of a desultory nature, have been made to establish Presbyterianism in New England, though the time is coming, when, without entering upon any crusade, more decided measures must be taken to meet the wishes of those in that section who prefer our faith and polity.

Bringing together the churches in the different States, and considering them in round numbers, we have the following figures: In New England are 2,500 members; New York, 107,000; New Jersey, 36,000; Pennsylvania, 98,000; Delaware, 3,500; Maryland, 8,500; Western Virginia, 3,500; Ohio, 54,000; Michigan, 12,500; Illinois, 33,000; Indiana, 22,500; Wisconsin, 5,500; Minnesota, 3,500; Iowa, 12,500; Missouri, 6,500; Kansas, 2,000; California, 3,000; Oregon, 300; Kentucky, 5,000; Tennessee, 3,000, and a smaller number in several of the Southern States and Territories. It will be seen from this enumeration that the strength of our body is massed in certain great States of growing influence and power, which can do much for aggressive movements. Whilst influential in most of the cities of the country, it has a home and powerful hold in rural parishes and growing towns.

But these numbers do not simply stand for so many of the population in these different localities; they generally repre-

sent the thinking, thrifty, and influential class in each community. There is something in the Calvinistic faith that develops thought, conserves morals, upholds religious institutions, encourages educational efforts and philanthropic schemes, and gives an impulse to all that is lovely and good. Blot out the direct and indirect aid of our members to the humane institutions of our land, and to all enterprises that have a reformative and elevating power, and a vast beneficent agency would disappear. The strength of the body cannot be gauged by mere numbers or by considering these as so much in bulk for doing good. They constitute in themselves a vast power for impressing others, arresting unbelief, and transfusing their influence among those who are reached by them.

2d. Wealth in itself is no indication of the moral power and efficiency of a church, any more than poverty is a mark of its general prosperity—yet it is a power, when viewed in the light of accountability and used in conscious stewardship as a trust. God has given great wealth to the Presbyterian Church, and this is not centralized, but diffused. Men of large means are found in every section, and in many congregations. This is inevitable, from the character of its members, the state of the country, and the condition of things. The pecuniary ability of the church was never so great as at the present time. This has fully kept pace with the growth of the country and the development of its resources. Government draws its greatest revenue from incomes from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Ohio—States where our own church is numerically the strongest. In not a few of our congregations wealth may be reckoned by millions, and it is an interesting fact that this increase has taken place at a time when new and enlarged demands are to be made upon it. Commercial enterprise, opening up new avenues for emigration and settlement in certain regions, the presence and continuance of a heathen population in our borders, the needs of the freedmen, the growing necessities of our educational institutions, the enlarged operations of evangelistic agencies, work out a claim or make claimants upon this increase of wealth. This is more than a coincidence, it is a law in the

divine economy, and at this juncture it has a voice which the united body should hear, and a call which it should obey. The Methodist denomination utilized its centenary to enlarge the benevolent action of their people, to give greater permanency to their institutions, and lay a broader foundation for important religious enterprises. The monuments of their efforts, enthusiasm, and thanksgiving abound. This our church must do, if it wisely interprets Providence, rises to the dignity of its position, understands its mission, and accomplishes any thing great at this important period of its history. The rich must do much, for they have received much; and what an opportunity is now offered them to rise to the greatness of the occasion, deepen the stream of their benevolence, and do something noble for the cause of Christ and humanity! Let them read in the events of the day why they are the stewards of such riches, and how they are to transmute it into spiritual wealth.

3d. The United Church has an able and effective ministry to preach the truth and do work for the Lord. It has ever been the aim and characteristic of Presbyterianism to demand and foster an educated ministry. The schools, colleges, and theological seminaries planted and sustained in the land, and some of these very early in its history, show how our church sought preachers thoroughly indoctrinated in the truth, and capable of teaching others. This has given the church power over the thinking portion of the country. Its past history is radiant with names eminent for their devotion, zeal, and intellectual prowess, who will be held in remembrance by present and future generations. But its ministers of to-day are in no way behind those of former times in scholarship, piety, love for souls, and in their efforts to advance genuine religion in the hearts and lives of men; and, to say the least, they are the peers in learning, eloquence, and devotion to the ministry, of those of any other denomination of Christians.

Now, as along the whole line of our church's history, it has men who have stood forth, when assailed, to defend its faith and polity, and it has many who have enlarged by their writings the streams of Christian thought. Its literature is rich in varied treatises of didactic, polemic, and practical theology,

ecclesiastical history, Biblical exegesis, mental and moral science. Among the living are not a few who have devoted their talents and energies to the elucidation of God's Word, to meeting attacks upon it, or setting forth in systematic form the great principles of our faith. Still, the leading characteristic of the ministers of our body is that of activity and direct practical effort—seeking, by their pulpit ministrations, their pastoral labors, and through the press, to reach the hearts of men, and build up an intelligent people in the doctrines of the Gospel.

It is a pleasing thought that in deep reverence for God's Word, and in an earnest desire to understand its utterances, our ministers may be said to be of one heart and of one mind. With a great diversity in their mental structure and modes of thought, we know of none who discredit the teachings of revelation, or reject the idea of the supernatural. Yea, we doubt if an equal body of men, on the whole, can be found in any land, whose theological opinions are so just and comprehensive, whose training has been so thorough, whose views of faith and duty are so decided and complete, and who preach the truth with as much clearness and boldness. By this we do not mean that all are equally fervent and devoted, and that there are no important shades of difference in their theological opinions, this would be to expect impossibilities; but that, as a class, they are thoroughly in earnest, and endeavor to set forth fully and distinctly, as they believe it, the faith once delivered to the saints. Then everywhere they are at work—in Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America, and in the islands of the sea—preaching a pure Gospel and winning souls to Christ.

This ministry has not labored in vain. If their success has not been so great in numbers as that of the Methodist Church, yet it may be said, without boasting, that if it has not brought so many to a knowledge of Christ, it has done more for the spiritual elevation and perfection of those in the church; and that is just as important for building up a people for the Lord as the other. The relative growth of the different denominations in this country from 1800 to 1850 is thus set forth by a Methodist writer, Rev. Abel Stevens, LL. D. He says, in his

"Centenary of American Methodism," "During this period the ratio of the increase of the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church, has been as 6 to 1, of its communicants 6 to 1; of the ministry of the Congregationalists as 4 to 1, of their communicants as $2\frac{2}{3}$ to 1; of the ministry of the Regular Baptists as 4 to 1, of their communicants as $5\frac{2}{3}$ to 1; of the ministry of the Presbyterians (O. S. and N. S.) as 14 to 1, of their communicants as $8\frac{1}{10}$ to 1; of the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church (North and South) as $19\frac{2}{3}$ to 1, of its communicants as $17\frac{3}{4}$ to 1." If, then, in the past the ministry has so greatly increased and they have been enabled to accomplish so much for Christ, how much more, with multiplied means and agencies at their command, should those of to-day attempt to build up his kingdom and achieve great things for him!

4th. The one faith of the whole church must also be considered as a means of strength. This faith, formulated in our noble Confession and Catechisms, draws its life from the Scriptures. The union changes not a letter nor an article of the standards. The creed is intact. No revision of its statements, no lowering of its doctrines, no drifting from old landmarks have been proposed. "The Confession of Faith shall continue to be sincerely received and adopted, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures," is the basis which brought the two branches together, and nothing less than this could ever have effected the union.

Others can, then, know our creed. It remains the same. It is not toned down to gratify the wishes of any assailant, nor enlarged to guard against or meet every conceivable error. It sets forth no new opinions, it enters into no new domain of thought or speculation. It stands in the same stately integrity of form as of old, and as it was committed to the separate organizations to believe, guard, and defend, so the United Church is to transmit it unimpaired to others, with its living facts and grand dogmas to mould their character and fit them for Christian work and heavenly glory.

The statements of this faith are definite, and in a terminology sufficiently clear and intelligible for the conveyance of Christian truth to all. These can be scrutinised, thoroughly

investigated, and tried by the light of experience and the Word. Whilst making no attack, yet presented in a dogmatic form, and buttressed by the truth, they invite examination, and court the fullest inquiry. This faith is not obsolete. We are not of those who believe that every generation is to work out a new system of theology, and that each age must have its own confession. Ours sets forth the way in which we understand divine revelation. It is not above the Bible, nor independent of the Bible, but is in the Bible.

No faith can be more positive than what is embodied in the Confession. It deals with the grandest verities, with the most transcendant themes, with the richest doctrines, and views them in their correlation to each other and to God. It abounds in infallible truths, and, as a system, it is rational, consistent, divine. It speaks for God to man. It addresses the intellect and the heart, and when its truths are grasped by the soul, and allowed to permeate the life, its transforming power is seen in the massive character which it creates, the strong principles which it nurtures, and the consistent godly life which it sustains.

This faith is not now for the first time promulged. It has been tried. It has been in the fire. It has stood the test. No other religious system has passed through such a fearful ordeal. It has a long list of martyrs and confessors. Thousands and tens of thousands, who spoke different tongues and lived in different lands, and, at various times, have sealed their testimony to its truth with their blood. This faith makes heroes, not your *petit-maîtres* of sentiment, or your admirers of a loose, flabby, or negative theology, but strong men who feed upon the living word—men of thought and of action, of resolute purpose and unflinching integrity—men who can wield a strong arm for the right, and, when need be, die in its defence—men who have in the past initiated great moral enterprises, who have done much to carry them forward or bring them to a successful issue.

This is the faith of our church. The world disrelishes it, error fears it, infidelity makes its strongest assaults upon it, a liberal Christianity seeks its overthrow. This faith, assailed all through the ages, maligned, caricatured, and denounced as

partial, cruel, dark, vindictive, is ours—ours to preach in its fulness, ours to hold up, to defend, and to propagate—ours to amplify, illustrate, and explain, and ours to clothe with living beauty and spiritual warmth. This faith lives. It has lost none of its power. It is still mighty in pulling down strongholds. Let it be faithfully proclaimed, fully presented, and God will own it, as he has ever done, to arouse the conscience, touch the heart, and draw souls to the cross. It is suited to saint and sinner, to the conversion of the ungodly, and to the edification, growth, and prosperity of the church. It is suited to the present as well as to the past, to all classes and conditions of humanity, and with it the herald of the cross has the fullest liberty to set forth the law in all its strictness, purity, and force, the Gospel in all its divine amplitude and richness, and to build the whole fabric of doctrine and duty, of faith and practice upon Christ, the great corner-stone.

Here, then, are four elements of power for the future, not in themselves, but only as they are vitalized from above. The Holy Ghost must move in them and by them. They receive strength, and efficiency, and might from him. Their power is his. If a love of truth and a love for the God of truth have brought the two branches together, its influence will be seen, for life and love cannot be separated. Their one system of faith must show its divinity by what they are and what they do. No creed, however correct, will save; no ministry, however gifted, can renovate; and no combination of numbers and wealth has any supernatural energy. These are only great in the greatness of the divine strength. This being so, it shows where the church has to look, and what the church has to seek.

If this re-union, as is believed, has been effected by the Holy Spirit, his aid must be specially sought in consolidating the different parts, and in making the one body a grander agency for the accomplishment of his gracious purposes in the earth. This is the first of duties, for it is only under his genial smiles that the church can grow in spiritual beauty, and only under his renewing energy that it can expand. Let it then be understood, and let it animate the body itself, that the noblest offering which it can make to all concerned, is a REVIVED

CHURCH—a church all aglow with his quickening presence and sanctifying power.

The evils of past years have not been so much in the division of the body as in supineness, worldly conformity, and indifference to the wants of Zion, and the urgent claims of a dying world. This must be remedied. The church's strength has been consumed too much in and by itself. Congregations have sought their own good, and not that of the whole; large churches have frequently nursed their greatness, and allowed feeble enterprises to die under their shadow; virtual independency has wielded too much influence in cities, and movements for church extension, instead of receiving the encouragement and aid of wealthy and united churches, have started with a sickly existence, or have perished through their neglect. We have seen many wrecks of such. The union should teach the need of association, combination, and mutual help in establishing young enterprises, and in fostering them in their early history. But the defect referred to is seen in other departments. The church has not given its strength to the Lord, nor looked for its power in the number of converts brought to him. In neither body, the past year, was there an average of six persons from the world to each church, and that with all the appliances of the pulpit and the press, the Sabbath-school and home influences. Souls, not territory, must be the cry, and strength in the future must be measured by the multitudes born into the kingdom. Content with a moderate growth, the church has allowed great causes to languish, and to do little more than hold their own; and thus it feebly received because it feebly gave. Now, though visibly larger, it is not really increased. Its numbers and equipments are the same.

If the late incorporation into one does not create more enthusiasm, develop more vigor, inspire more daring, and awaken a greater missionary spirit, then little, if any thing, is gained—nay, there will be a loss. Life and force, warmth and energy are needed; but these will not come by resolutions, but by acts; not by wishes, but by prayers; not by looking on, but by comprehending the magnitude of the work and the issues involved; not by the union of the Old School and the New School, but by the weakness of both taking hold

of the Omnipotent. Let churches in different parts of the land come together,—not to talk over the past, with its divisive tendencies and alienations re-union is the pledge that these have gone, and to dwell upon them is to perpetuate weakness, —let them come together to plead with the Most High for his reviving presence and sanctifying power. Having ascended, in the act of re-union, to an eminence, let it be to see God more clearly, and to commune with him more fully—let it be a mountain of vision, where duty can be more distinctly seen, and the wants of a dying world more vividly known. Then numbers will speak, but it will not be in mere glorying, but for new conquests and possessions; wealth will speak, but not for architecture, music, and respectability, but in larger measures for Christ's cause; and ministers will speak, but it will be in the cry, "Awake, O north wind, and come thou south, blow upon our garden, that the spices thereof may flow out." May this idea of a revived church as a thank-offering speedily take possession of the whole body!

But there must be work as well as life, and a fuller correspondence between them. The work before the church is vast and accumulating, and is assuming new and varied forms. Within the pale of our own Zion are precious interests. The children of the church are to be trained and gathered into its fold as living members; Sabbath-schools are to be watched, controlled, directed, sustained, and means put forth to secure the children to its communion; students for the ministry have to be educated; ministers, incapacitated for official duties and in need, have to be aided; ministerial support has to be increased; efforts to free congregations from debt prosecuted, and new houses of worship reared. Then, around each local organization are many to be reached with the Gospel; the growing heathenism in cities has to be confronted with a living Christianity, and the wants of the freedman are to be met and supplied. The church has to be brought face to face with home evangelization in all its departments, which has to be taken hold of as a necessity and a duty, with alacrity and joy; yea, the missionary spirit, intensified by increasing demands, must know no one locality, color, or class, but must see in the home wants a feeble type of what the heathen need and

what their condition requires. The material resources of the church have been mentioned as vast, but the power of combination to draw them forth and concentrate them on the given work is lacking. A grand centralizing uniting force is needed to bring into one the little and the large sums, to set all to work, and make the life of each fruitful. Our machinery is splendid, but it has never been fully operated. A greater denominational, yet none the less catholic, spirit must be developed. We must love our own, sustain that which has in it most truth, carries with it most power, and will accomplish ultimately the best results. If we have any ground whatever for our separate distinctive existence, it is the faith we profess, and which, as Christians, we are obligated to diffuse. Enlightened denominational zeal, drawing its life from the cross, and working through an organized church, makes no man a bigot. It, from the very nature of the case, habituates the mind to the mastery of important principles, gives scope and power to religious effort, and enlarges Christian benevolence. The greatest bigot is generally the man of no fixed principles, and the most illiberal are those who boast of their liberalism.

The church carries on its benevolent operations through certain Boards or Committees. The consolidation of these is desirable for future efficient action. Enthusiasm is to be specially awakened in this direction, and the attention of the people turned toward them, that, by a united and determined effort, a great impetus may be given to each. There may be some little delay about combined action in the foreign work, but if this cause has to receive any lasting impulse from the re-union of the two branches, it must be in the line of distinctive ecclesiastical co-operation. A steady but gradual transfer of support from the American Board would be crippling to that great institution, and directly interfere with generous appropriations to its missions, while it would weaken the church itself. The able committee to whom this matter is intrusted will no doubt be able to make such arrangements with the Board, in regard to certain missions and mission property, as will do much to bring our whole denomination soon into cordial and liberal support of its own institutions. This is

desirable for the best interests of the body and for a speedy development of its strength.

Grave responsibilities are connected with the church's present position. It occupies a new vantage ground, and this has been deliberately taken. It stands in a new relation to the world and to the communion of saints. The eyes of many are turned upon it, and increased power and influence are demanded of it. Within its own pale men's hearts are warmed, their feelings are interested, their attention is quickened, their hopes are excited, and the enthusiasm of many is aroused. Shall these evaporate and die, or under their stimulating agency shall the church, as such, expect greater things from God, and attempt greater things for him? If this opportunity is lost, it can never be recovered. May the solemnity of this thought affect all, and lead them to read duty and a holier consecration to God in it.

But whilst called to more efficient action and more strenuous endeavors for Christ's cause, the present is an auspicious time for witnessing for him, and bringing prominently before the people of the land the great principles of our faith and practice. In this we need not be aggressive, or assail the belief of other evangelical denominations, but only seek to show the minds of our own people, especially the young, why we are Presbyterian and Calvinistic, that they may cherish these principles in turn as a priceless treasure, and transmit them to future generations; yea, we should take advantage of the present epoch in our history, and set forth, in a proper form, up to the demands of the age, our distinctive sentiments. Many are ready to listen and to investigate. Let the press be used and let pulpits speak.

Every thing in and around our Zion, and every thing in our own and other lands, calls upon us at this juncture to hold forth a pure faith, and witness a noble confession for Christ. The minds of men are unsettled; multitudes are drifting away from the faith of their fathers; the profoundest verities of the Word are questioned, and even inspiration itself is denied by some within the pale of the visible church. Some are manifesting a reckless iconoclastic spirit, and others are cherishing or panting after a heartless symbolism. The moral, po-

litical, and social world is astir. Radical changes are taking place. The indifference of the past is disappearing. A new era of thought, of investigation, of doubting, of testing every thing has dawned. Men are unwilling to take any thing on trust. Error is rife, and science, falsely so called, is arraying itself against the truth. Rome is busy, and is helped by the ritualistic tendencies of the day. The agencies of hell and of an ungodly world are leagued in every conceivable form to lead men astray. They are banded together against the Lord, and against his anointed. Then old superstitions are decaying, and their political organizations are tottering. Mohammedanism has no aggressive power; heathenism is losing its hold upon the masses. The facilities for the diffusion of the truth are multiplying, and the world is open and is being prepared for a pure Gospel. Amidst these wondrous movements the reunion of our church has taken place to combine its accumulating experience and resources for a nobler work for humanity, and a holier devotion to the Lord. Let us see God in it and hear his voice calling us to walk in his ways, and uphold the great principles of truth and love. Let us maintain the doctrines of the Apostles and the Reformation, which we have hitherto loved, simplicity of worship and healthy discipline, which will make us strong. Let us consolidate our strength, lengthen our cords, multiply our forces, and in our various organizations and relations "keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

And now, arise, O Lord, into thy rest, thou and the ark of thy strength; let thy priests be clothed with righteousness and thy saints shout aloud for joy.

# ART. IX.—NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

*An Inquiry into the usage of* ΒΑΠΤΙΖΩ, *and the nature of Judaic Baptism, as shown by Jewish and Patristic writings.* By James W. Dale, D. D., Pastor of the Media Presbyterian Church, Delaware Co., Pa. Philadelphia: Wm. Rutter & Co. 1870. 8vo, pp. 400.

The Baptists have seen fit to make immersion the corner-stone of their denominational structure. And the natural result of the inordinate attention paid to the outward mode of administration in the initiatory Christian rite, has been the magnifying of it out of all due proportion in the ecclesiastical system. Not content with the liberty which all would freely accord to them of applying the element of water in whatever mode they judge most suitable or most in accordance with Scriptural example, or with primitive usage, they require the whole Christian world to utter their shibboleth, or incur their anathema. Any thing but immersion is peremptorily declared to be no baptism. And the members of non-immersing churches as an unbaptized throng are debarred from all church fellowship with themselves, who alone have the true baptism, even at the table of the Lord, designed to be the symbol of unity and communion among all the true followers of Christ. The most offensive imputations of want of candor and common honesty are freely flung at those who cannot see that the baptism enjoined by our Lord requires the submersion of the entire body in water, and that the validity of the rite is vitiated or destroyed by the admission of any thing less.

And this breach of charity and open schism is all for the sake of exalting a rite which is sadly marred by the process. The pursuit of the shadow endangers the substance. The inordinate pressing of the one mode of applying water diverts attention from that essential quality which is equally represented in any mode of application, its cleansing virtue, and thus tends to obscure its proper design and character. And the particular mode so strenuously insisted upon unfortunately mars the emblem in so far as it is designed to set forth the washing away of sin, by the cleansing efficacy of the Holy Ghost poured out from heaven and the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus. To those who would thus hamper our Christian liberty we are bound to give place by subjection—no, not for an hour.

The volume which has suggested these reflections is a sequel to "Classic Baptism" by the same author, whose line of argument it continues and whose results it further fortifies. The Baptists have loudly boasted that their position rests on the impregnable basis afforded by the true meaning of the original word. Their recognized champions have claimed that Βαπτίζω means "to dip" and nothing but "dip," throughout the entire range of Greek literature. Dr. Dale takes up this challenge and meets it by a counter-assertion equally broad and unqualified, that Βαπτίζω does not mean "to dip," in even a single instance in any ancient author. His position is that Βαπτίζω is not a modal term, that it

does not describe any specific act, but that it denotes a condition or result altogether irrespective of the mode or act by which it is brought about. Least of all is it the equivalent of "dip," by which a body is put within a foreign element so as to be enveloped by it and then immediately withdrawn. In its primary physical sense it denotes the "interspositon" of a body altogether irrespective of the way in which this has been effected and with no reference to its ever being withdrawn.

In the ordinary language of every-day life among the Greeks a ship was baptized when it was sunk in the depths of the sea; the coast was baptized when the tide flowed in upon it; a wave rolling over a vessel and sinking it baptized it with its contents: a man was baptized when he was drowned; the suicide baptized his sword when he plunged it into his own throat. These and similar cases, Baptist writers, by means of dexterous manipulation and an adroit change of terms, are in the habit of claiming as though they made in their favor; there is a watery or some other envelopment and therefore in baptism the whole body must go under. But Dr. Dale will not allow any shuffling; he holds them to the strict terms of the bond and with a great amount of good-humored banter, but with clinching force, shows that "dip" will not answer in a single instance. The coast is not taken up and "dipped" in the sea which rolls back upon it. Drowned ships and drowned men are not "dipped," *i. e.*, plunged beneath the watery element and then immediately withdrawn. If the word is to have its primary physical sense in the Christian rite in question, "dipping" does not meet the requisite conditions; the hapless candidates for baptism must be not dipped, but drowned. The word describes a submergence, no matter how effected, and with no limitation as to the period of continuance.

From this primary physical sense of "intersposition," without limitation of manner or duration, the word passed in classic Greek to a secondary use, that of describing a condition of complete subjection to some controlling power or influence, particularly a ruinous, destructive subjection. As the man or the vessel swallowed up in the sea had come completely under the power of the watery element to their own destruction, so any other absolute and ruinous control was called a baptism, where no envelope, watery or otherwise, existed or could be imagined. Thence a man drowned in wine, not dipped over head and ears in the vinous liquid, but overpowered by too frequent potations, or in other words dead-drunk, was freely said to be baptized. The same term was applied to the man stupefied by gluttony, ruined by debts, broken down by hard study, consumed by cares, or the victim of disease or melancholy; also to a state or city torn by dissensions and doomed to destruction. Baptized by wine or business or study, was to a Greek a totally different thing from what we might mean by speaking of a man as immersed in his cups, or occupations, though even with us the primary physical sense has given place to one of an entirely different description. The word has reached a secondary sense, which has passed beyond the mere region of trope and conscious figure or figurative application, and has become a new and veritable meaning. From all these the Baptists endeavor to extort some image or emblem, which may be set to the account of their exclusive theory, but Dr. Dale pertinaciously meets them at every turn, and in the most provoking manner holds them up to merited ridicule.

This volume brings us one step nearer than its predecessor to the New Testament meaning of the term, reviewing as it does in detail every instance of its

employment by Hellenistic writers. Every passage pertinent to the case is culled from Josephus, Philo, the Septuagint and other ancient Greek versions of the Old Testament, including the Apocrypha, and the comments upon all these by the Christian fathers, a term for which Dr. Dale appears to have an unconquerable aversion, and for which he regularly substitutes "the patriots." In addition to the primary and secondary uses of Βαπτίζω in secular matters, as already developed from classic writers, there is here found for the first time a religious application of the term. The fundamental idea involved in this new usage is stated in the same terms as before; it is the subjection of an object to some foreign controlling influence, not, however, for its destruction, but for its purification and salvation. It is applied to ceremonial purgations effected by sprinkling clean water, the ashes of a heifer or the blood of a lamb, or by washing the body in whole or in part; not plunging it under water, but washing the hands or feet at (not in) a river, washing a person resting on his couch, or bathing the entire body which in the arrangements of the ancients, as abundantly shown from illustrative figures that have been preserved, involved no submersion. And when the washing was in order to a ritual cleansing, the purifying material might be never so limited in its amount and in its application, its virtue extended to the whole person. Blood applied with the tip of the finger to the thumb, the ear, and the great toe, was as effective and even more so, than plunging in a bloody bath could possibly have been.

And the essential idea in the patristic usage of the term, is not the envelopment in some external medium, but the cleansing, purifying, regenerating effect produced or represented. They see a type of baptism in the bitter waters of Marah healed, by casting in the tree, which symbolized to them the doctrine of the cross; in Naaman washing in the Jordan, not because he immersed himself beneath the surface of the stream, but because the waters healed his leprosy; in the curative properties of the pool of Bethesda, exerted not upon he who was dipped in it, but whoever first stepped in; in the right of circumcision, and the flaming sword at the gate of paradise, and the coal of fire which touched Isaiah's lips, etc., etc. The mourner is baptized by his tears, the martyr by his painful death.

Dr. Dale has in these volumes put the Baptists upon the defensive instead of merely repelling their attacks. And it may be safely said that he has provided them with occupation for some time to come. His arguments are not to be turned aside by vituperation; and it is to be hoped that they will be met in a better spirit than that displayed in some of the criticisms passed upon his former treatise, which he takes occasion to gibbet at the beginning of this. We wish we could anticipate that they might have the effect of leading them to a less exclusive and supercilious treatment of their brethren, and to the acknowledgment that all candor, and learning, and truly administered sacraments are not restricted to the immersionist body; while the rest of Christendom is uncompromisingly classed with the heathen as alike unbaptized, out of the pale of communion, equally destitute of any orderly administration of the rites of Christ's house.

But whatever may be their reception by, or their effect upon, our Baptist brethren, these volumes constitute an armory on this subject, which no minister who is subjected to sectarian intrusion from this source can well afford to be without. The prolixity and repetitiousness with which they are chargeable, is

in a measure due to the nature of the subject and the detail with which it is treated. But a lopping off of some of the superfluities might have effected a reduction in compass not only without detriment, but with positive gain in point of interest and power. These volumes cover the entire territory of the classical and Hellenistic usage of the word to be examined and are so far exhaustive. The passages adduced are discussed with great ingenuity and ability, and we may add fairness. Though there may be an occasional appearance of special pleading, there is no resort to the arts or tricks of evasion, but rather an intolerance of the subterfuges of others, which are relentlessly exposed, and with an unsparing hand. Frank and straightforward, never intentionally unfair, with an overplus almost of pleasant raillery, but without harsh words or abusive epithets, these books cannot be regarded otherwise than as an important contribution to the Baptist controversy.

*A Vocabulary of the Shanghai Dialect.* By J. Edkins, B. A., Univ. Coll. of the London Missionary Society. Author of a Grammar of the Shanghai Dialect, etc., etc.—Shanghai, *Presbyterian Mission Press*, 1869.

From the title page it will be seen, that this is not Mr. Edkins' first effort to cultivate the Shanghai *patois*.

The value of this book depends upon the importance of the dialect; if it is of no use, the work, however well performed, is one of supererogation.

The importance of any dialect or language depends upon its fulness and variety of expression, the extent to which it is spoken, and the character, political and commercial importance, of its people.

Let us look at the extent to which the Shanghai dialect is used, and the settlement of this question may help us to judge of what must be its richness and flexibility. For while a most meagre vocabulary will suffice for a few peasants to convey their thoughts, a great, cultivated, and influential people would require more.

What then is the geographical extent of the Shanghai dialect? One has replied to this question that it is spoken in its purity, only within the walls of the city from which it takes its name. But below we quote an able writer, who some ten years ago said:—

"The Shanghai dialect is fully in use as far as Sungkiang, and in a circle of that distance around Shanghai as a centre. This is assuming a diameter of sixty miles; and within this space, or very little beyond it, are two cities of over *one hundred and fifty thousand*, two or three of *forty thousand*, four or five of over *twenty thousand* souls.

"In the same place are also many unwalled towns, with villages and hamlets innumerable.

"From the pagoda near Shanghai I have counted upward of thirty hamlets.

"The whole population of this circular area must be nearly one million and a-half.

"But this alone would give a very inadequate idea of the use of the Shanghai dialect.

"In this circle a man is, so to speak, at home in speaking the Shanghai colloquial. It is here the vernacular tongue.

"But beyond this limit as far as Ka-hing in one direction, Soo-chow in another and Changshuh in another, the same dialect prevails with so little variation that, no other need be learned, to enable a person to converse easily with the people.

This greatly extends the range of this dialect. It takes in a circle, or rather a triangle, of nearly two hundred miles diameter, including Soo-chow, a city of 2,000,000 inhabitants, two cities of 200,000, several under 100,000, and the usual crowded country population. There may, therefore, be stated to be upward of 6,000,000 of people properly belonging to the range of the Shanghai dialect."

We have given this lengthy quotation because we respect the writer as a man of learning and close observation. Though from our own experiences, we believe the Shanghai dialect extends much beyond Ka-hing and is quite intelligible even as far as Hangchow.

But taking the view given above; we have a surface of country nearly equal in extent to England, with a soil as perhaps fertile as any the sun ever shone upon, with an extensive commerce, and supporting, in those days, some *six millions* of people!

How does this extent of country and population compare with some of the smaller European and other states and countries?

In the latest work at hand, Greece is set down as containing a population of 1,000,000, Portugal 3,500,000, Denmark 2,500,000, Sweden and Norway 4,600,000. The Sandwich Islands 120,000, and the now much talked of Abyssinia but 3,500,000, scarcely more than half the number of people speaking the Shanghai *patois* before the Rebellion. And though the number may have been reduced since, still that was the normal state of the country where this dialect is spoken.

It is easy to infer that a language spoken by some six millions of people inhabiting a country of such extent, wealth, and commercial importance must be extensive, flexible, and rich enough for the literature of any people.

But we are not left to mere inference; There is nothing more satisfactory than a practical test. Can this dialect be used for the conveyance of ideas, to such an extent, as to warrant the expectation, that it will yet contain the literature of such a great and intelligent people, as this promises to be?

The first fact bearing upon this question we adduce, is that there have been, *more than fifty volumes*, written in this dialect already. Fifty books, upon a variety of subjects, must, of necessity, bring into use an extensive vocabulary. Beyond this we cannot say much, except that Mr. Edkins's new work must embrace about six thousand English words for which equivalents are given in the Shanghai dialect. But as two or three of these are often given for each English word, we have probably no less than ten or twelve thousand of these words, in this little volume.

Mr. Edkins's work, however, does not profess to be exhaustive. It is not a dictionary, but merely a vocabulary. The dialect may therefore contain many thousand more words. So much for its richness.

We know how much our own language is indebted to others, for its great flexibility and variety. We have readily absorbed and anglicized from all we have come in contact with.

How is it with the Shanghai dialect? Can it take up and appropriate words from other dialects and languages, or is there any resources from which it may be enriched?

We reply, there seems no more difficulty in this direction than there is with our own language. And besides all the other dialects and languages with which it may be brought in contact, there is the Chinese language, to which it is so

closely allied, and from which, as from a never-failing treasury, it may always draw new terms and new words, if there be any paucity.

The only other two questions bearing directly upon the subject are its relation to the Chinese written language and the Mandarin dialect.

With reference to the first it is not spoken, and for this reason, as well as others, it is most difficult of acquisition, and therefore unfit to contain the literature of a people. It occupies some such place as the Greek and Latin Classics have always occupied in Europe and America. And while the literature of the country is confined to this channel, learning will necessarily be confined to a comparatively few, as it was before the discovery of the art of printing and the multiplying of books and newspapers in the several vernaculars. But may not the Mandarin dialect become the common vehicle of communication, and contain the literature of the empire? Although we have not here the same difficulty, since the Mandarin is a spoken language, yet it is not the language of this people, and, therefore must always labor under something of the disadvantages of a foreign tongue.

It would be as if the English had not written or printed any thing in their own beautiful Anglo-Saxon, but contented themselves with the Gallic literature.

But do not the missionaries, who are supposed to understand these things best, usually make use of the Mandarin dialect both in their books and preaching? The experiment has doubtless been tried by almost every new missionary; and in one case by a large Mission and for years. Neither preaching nor prayers was in the language of the people—all, even to the hymns, was in the learned style or Mandarin dialect. But this experiment has been as often abandoned as undertaken, and no one now addresses the people in a plainer and simpler vernacular than the members of that Mission. Missionaries have had the greatest success where they have given the people the Bible and its teachings in the native tongue.

Our opinion of the book, whose title we have placed at the head of this article, from a philological point of view, may easily be inferred.

Every student of the dialect, must hail this book as an invaluable aid; and every philologist will gladly place it upon his library shelves.

*Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church, with an Introduction to the Study of Ecclesiastical History.* By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D. D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. From the Second London Edition, revised. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870.

This same publishing house has also brought out from the same author—

*Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church.* In two volumes of the same size and style as that on the Eastern Church, with Maps and Plans. Vol. I., extending from Abraham to Samuel. Vol. II., from Samuel to the Captivity.

Dr. Stanley has not adopted the plan of continuous historical narration in these volumes. They are rather a series of lectures on successive topics or characters that are prominent in sacred history. This enables him to escape the dulness to which mere dry mechanical narration is exposed, and to confine himself to those parts, and that line, of history, of which he is specially master, on which he can throw new light, and expatiate with enthusiasm. His learning, culture, insight,

taste, mastery of language, and of a style classic, brilliant, and vigorous, appear throughout these volumes. The light they throw upon the events and persons in sacred history, and the pleasure they afford a cultivated reader by their artistic finish and beauty, must render them a treasure not only to ministers and theological students, but to scholars and men of letters generally.

The history of the Eastern Church is especially valuable, as giving us access to knowledge in regard to that great section of Christendom not elsewhere within easy reach, and which is, in regard to the salient points in the life of that church, thorough and reliable. The account of the Council of Nicæa, of Constantine, Athanasius, Arius, the Nicene Creed in itself, its genesis, and the controversies and discussions which culminated in it, is of great value; and well worthy of the large space it fills in the book. Scarcely less so is the account of Peter the Great, the Russian Church, and the mutual relation between the two. The introductory lectures on the uses of the study of church history, are also full of profound thought, forcibly and beautifully expressed. It is quite obvious, however, that the author's sympathies are not with very strict orthodoxy. Speaking of the term "orthodox" he says, "It is a term which implies, to a certain extent, narrowness, fixedness, perhaps even hardness of intellect, and deadness of feeling; at times, rancorous animosity."—P. 348.

The two volumes on Jewish History, exhibit the admirable qualities of that already noticed, with some more glaring out-croppings of rationalism. In regard to the prophecies he says much tending to reduce them to the level of the uninspired foresight of sagacious men, especially in the sphere of political forecasting. He says, "Every one knows instances, both in ancient and modern times, of predictions which have been uttered and fulfilled in regard to events of this kind. Sometimes such predictions have been the result of political foresight. 'To have made predictions which have been often verified by the event, seldom or never falsified by it,' has been suggested by one well competent to judge (J. S. Mill), as an ordinary sign of statesmanship in modern times. 'To see events in their beginnings, to discern their purport and tendencies from the first, to forewarn his countrymen accordingly,' was the foremost duty of an ancient orator, as described by Demosthenes. Many instances will occur to the students of history. Even within our own memory the great catastrophe of the disruption of the United States of America was foretold, even with the exact date, several years beforehand." Thus he brings the Hebrew prophets "most nearly into comparison with the seers of other ages and other races." The former he tells us do not excel the latter "in particulars of time and place." "Our Lord himself has excluded the precise knowledge of times and seasons from the widest and highest range of the prophetic vision."—(Vol. i., pp. 514–516.) According to this, prophetic inspiration is of the same grade as the wise foresight of far-seeing minds. "In the sublime elevation of the moral and spiritual teaching of the Psalmist and prophets, in the eagerness with which they look out of themselves, and out of their own time and nature, for the ultimate hope of the human race—far more than in their minute predictions of future events—is to be found the best proof of their prophetic spirit. In the loftiness of the leading characters of the epoch, who stand on the truth, each succeeding as the other fails, with a mingled grace and strength which penetrate even into the outward form of the poetry or prose of the narration—rather than in the marvellous displays of power which are found equally in the records of saints of other times and in

other religions—is the true sign of the supernatural, which no criticism or fear of criticism, can ever eliminate."—(Vol. ii., p. 11.) It is clear that his doctrine of inspiration as well as prophecy, indeed of the supernatural, is broadly rationalistic. We find traces of the same thing in his analysis of priesthood and sacrifice.

These volumes with all their high merits, should be studied with a discriminating eye, on its guard against this rationalizing element.

As they are finished in all other respects, so they are very complete in the tables of contents and indexes, which are so helpful to the student. The publishers have made these volumes still more attractive with the clear and beautiful type of the "Riverside Press."

*History of the Church in the 18th and 19th Centuries.* By K. R. Hagenbach, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Basle. Translated from the last German edition with additions by Rev. J. F. Hurst, D.D. Two vols., 8vo. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

Like most German authors, of whatever doctrinal cast, Dr. Hagenbach displays great industry and carefulness of research in this and the numerous other works which have made him favorably known as an author. His great work, the "History of Christian Doctrine," has long been a standard and of high authority, not only in Germany but in Britain and America, where it has been extensively known, not only in the original, but in two translations, one of which, by Dr. H. B. Smith, contains large and needed additions on Anglican and Armenian theology.

The volumes before us are of great value and interest, and ought to be in every clergyman's library. The author presents the course of Christian life and doctrine, in their various types, evolutions, and vicissitudes, prosperous and adverse, the antagonisms of science and philosophy, falsely so called, of ecclesiasticism and infidelity, of spiritual and secular despotism. There could not be a grander field. The sketches he gives of the great masters and leaders of thought, as related to Christianity, and of the development of the various systems they originated or promoted, together with the corresponding revival or decline of spiritual and practical religion, supply a great desideratum alike to Christian and sceptical inquirer. It is only necessary to mention such names as Zimmerman, Bogatzky, Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Semler, Gellert, Euler, Haller, Zinzendorf, Wesley, Whitefield, Lavater, Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Reinhard, Schiller, Pestalozzi, Fichte, Schelling, Jacobi, Schlegel, Schleiermacher, Strauss, Swedenborg, Bruno Bauer, all of whom, with many others, are surveyed and sketched with eminent ability, to evince the high importance and interest of the work.

We find occasion to dissent from some of the author's views. He is anti-Calvinistic. He adopts in the main Schleiermacher's theology, but is essentially evangelical. His treatment of Pietism, Illuminism, Wesleyanism, Rationalism, Romanism, may be consulted by friend and foe with great profit. With the exception of the chapter on Wesleyanism, he ignores the church in Britain and America—the chronic distemper of German authors. This is the great defect of the book.

The translator, Dr. Hurst, has already made himself known by his "History of

Rationalism," and is one of those fruits of the advancing scholarship, education, culture, and learning among our Methodist brethren, which is the earnest of still greater things to come.

*Autobiography of Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher.* Translated by Rev. M. G. Easton. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Krummacher has so long been a favorite with the Christian public through his unique and admirable portraitures of Elijah, Elisha, and David, that he can scarcely fail to have created a keen appetite for his biography of himself, which is here presented to us in a volume so attractive as to mechanical execution, paper, and type, as to increase the luxury of reading it. The spiritual richness, raciness, and unction which gave such a charm to his writings, will also beget a craving to know his life, training, antecedents, experiences of every kind, and especially his relations to the contest between rationalism and faith, his judgments upon it and the parties respectively involved in it, together with the moulding influence from these sources upon the writer, who knew them as none else can know them. Hence it results, that, in delineating his own life, he sketches that of others, and lets us into their souls as well as his own. As he became evangelical, though educated in schools, and under teachers almost wholly rationalistic, so his autobiography, with other merits, is a valuable supplement to that of Hagenbach, just noticed, in portraying some of the chief German political and religious movements of the present century, especially their *personnel.*

Many of our readers will remember that Dr. Krummacher was invited to Mercersburg, but declined, and named Dr. Schaff in his place, who accepted, and has become one of the pillars and ornaments of the American Church. Although he resigned that professorship some years ago, he is indefatigable as a professor, lecturer, commentator, and a promoter of evangelical union and Sabbath observance. Dr. K. became court preacher at Berlin in 1846, and remained such until his death in 1848. As a specimen of his presentations of men and things we give his portraiture of Wegscheider:—

"If the rationalism of Niemeyer presented itself in a gentle and veiled form, that of Wegscheider stood forth in an open, decided, outspoken manner in his theological teachings at Halle. The only source of religious and moral truth which he then recommended to us was reason, which, in searching the Holy Scriptures, had to determine whether the Biblical statements were worthy of being received, or were to be rejected. As a consequence of this, we saw the Lord of Glory stripped of all his supernatural majesty, shrivelled into the rank of a mere Rabbi, noble indeed, and highly gifted, but yet always entangled by the prejudices of his time. He had never performed a real miracle, and had neither risen from the dead nor ascended up into heaven. We saw also the whole contents of the Gospel, after being stripped of its particularistic and mythic veilings, reduced to a mere moral system, for the manifestation of which no divine revelation was needed.

"What was to us a psychological mystery in a man, otherwise so learned and altogether so honorable as Dr. Wegscheider, was the remarkable *naïveté* with which, like a very conjuror, he interpreted the language of Scripture in accordance with his own ideas, though it manifestly taught the very opposite of that which he set forth and wished to prove. But that which infused into us a reverence for this Corypheus of Rationalismus vulgaris, was, along with the devotion he showed to his God of nature, and his fidelity to his convictions, the high moral earnestness which breathed in all his words, and indeed revealed itself in his whole life. And yet how could a theology so jejune and so destitute of heart and feeling as his was, possess any attraction for those of his hearers whose souls

were capable of a higher elevation, especially as it depended on an exegesis which, by its capriciousness, violated in the most arbitary manner all sound taste? From Wegscheider's Dogmatics, I learned more about rationalism than I did about Christianity, and knew that it was so also with many others of my fellow-students, who, at the most, were pleased only with the logical frame in which his caricature of the Gospel was set. Thousands, indeed, there were who carried away with them from Wegscheider's class-room more than the frame, and many congregations are to this day doomed to spiritual famine, because they had presented to them only the husks and chaff which were there gathered by his students."

*John's Gospel—Apologetical Lectures.* By J. J. Van Oosterzee, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Utrecht. Translated, with additions, by J. F. Hurst, D. D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Co. 1869.

Dr. Van Oosterzee is quite at the head of the evangelical preachers, commentators, and theologians of Holland. He early achieved distinction in the pulpit, whence he was transferred to the chair of theology, from both which positions he has given forth numerous valuable contributions to apologetics, Biblical exegesis, and dogmatic and practical divinity. By the English translation of some of his contributions to Lange's Commentary, and his reply to Renan's "Life of Jesus," he has become favorably known to American scholars and divines.

These lectures were prepared to vindicate the supernatural origin and supernatural truths of the fourth gospel, always the special target for the assaults of anti-supernaturalists, and all who are possessed by the "fanaticism of negation." They were delivered to an educated, though not a learned, audience. They present the results of learning, rather than its details, which would be lost upon all but an audience "fit though few," of scholars as such. Such more thorough learning on the subject may be found in the late works of Riegenbach, De Groot, and Tischendorf, as well as elsewhere.

We think these lectures admirably adapted to their purpose of parrying sceptical objections to the supernatural in revelation, miracles, and grace, as these are levelled at the gospel of John.

It may tone down the conceit of the authors of the *Essays and Reviews*, their admirers, confederates, and abettors, to learn that they are only giving us a crude rehash of the productions of German infidels, such as would hardly be respectable in undergraduates. Says Hengstenberg, as quoted by the translator, Dr. Hurst:—

"The authors of the *Essays and Reviews* have been trained in a German school. It is only the echo of German infidelity, which we have from the midst of the English Church. They appear to us as parrots, with only this distinction common among parrots, that they imitate more or less perfectly. The treatise of Temple is, in its scientific value, about equal to an essay written by the pupils of the middle class of our colleges. The essay of Goodwin on the Mosaic cosmogony, displays the *naïve* assurance of one who receives the modern critical science from the second or tenth hand."

We are glad to see how well our author handles those who deny the historical truth and credibility of the miracles, volatilizing them into mere ideas, or artificial imaginary symbols of ideas. It is true that every miracle has a doctrinal or spiritual significance, beyond the bare facts contained in it, and its force as a divine attestation of the divine truth or person to prove which it was wrought. Miracles of healing represent various spiritual maladies and cures, etc. But this is only on the supposition that the miraculous facts themselves are first admitted to be

true. If true we may look after their higher spiritual import. If not, the whole is a sham and imposition, from beneath, not from above, and deserves the attention of the children of the father of lies, not of the adherents of his great conqueror, the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

*Lectures on Natural Theology; or, Nature and the Bible, from the same Author.* Delivered before the Lowell Institute, Boston. By P. A. Chadbourne, A. M., M. D., Professor of Natural History in Williams' College; Author of Lectures on the "Relations of Natural History," etc. New York: G. P. Putman & Sons. 1869.

Professor (now, we believe, President) Chadbourne we heard of, when just graduated from college, as a young man of high endowments and promise. His subsequent career has fulfilled these early prophecies. In this series of lectures he concentrates the rays of light from every department of nature into one bright focal evidence of the being and perfections of God, and of the records of his works with his Word. While his general method is substantially that of Paley, he greatly amplifies and strengthens the argument by the new lights and vast discoveries of science since his time, and by giving it a broader and deeper reach into man's intellectual and moral being as related to Nature and Revelation.

There is one point which writers on this subject are so apt to miss, and which Professor Chadbourne comes so near seizing, that we will note it. In reconciling the evil and sufferings laid upon men with the Divine benevolence it is common to rest the argument upon the tendency of this suffering to promote their happiness or moral discipline. But then the question arises, Why might not man be so made as to attain this happiness and moral improvement without pain? Does he not attain it without pain in heaven, and was not Eden painless and unsorrowing? Why then, if God is all benevolence, is man subjected to the tribulation and anguish which everywhere besets him now? No explanation of this can be given but sin in man, and justice in God, visiting indignation and wrath upon that sin. The mystery of suffering only finds its solution in the deeper mystery of sin. And so the most awful of mysteries is that in which all others culminate and find their solution. *Omnia exeunt in mysterium!*

*Evidences of Natural and Revealed Theology.* By Charles E. Lord. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1869.

The present season seems especially fertile of apologetic literature, as the range of our book notices now indicates. The supply is doubtless responsive to a legitimate demand and a felt need. These assume different forms according to the classes which the different writers aim to reach, and the sceptical objections they seek to obviate. Rev. Mr. Lord, the author of this work, is the nephew of President Lord, and brother of Dr. John Lord, the historical lecturer and writer, another of whose works we bring to the attention of our readers in these notices. The range of subjects, in connection with which various classes of persons find objections more or less formidable relative to natural and revealed religion, is very large. Our author treats of no less than fifty such topics, in as many separate chapters, in this large and handsome volume. It is a necessity, therefore, that they should be treated briefly, and with greater or less ability, according as they are nearer to, or more remote from, the author's more intense personal thinking and habitual studies. The whole is well adapted to aid the

student in meeting difficulties that stagger his faith. The divisions into chapters render its form convenient for a text-book. Most of the topics now in question between faith and unbelief, scientific, philosophic, and theologic, are touched upon. We are glad to find our author an advocate for plenary verbal inspiration, although he thinks that a lower view may be held without peril to Christianity, or the authority of the written Word. We do not often see the doctrine of permanence of species as distinguished from varieties, and related to the unity of our race, better set forth than by him. But we think that the criterion of similarity of external configuration, physiological structure, and psychological habits, as common to all the varieties under the same species, can be put with more telling force than we often see.

We will just call attention to the author's solution of the origin of sin—in the nature of moral agency, since, if it involves capacity for virtue, it involves power to sin, and the prevention of sin might imply a compulsion inconsistent with free agency and accountability. This can hardly be satisfactory, so long as it remains true, that God can and will forever keep the holy angels and saints in heaven from sin without impairing their free agency. We do not see that this relieves the difficulty. Our only solution is: "Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight."

*Lamps, Pitchers, and Trumpets. Lectures on the Vocation of the Preacher. Illustrated by Anecdotes: Biographical, Historical, and Elucidatory, of every order of Pulpit Eloquence, from the Great Preachers of all Ages.* By Edwin Paxton Hood, Minister of Queen Square Chapel, Brighton. Second series. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1869.

We noticed the first series of the papers bearing this somewhat sensational title at the time of their appearance. This volume abounds in all the peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of its predecessor. It consists of the substance of lectures delivered to the students in Mr. Spurgeon's Pastor's College; if not directly on the subject of sacred rhetoric, yet on the requisites to effective and powerful preaching, illustrated by sketches of great preachers, and copious illustrative extracts from their great and characteristic discourses. The topics are.—The Pulpit of our Age and Times; Arrangements of Texts by Division; Written and Extemporary Sermons; Effective Preaching, and the Foundation of Legitimate Success; the Mental Tools and Apparatus needful for the Pulpit, illustrated by Pulpit Monographs on the following representative preachers: Frederic Robertson, Pusey, Manning, Newman, Spurgeon, Lacordaire, and Thomas Binney.

The author's views are generally sound, judicious, instructive, not without a dash of extravagance and paradox, that, at the least, add sprightliness to a style that is never dull, but often striking, always entertaining and instructive. Preachers may find much in this volume which they can both enjoy and study with profit. A single quotation hits a great vice of much popular preaching in these days.

"Every thing (in preaching) that tends to lower the tone of devotion and sacredness is illegitimate; every thing that stirs the passions or excites the curiosity, or the passions without quickening the conscience is illegitimate; every thing that is simply secular, and does not relate the hearer to the life to come, and to the Saviour as the anchor and centre of the life to come, is illegitimate. All prettinesses, artificialities,—a sort of paper floral-wreath, not growing out of, but stuck on to a subject—all these are illegitimate, and *all illegitimate means will*

*in the end, be unsuccessful means.*"—P. 174. Would that these words could be graven ineffaceably on the mind of every Christian preacher, and all, whether ministers or laymen, who are set in charge of Christian work!

*Thoughts on Holy Scripture.* By Francis Bacon, Lord-Chancellor of England. Compiled by Rev. John G. Hall. Published by the American Tract Society, New York.

No reader of Lord Bacon's writings can fail to have noticed the frequency, depth, and force of his utterances on religion, Christianity, and the Word of God. They mostly occur in brief, aphorismic passages, which concentrate vast truth and wisdom in the fewest words. They are germinant, full of the seeds of things, and capable of indefinite expansion. And so they become germs of life and growth in every mind which embraces them. Bacon himself was wont to magnify the vitalizing power of aphorisms upon the mind, in contrast to the more mechanical and lifeless nature of formal systems. The compiler of this volume has gathered into it all the religious utterances related to passages of Scripture which his works contain, and has thus made a very valuable and readable book. At the head of the expounders of nature, he was never swerved from the simplicity of faith. Few have ever lived who could write a more comprehensive and concise symbol than the following:—

"The nature of God consisteth of three persons in unity of Godhead. The attributes of God are either common to the Deity or respective to the persons. The works of God summary are two, that of creation and redemption; and both these works as in total, they appertain to the unity of the Godhead; so in their parts they refer to the three persons; that of the creation, in the mass of the matter, to the Father; in the disposition of the form to the Son; and in the continuance and conservation of the Being to the Holy Spirit; so that of the redemption, in the election and counsel to the Father; in the whole act and consummation, to the Son; and in the application, to the Holy Spirit; for by the Holy Ghost was Christ conceived in the flesh, and by the Holy Ghost are the elect regenerate in spirit."

*From Dawn to Dark in Italy.* A Tale of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board. Pp. 538.

Martyrs who die in a cause which is successful, are held in everlasting remembrance. Those who suffer in behalf of a cause that fails are apt to be forgotten. The heroic witnesses for truth in Italy are comparatively unknown to many who are familiar with the sufferings of their fellow-believers in Germany and Scotland. We regard it, therefore, as a good and timely service that our Board has issued this interesting volume, on the accuracy of whose historical details the public are assured they may rely.

*History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth.* By John Anthony Froude, M. A. Late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. New York: Chas. Scribner & Co. 1870. Vols. I.–IV.

Hume was greatly mortified by the reception given to his History of England. He says of the first portion, that "the book seemed to sink into oblivion," and "in a twelvemonth only forty-five copies of it were sold." The first volumes were published in 1754 and the last in 1761, and the work met with "but tolerable success."

Perhaps the feelings it excited and the reception accorded to it were due not merely to the fact that he "had presumed to shed a tear for the fate of Charles

I. and the Earl of Strafford," or that it favored the Tory rather than the Whig party. It may be that he did not avail himself of the materials within his reach. We have somewhere seen the statement that there are still extant in the English State Department piles of MSS. which had been copied from the public records at Hume's request, but which he had never used. Froude cannot certainly be charged with any such neglect. He has enjoyed free access to the archives of England and France, of Holland and Belgium and Spain; and the correspondence of the monarchs and ambassadors of the period embraced in his history have been at his disposal. Every page shows the diligent and conscientious use Mr. Froude has made of these rich materials. The result has been to shed a flood of light upon this most important period of English history, and to give new and in some respects truer views of the great actors in the English Reformation. We well remember not merely the pleasure but the astonishment with which we read his account of the opening struggle, of the defeats and successes of the contending parties. We were obliged to abandon some of our preconceived notions, especially in reference to the character of Henry VIII., and to admit that he was not the monster he has been usually represented to be. Certainly until he reached middle age no monarch had a fairer reputation; it is sad to think that his latter years were stained with lust and cruelty.

We need not, however, enter into the merits of this admirable history, which by its excellent style, judicial spirit, and great power, has grown in popularity with each succeeding volume. We regret that the author has changed his plan and proposes to finish his work with the destruction of the Spanish Armada. We hope that he may be induced to return to his original purpose and to complete the history to the death of Elizabeth, its only fitting conclusion.

We welcomed the republication of this work in Messrs. Scribner & Co.'s elegant Library Edition; but we are still more pleased to see this Popular Edition. In typography, paper, binding, and price it is all that can be desired for a general library. The two editions differ only in paper and in price. We trust that with the fall in gold books may return to reasonable prices, and that other publishers may imitate the good example of Messrs. Scribner & Co. It is not the wealthy but the men of moderate means who are the students and patrons of literature; and we think that publishers would find it to their interest to address themselves more frequently to this class of purchasers.

*The History of Rome.* By Theodor Mommsen. Translated with the author's sanction and additions by the Rev. William P. Dickson, D. D., Regius Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Glasgow, late Classical Examiner in the University of St. Andrews. With a preface by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz. New edition, in four volumes. Vol. I. New York: Charles Scribner & Company. 1869.

This first volume of the greatest history of Rome yet produced, will be welcome to all students of general history, and especially to those who desire to understand the organization, development, institutions, conquests, government, legislation, jurisprudence of that old empire so mighty in itself, and scarcely less so in its formative influence on modern civilization. For Christianity did not destroy, it rather used, purified, and ennobled the literary, civil, political, judicial, and social frame-work made ready to its hands by the old classic nations—especially Rome.

This work, while of a more popular cast than Niebuhr's, is no less learned, and embodies in itself not only all the results ascertained and confirmed by his exhaustive researches, but the corrections and amplifications of them which subsequent investigations have effected. There is a wonderful process going on in reference to ancient and mediæval history of turning the most unquestioned traditions into undoubted fables, and, in a less degree, what have passed for fables into veritable history. We need not wonder at this, in regard to the records made before the era of printing, when, even now, we seldom find the representations flying over the country through our newspapers thoroughly correct in regard to events of which we have any personal knowledge. When once these errors, winging their way in print through a million of impressions, get started, they outrun all correction. The falsehood is seen by a thousand where the correction is seen by one—and, when once ossified into the form of history, shows a vitality that is often proof against the most persistent attempts to kill it. We have lived in the town where the elder Aaron Burr, first President of Princeton College was born. We now live in the town where he and his son, Col. Aaron Burr, Vice President of the United States, now lie, the former in an honored, and the latter in a dishonored grave. We have labored hard, with others, to correct certain fables in regard to the parentage of the former, and the funeral and monument of the latter, but though oft slain, they as often rise again, and reappear in new historical sketches, as undisputed history. Having gone thus far, we will say that President Aaron Burr, the father, was not the son of Jonathan Burr, of Dorchester, Mass., or of Isaac Burr, but of "Daniel Burr, of Upper Meadows," Fairfield, Conn., and that Vice President Aaron Burr, the son, was buried in broad daylight, after suitable funeral solemnities in the chapel of Princeton College; and that the simple stone which marks his grave was set in its place also in open daylight, by the direction, and at the expense of relatives.

Returning from this digression, which we have allowed ourselves to run into for the double purpose of correcting history, and illustrating the necessity of its correction, we close with the observation that the great work of Mommsen is fortunate in having a competent translator sanctioned and aided by the author.

*Ancient States and Empires: for Colleges and Schools.* By John Lord, LL.D., author of the "Old Roman World," "Modern History," etc. New York: Charles Scribner & Company, 1869.

This book is divided into three leading parts. I. The Ancient Oriental Nations. II. The Grecian States. III. The Roman Empire. It is not a mere compendium of history, or skeleton of dry and dead annals. It has, like all the author's productions, the flesh and blood hues, the motion, breath, pulsations of life. It is full of graphic portraitures of the life, manners, customs, institutions of the ancients, and of the growth of Oriental, Grecian, and Roman culture and civilization. There are few, who have not known and felt the inspiration of the author's enthusiasm, poetic eloquence, and vivid delineations in his great historic lectures. They will find all these animating the printed page. They will also find the condensation and clearness required in a text-book for the young, enlivened with all the brilliancy of which the matter and space admit. We think that it is highly adapted to the use of students in schools and colleges, and of all, who, before going into thorough historical research, wish a pleasant introduction to the elements of ancient history.

*A Dictionary and Concordance of the Names of Persons and Places and of some of the more Remarkable Terms, which occur in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.* Compiled by William Henderson, M. D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Co. 1869.

This is a very elaborate and complete work, in the field it occupies. The original Hebrew and Greek as well as the English proper name is given, and so far as we have been able to examine, it is done in a thorough and scholarly manner. It meets a real want, which most persons, especially ministers, accustomed to search the Scriptures, have often felt. Its typography and whole style of publication are excellent. It is a credit to the medical profession to have produced such a work so far outside of their own field.

*The Science of Thought; A System of Logic.* By Charles Carroll Everett. Boston: William V. Spencer. For sale by James Miller, 647 Broadway, New York. 1869.

The prevalent definition of Logic as the science of the laws of thought, and of Pure Logic as the science of the necessary and formal laws of thought or thinking, would suggest the inference, that the above title means one of the usual run of treatises on logic, elementary or advanced, of which we have some new samples every year. But it is far otherwise. It is more of a treatise on metaphysics and philosophy than logic. The several departments, terms, and technics of logic are merely the thread on which these philosophical speculations are traced and strung. We should better express our conception of the book by styling it, *Logic in its applications to Philosophy.* So Mill's Logic, is really the application of logic to the inductive, more especially the physical sciences. Dr. Gerhart some years ago published a volume entitled, "Philosophy and Logic," which was principally a sort of philosophical christology, followed by Beck's short and compact synopsis of the elements of logic.

The philosophy of the present work is essentially Hegelian. But it must be allowed the merit of treating the themes involved with a freshness, clearness, vigor, and pith, which present this system in a garb the most attractive, and an aspect the most plausible, to the Anglo-Saxon mind. In a large portion of the work the reader is conscious only of being in communion with a learned and powerful thinker, who knows full well how to say what he thinks; who elucidates many profound and difficult problems, and makes us think he is quite as often establishing as destroying the foundations of morality and religion.

He gives the following analysis of Hegel's famous formula that "pure being is nothing." "This is not true, he (Hegel) says, for the one is the infinite fulness and the infinite possibility. Pure, absolute, undetermined, undeveloped being is not any *thing*, because every thing involves limitation. We say of an object, *It is.* The listener wants to know *what* it is."—Page 391. "If you say *God is, very well, what is he?* When you say *is*, you say nothing till you say what is, and what it is, you might as well say *is not*, as *is*. Thus pure, absolute, undivided being would be nothing, because it is not as yet subjected to the limitations by which it becomes something. Pure, unbroken light is indistinguishable from darkness. If the universe were full of light, with no object to break this light into color, you might as well say that the universe is dark as that it is light."—Page 28.

But is it indeed so, that being, in order to be "pure," must be non-being, and by becoming infinite becomes mere blankness and non-entity? In order to have qualities, must it come into finite limitations, and can it only pass out of them by vanishing into non-entity? Is light nothing, if boundless and unbroken?

The other great formula of Hegelianism, that "thought and being are identical" the author also presents. He claims to have shown us that "Reason, *being* outside of us and the thought within us were only opposite sides of the same thing, that they were at heart identical, and thus that in thought we find the reality we seek."—P. 374. This identifies all beyond us with our own thought, and turns every non-ego into a form of the ego. Of course it runs into Hegelianism, or Pantheism.

Yet it must not be inferred hence, that our author intends to undermine morality, religion or even revelation, whatever he may do in fact. He gives us his "Logic of Ethics," with no mean ability, and even lays a quasi, if not a real foundation for the possibility of miracles. "If there is a sphere of spiritual life above us, it has its laws as fixed as those of our own life; and any manifestation of them in our own life would be miraculous, but not lawless."—P. 189.

*The Principles of Logic, for High Schools and Colleges.* By A. Schuyler, M. A., Professor of Mathematics and Logic, in Baldwin University. Cincinnati: Wilson, Hinkle & Co. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. New York: Clark & Maynard.

Prof. Schuyler has given us another of those treatises on Logic, of which we have more or less every year. Some have for their chief aim original contributions in the way of discovery and elucidation in the science; others the adaptation of principles already known to the purpose of teaching in text-books elementary or advanced; and a still larger number seek to combine both ends in various proportions, in the same book.

Prof. Schuyler's work belongs to the third class, although adaptation to the purposes of teaching has had a leading place in his aim and plan.

His arrangement of topics and order of treatment are in many respects novel; sometimes an improvement on the past, oftener not. Like some other late treatises, he seeks to combine the results of the old school logic, with the later analytic initiated by Kant and further developed by Hamilton, Mansel, Thompson, Bowen and others. Among the different manuals of elementary logic, some are better suited to beginners, some to more advanced students, some to the first and some to the second drill in the science. And for either stage some teachers would prefer one text-book, or another, according to their own special forte, or that of their pupils.

The present volume surpasses all others in illustrations to the eye by diagrams. It is, however, characterized by an extreme measure of that condensation almost to the briefest and barest definition, a sufficiency of which is requisite to in any good text-book. But this process is overdone, when what is gained in density is at the expense of clearness, or necessitates too much preliminary training on the part of the student. It has been the way of the most accomplished educators to take their pupils through the elements of logic, before introducing them to mental philosophy. They need the intellectual gymnastics furnished by logic as a propædentic to psychology and metaphysics. But our author begins his work with a series of definitions in psychology and metaphysics,

almost every word of which needs defining to those uninstructed in these branches, and must disable teacher and pupil alike, unless the former is perfect master of them, and of the art of teaching them. Thus he begins by defining intuitions, and then classifying them as empirical or real intuitions, subjective and objective, and rational or formal intuitions; those whose objects are apprehended by the reason as necessary: 1st, Logical; 2d, Mathematical, and then, in the words and letters following, states,—

"3 Conditions.

1. Of objective empirical intuitions.
   1st. Objective conditions: external phenomena.
   2d. Subjective conditions: the senses, sight, hearing, touch, taste, smell.
2. Of subjective empirical intuitions.
   1st. Objective conditions: mental phenomena.
   2d. Subjective conditions: consciousness.
3. Of rational intuitions.
   1st. Objective conditions: necessary reality.
   *a* Absolute { *α* space. *β* time.
   *b* Conditional { *α* substance. *β* cause. *γ* self-evident relations.
   2d. Subjective condition: reason."

So half of the second page contains quite the skeleton of a profound metaphysical system, which it takes a proficient in the science to understand. We think it presumes too much on the knowledge of pupils, and of the majority of "High School" teachers.

*Daily Bible Illustrations; being Original Readings for a Year on Subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology, especially designed for the Family Circle.* By John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

These readings are for every day in the week, and every week in the year, founded upon the salient events in the Scriptural narratives, from the beginning of Genesis, onward to the end of the Acts of the Apostles. They fill four large and closely-printed volumes. Without being exhaustive, they are not shallow in scholarship or theology, while they possess those characteristics which have made the author's Cyclopedia and other productions so welcome and precious to ministers and Christians. They are simple and concise, often shedding light on some difficulty, or clearing some obscurity, and, with great freshness and *naïveté*, drawing, through new lines of association, doctrinal and practical suggestions and inferences, which are at once new without being crude, and old without being common-place. They are, in form and amount, convenient for daily study, and seem to us profitable, not only as helps to private and family devotion, to Sabbath school and Bible-class teachers and theological students, but as suggestive to the pastor of edifying topics and material for his public ministrations.

We have to thank the Messrs. Carter for bringing this rich repository of Scriptural knowledge down to a price which does not, as in so many books, make it forbidden fruit to those who most need and crave it. What has hitherto been published in eight volumes at $14, is brought within four volumes, and in good style, at $7. We know not where $7 can be turned to better account. In no way

can a greater boon be conferred on the ministry and other reading classes than by lowering the price of good books to something like former figures.

*History of the Reformation in Europe in the time of Calvin.* By J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D. D., author of the "History of the Reformation of the 16th Century," etc. Vol. V. England, Geneva, Ferrara. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1869.

On the appearance of the first volume of this great historical work, we devoted a full article to the consideration of its distinctive features. To the accuracy of history it joins the charm of romance, and it enlivens the great current of Reformation history, by the accession of living streams of original research. No wonder that the previous volumes had a sale rivalling, if not surpassing, that of Macaulay's England, we had almost said, the great novels of the time. All will surely wish to enjoy D'Aubigné's graphic sketches of the course of the Reformation in England and Geneva, while Presbyterians will be especially eager to behold the portrait, life, and labors of Calvin, so conspicuous in the Reformation that his church and theology bore, by way of eminence, the name, "Reformed."

*Paul, the Preacher; or, a Popular and Practical Exposition of his Discourses and Speeches, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.* By John Eadie, D.D., LL. D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the United Church. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

Dr. Eadie has become so well and favorably known by his commentaries, that almost any work bearing his name will have a passport to public favor. This volume, however, although indirectly related to his studies as professor of Biblical literature, is not directly in the line of Biblical learning and exegesis. It is really a series of popular and practical essays relative to the great apostle's speeches, which read (at least many of them) as if they might have been sermons, or parts of sermons, founded on them. But they evince the learning and culture, the logical power, freshness, and force, the warmth and vividness, sometimes rising to brilliancy, the evangelical truth, earnestness, and unction, which usually pervade the author's productions. Wherever we open the volume we find sentences or trains of thought or outbursts of feeling which stir us.

*Sorrow.* By Rev. John Reid, author of "Voices of the Soul answered in God." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

This book speaks to the sons and daughters of affliction and sorrow. Probably no other could speak to so large an audience. And it speaks with tenderness, pathos, and delicacy, yet with scriptural wisdom, to men on the various phases of sorrow which it sets forth. The author, as we noticed in his previous volume, brings to the topics of which he treats "thoughts that breathe, and words that burn;" but he also brings to bear sound and wholesome common sense where it is greatly needed, and yet, from reluctance to invade the sacredness of sorrow, is apt to be withheld, even when most needed. "The art and show that sometimes connect themselves with funerals are distasteful to a sad spirit that is pure and refined. The least vestige of ostentation runs counter to unmixed sorrow." "There is a peculiar practice with some persons of staying at home on the Sabbath after a friend has died; sometimes a whole family will thus be absent from the sanctuary. Such a practice cannot be justified. A stronger

desire than usual should prompt to attend church, rather than stay away from it. If Divine help is needed at any time, it is certainly needed in time of trouble." There is much mingling of refined Christian sentiment and feeling with plain and sober truth. The type, paper, and binding are a credit to the publishers.

*The Shepherd of Israel; or, Illustrations of the Inner Life.* By the Rev. Duncan McGregor, M. A., Minister of St. Peter's, Dundee, Scotland. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

We take it for granted that this work, which unfolds the saving offices of Christ, as related to the inner life of his people, with reference to his high place as Shepherd and Bishop of souls, gives to a larger audience through the press, the substance of what had been previously given by the author to his own congregation from the pulpit. It is discriminating, experimental, and full of Christ.

*Adventures on the Hunting-Grounds of the World.* By Victor Meunier. Illustrated with twenty-two wood-cuts. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869.

This is another volume of Scribner's Illustrated Library of Wonders, designed at once to instruct and entertain, especially the young. It is a compilation, gathered from all quarters, of the extant narratives of the most desperate and terrible encounters of man with the most mighty and ferocious of animals.

*The Crown without the Conflict; or, Musings on the Death of Children.* By Rev. R. H. Lundie, M. A. Fairfield, Liverpool. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

This neat little tract is for the consolation of parents, whose young children are taken away, only that they may gain the "Crown without the Conflict."

*American Institutions.* By Alexis de Tocqueville. Translated by Henry Reeve, Esq. Revised and edited with notes, by Francis Bowen, Alford Professor of Moral Philosophy in Harvard University. Sever, Francis & Co., Boston and Cambridge. 1870.

The character of De Tocqueville's great work, the first, if not the only, real philosophic treatise upon our democratic institutions, in the concrete forms of their actual existence, was fully established among statesmen and thinkers in Europe and America, immediately after its original publication. This high character it has never lost. Very largely its doctrines, if sometimes contradicted, have been re-echoed by subsequent history. We will only add the publishers' advertisement.

"The present publication is identical with Vol. I. of the "Democracy in America." It is issued in its present style, to furnish the most valuable portion of the work in a cheaper and more popular form, and with especial reference to its use as a text-book."

*Life of Oliver Cromwell.* By Charles Adams, D. D. New York: Carlton & Porter, Sunday School Union, 200 Mulberry Street. Pp. 268.

"This book attempts a true and unprejudiced picture of a great and good man —a man who, with some marked faults, was distinguished by eminent virtues— who was great in arms and in statesmanship; and, in his views of religious lib-

erty, stood a century in advance of his times, and who, from early manhood to death, feared and served God with an earnestness of purpose and a depth and constancy of devotion rarely surpassed." Thus writes the author in his preface. This extract enables the reader to determine what to expect. That Cromwell was great no man doubts; his goodness has ever been a mooted point. We shall rejoice if Dr. Adams settles it to the satisfaction of the public as thoroughly as he has done to his own.

*A Collection of the Proverbs of all Nations. Compared, explained, and illustrated.* By Walter B. Kelly. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1869.

Everybody can understand what a book must be at all answering to such a title. There are few that could not find interest and profit in the study or perusal of it, if it be well executed. As far as we can judge from a hurried glance, it has this merit.

*Stepping Heavenward.* By E. Prentiss, author of the "Flower of the Family," the "Susy Books," etc., etc. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1870.

Mrs. Prentiss has earned a high reputation as an authoress who presents religious truth in the form of narratives attractive to juvenile and often older readers. In this she shows how the course of Providence is full of incidents, which, however grievous or joyous in themselves, rightly improved, at once bring the Christian nearer to heaven, and ripen him for it.

*Bible Animals: being a Description of every Living Creature mentioned in the Scriptures, from the Ape to the Coral.* By the Rev. S. G. Wood, M. A., F. L. S. (Pp. xxix., 652.) New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

The author of this very attractive and valuable volume is well known for his former works in the department of natural history. His books have been distinguished for extended and thorough research, freshness and vivacity in style, and beautiful illustration. He here offers us an exhaustive work, designed not to discuss every separate passage in which the Scriptures make mention of animals, but every one in which identification is important, and those besides in which the beauty or force depends on the perception of specific characteristics. It is therefore a most valuable supplement to our commentaries and Bible dictionaries. Without indorsing in detail every identification and interpretation, we take pleasure in commending this volume to intelligent readers as well as to critical students of God's Word. It will commend itself to every eye that sees it by the excellence of the mechanical execution. Porter, Pierotti, Palgrave, Tristram, and other recent travellers and writers, are made tributary as well as the older authorities. We cannot doubt that this will be not only a favorite gift-book for the holiday season, but a work that will gain and hold its place in many a lay and clerical library.

*The Satires, Epistles, and Art of Poetry of Horace.* Translated into English verse by John Conington, M. A., Corpus Professor, etc. London: Bell & Daldy. 1870.

In his early prime the accomplished Professor of Latin at Oxford has been taken away. The tidings of his death anticipated in this country the reception of

this latest of his works. His edition of Virgil in the *Bibliotheca Classica*, of which Vol. III. has not yet appeared, his admirable metrical translation of Virgil, and that of Horace, perhaps a little less felicitous, together with occasional and various contributions to periodical literature, had made him widely and favorably known, and excited high hopes for the future. This last work will, as his last, have its peculiar interest, and will be judged with the tenderness of a bereaved friend, except by those accomplished critics who know no persons and own no friendships in literature. The spirit of many of these satires and epistles has been admirably caught and given, and the difficulty of the task makes any such measure of success no slight triumph. No one is better aware of this than our translator himself, as his introduction distinctly recognizes. We might cite many a line, couplet, or longer passage that will often come back with pleasure to those who have wearied themselves with the endeavor to reproduce some of the wonderfully happy phrases of Horace; and if we should adduce other examples of a more partial success, it would only illustrate the difficulty of clothing the witty, polished poet of the Augustan age of Rome in a becoming English dress.

*Howe's Pictures of English Poets, for Fireside and School-room.* New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869.

Our esteemed and accomplished friend, the authoress, has proposed in this volume to supply in a somewhat familiar and popular form, a sort of introduction in one department to the more formal and elaborate histories of English literature. To this end she has selected fifteen of our chief poets, between Chaucer and Burns, and has sketched their lives, their times, their chief productions in a graceful and lively, and at the same time solidly instructive way, so as to guide and quicken, especially in our young people, the desire for a better knowledge of our standard poets. We congratulate her on her success, and anticipate for her book a welcome in many homes and schools.

*The Pursuit of Holiness.* A sequel to "Thoughts on Personal Religion." By Edward M. Goulburn, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1870.

The sacramentarian element in the author's writings, it will readily be believed, is little to our taste. We have not understood the spirit of all grace as moving so exclusively in the right lines of ecclesiasticism. Apart from this, we know few modern works or topics connected with practical religion more refreshing, or better adapted to be useful, than Dr. Goulburn's. The volume before us will in many a Christian's experience promote very effectively the end indicated in the title.

*The Sacrifice of Praise.* Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, designed for public worship and private devotion. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869.

This collection, prepared by a committee of the session of the Brick Church in New York, cannot fail to commend itself as an aid to private Christian devotion, and will make its way into not a few other sanctuaries than that for which it was prepared. The selection and arrangement are very judicious, and satisfying both to critical judgment and Christian feeling. Forms of the hymns are restored in many instances where mutilation had been the law. Some of the finest

hymns in the volume are from living or recent English authors, such as Grant, Kelly, Conder, Edmiston, Gill, and Lyte, imperfectly known, if known at all, in this country. The collection is of manageable size, 616 hymns, and has attached to it an appendix of thirty-four pages, containing useful biographical and other notices of the chief authors of our hymnology. Each recurrence to the volume has given a fresh satisfaction.

*Janet's Love and Service.* By Margaret M. Robertson. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 1869. 12mo, pp. 581.

A pleasant story of a servant, the happy influence of whose good sense and piety is shown in her charge of a motherless family. The scene is laid in Canada.

*The Spanish Barber: a Tale of the Bible in Spain.* By the author of "Mary Powell." New York: M. W. Dodd. 1869. 12mo, pp. 309.

A simple story of Bible distribution in a land to which the hearts of Christians have been turned by recent events with no common interest.

*Rameses the Great, or Egypt 3,300 Years Ago.* Translated from the French of F. de Lanoye, with thirty-nine wood-cuts. 12mo, pp. 296. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 1870.

Rameses II. was the Sesostris of Greek historians, and probably the Pharaoh at whose court Moses was trained. The fame of his arms and the grandeur of his military expeditions filled the ancient world with wonder. Some of the most magnificent structures of ancient Egypt, and its most colossal figures, bear his legend, and works of domestic antiquity ascribed to him, such as his artesian well, and his canal linking the Red Sea with the Nile, remind us of the scientific achievements of recent times. The writer of this sprightly little volume has sought to combine in a popular form some of the striking results of learned investigations into the history and antiquities of the land of the Pharaohs. Among the curiosities which it contains, is an extract from a papyrus, giving an insight into the literature of the period, in which a contemporary celebrates the valor of this prince displayed on an occasion of extraordinary peril. His cruel edict relating to Hebrew children finds its parallel in his inhuman treatment of helpless captives. The bitter bondage imposed on the Israelites is abundantly illustrated by representations of slaves urged by taskmasters to fulfil their tale of bricks. The very features of this ancient monarch became as familiar from the monuments as those of a modern statesman, and the numerous wood-cuts of restored buildings and scenes from actual life place that long-buried epoch almost before our eyes.

*Admiral Coligny, and the Rise of the Huguenots.* By Rev. W. M. Blackburn, Professor of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History in the Theological Seminary of the Northwest, and author of "William Farel," "Ulrich Zwingli," "Young Calvin in Paris," etc. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. Vol. i., pp. 384; vol. ii., pp. 387.

Professor Blackburn is already favorably known as a graphic historical writer. In these volumes he has chosen an interesting and important theme. The Huguenots, from their character, their sufferings, their fidelity, and their influence,

have strong claims on the admiration and gratitude of all Evangelical Christians, and, on some accounts, specially on Americans. Thousands of American Christians have Huguenot blood in their veins. From the intrinsic importance of his subject, as well as for the lively manner in which it is treated, Prof. Blackburn's book will commend itself to a wide circle of readers. It is, in fact, a history of the French Protestants during the most important part of their existence, as connected with the chivalrous leader whose life forms the immediate subject of these volumes.

*Seed Thoughts, or Selections from Caryl's Exposition of Job.* With an Introduction by Rev. J. E. Rockwell, D. D. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. Pp. 180.

It is enough to make the men of this generation hang their heads, when they look on a commentary on a single book of Scripture in two bulky folio, or twelve quarto volumes, and remember their ancestors read such books, and called for one edition of them after another. They are immeasurably beyond our strength or patience. It is a good service, therefore, to select from these, to men as they now are, unreadable volumes, the pithy and precious thoughts with which they abound, and feed them as crumbs, as mothers feed their children. We, therefore, thank Dr. Rockwell for his labor of love in behalf of his feeble brethren.

*Golden Hills: a Tale of the Irish Famine.* By the author of "Cedar Creek." Presbyterian Board. Pp. 376.

A very painful, yet instructive subject. The sufferings of the Irish during the famine have been overruled, as the author endeavors to show, for the permanent improvement of the condition of the peasantry.

*Lectures, Expository and Practical, on the Book of Ecclesiastes.* By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. Philadelphia: Wm. S. Rentoul. 8vo, pp. 428.

This volume has a well-established reputation. It consists of twenty-three lectures upon the book of Ecclesiastes delivered in course in the years 1810 and 1811, by the author, to his congregation in Glasgow, and subsequently revised and published in London in 1821. Without any pretence of critical or philological research, and based almost exclusively on the common English version, with little discussion of variant opinions, it presents a sober, judicious investigation into the scope of the book, and the aim of its several parts, with the view mainly to develop their practical bearings, and inculcate the lessons of wisdom and experience which are here recorded. In this aspect the work is one of solid and sterling merit. It promises well for Rentoul's projected "Library of Standard Bible Expositions," that the beginning has been made with publications of the high character of Wardlaw on Ecclesiastes, and Moody Stuart on the Song of Solomon. The third volume of the series, "Expositions of the whole Books of Ruth and Esther," by George Lawson, D.D., is promised in the course of the present month.

*The Song of Songs: an Exposition of the Song of Solomon.* By the Rev. A. Moody Stuart, one of the ministers of the Free Church of Scotland. Philadelphia: Wm. S. Rentoul. 1869. 8vo, pp. xiv. and 518.

This is a delightful book, full of the marrow of Divine truth and abounding in the suggestions of a ripe Christian experience. The devout earnestness which

pervades it, the vigorous freshness of its style, and the varied imagery with which it is adorned, borrowed from this highly figurative song, but with novel applications, and brought into new connections, lend it a peculiar charm, and show it to be the work of a skilful householder able to bring forth out of his treasure things new and old. Like his friend, McCheyne, for whom, as for many in every age who have combined ardent piety with an imaginative turn of mind, canticles possessed special attractions, the author finds celestial mysteries springing out of every verse.

The volume before us should be styled a devout application rather than a strict exposition of the Song of Solomon. Few books of Scripture present more difficulties, or have been the subject of more discordant and conflicting interpretations; and few, if any, have been more frequently commented upon. Many of these professed expositions are wholly unprofitable, or worse. Some utterly deny or overlook its Divine character, making of it a mere song of worldly love with no meaning beyond that which appears upon the surface. Amid all varieties of opinion, however, one thing has been intuitively true to the Christian consciousness from the beginning, that this Song has a spiritual significance, suggestive of the mutual love of God and his people, of Christ and his church. If this cardinal truth be held fast, great latitude may safely be allowed in the use made of its particular expressions, and the devout meditations gathered about them. If a lively fancy, and an affluent imagination, is in place anywhere in the handling of the Word of God, it may be tolerated amid these rich oriental symbols, and these doubtful enigmas, which seem to challenge it to a trial of strength, and tempt it to essay the unriddling of their hidden meaning. And whether the true solution be furnished in all its parts or not, it is no unworthy or unremunerative service to find in this captivating Song, so fragrant with the charms of nature and of art, a parable of sacred things, to gather devout and quickening thoughts about its glowing words, to bring out fresh analogies between things human and Divine, and to hold up its polished gems where they may sparkle in the rays of heavenly light.

This is what the Rev. Mr. Stuart has done. He has not supplied an exposition of the Canticles, which could be defended by strict rules of hermeneutics. He does not even claim that the application which he has made of it is the only proper one. He explicitly declares the reverse. But while conceiving it to be "a many-sided mirror designed to reflect, and reflecting most truly whatever portion of the Lord's dealings with his people is placed before it," he has chosen to make a specific application of it to the gospel history, of which he regards it as a prophetic epitome, or to which at least he fancies that he finds constant parallels and suggestive analogies throughout. The basis of his view is thus stated by himself:—

"We find three notes of time which have commended themselves to general reception, and which we shall give in the words of three of our old Bibles. Commencing with the last: 'We have a little sister,' the note is, 'The Jewish Church speaketh of the Church of the Gentiles' (viii. 8); then in the centre, 'Eat, O friends, drink,' it is 'Christ speaketh to the Apostles' (v. 1); and in the commencing verse of all, 'Let him kiss me,' the note is, 'The church of the coming of Christ speaketh, saying.' Combining these three, we shall have at the beginning of the Song, Christ about to come; in the middle of it, Christ finishing his work on earth; and in the end, Christ ascended and having poured out the Spirit. If there is individual historic reference in each of these three points, their remarkable conjunct feature is, that they are not isolated points, but three distinct links

belonging to one chain in regular order of history—the cry for the advent, the last supper, and the calling of the Gentiles. Now, it appears to us that this outline may be filled up by the intermediate history taken from the Gospels and Acts, and that not merely in a few occasional texts, but in a narrative consecutive throughout in its leading features."

This view has greatly the advantage of other applications of this book, which have been attempted, to periods past or future, whether in Israelitish or Ecclesiastical history, and which have so generally lost themselves in unimportant details, or assumed almost the aspect of mere secularity. This carries the writer and his readers into the very centre and groundwork of the religious life. Many plausible coincidences are pointed out; great ingenuity is shown in the adaptation; points are adroitly made, and various particulars are skilfully woven in. It is not likely that many persons will be convinced that this is the specific design of the Song; but they will find much precious truth set forth in a lucid and edifying manner. The value of the volume is also enhanced by select notes added from other sources, and by the succinct, but discriminating review, given of preceding commentators upon the Song.

The American publisher has added a metrical version of his own, in which he adopts the divisions and the verbal explications of Mr. Stuart. A composition so highly poetical and of such artistic finish, can best be appreciated in a translation, not only transfused with the spirit of the original, but which shall emulate the decoration and embellishment of its outward form. Instead of requiring the apology made for occasional deviations from strict literality, we would have been better pleased if he had allowed himself yet more liberty, and suffered his muse to soar with fewer trammels. A graceful versification and elegance of diction are necessary to represent worthily the beautiful charm which invests it in the original. As a sample, we give the following paraphrase of vii. 1,2, which is interesting likewise from the principle of interpretation adopted in a much-disputed passage:—

"How beauteous are thy feet,
In glitt'ring sandals seen;
O prince's daughter fair!
Thy jewelled zone, I ween,
Which all thy vests unites
In one compacted band,
How skilfully 'tis wrought
By cunning workman's hand!

"Thy girdle-clasp appears
Like to a goblet round,
Well-filled with choicest wine,
With mantling rubies crowned;
Thy broidered vesture fine
Of golden tissue bright,
Is like a heap of wheat
Railed round with lilies white."

*Diomede: from the Iliad of Homer.* By William R. Smith. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869.

How shall Homer be translated? If the true character of the Iliad as a work of art is to be retained, then the translation should be rhythmical. The rhythmical laws, however, of the ancient Greek and the modern English differ so greatly, that all efforts to reproduce the hexameter have utterly failed. Not even the beauty and exquisite harmony of Longfellow's muse can reconcile us to the attempt he makes in Evangeline to naturalize hexameters in English. The earliest metre adopted was the fourteen syllabled Iambic, by Chapman, in "The Iliads of Homer, Prince of Poets, never before in any language truly translated, &c., done according to the Greek, by George Chapman." There was an earlier translation of a portion of the Iliad but we have never met with it. The Spenserian stanza, the fatally facile ballad style, blank verse, and the rhymed couplet have each had their advocates; and the best scholars in England are

now discussing this Homeric question. Prof. Arnold prefers the hexameter, and Prof. Newman the ballad measure, while Prof. Blackie by precept and example shows the power of the "fourteen-syllabled" rhymed verse. Pope's Iliad, as his translation has been well styled, is not that of Homer; and the same remark may be made of the other versions. Mr. Smith's translation of the fifth book of the Iliad is in rhyming verse of ten syllables, easy and flowing, and possessing considerable merit. But it lacks the simplicity, the power, and the poetic fire of Homer. It is a paraphrase rather than a translation. Of all the recent translations, those of Prof. Blackie and Lord Derby are the best, the former containing some passages of greater power than the latter, and in the judgment of many manifesting higher poetical power; but the latter combines with great fidelity to the original a high degree of poetic merit, which, in our opinion, renders it the best production of the Iliad we have ever seen. We have put it to the severest test by reading portions of it aloud to successive college-classes, and have never known an instance in which it did not completely absorb their attention, and meet with their warmest approbation.

The following, also late issues of the Presbyterian Board of Publication, are choice, readable, and even when largely fictitious, so far founded on fact as to be instructive and profitable. They are fresh in style and topic, and out of the hackneyed line of stories. We will briefly describe them.

*Margaret Gordon; or, Can I Forgive?* By Mrs. S. A. Myers, author of "Poor Nicholas," "Gulf Stream," "Railroad Boy," "Margaret Ashton," etc.

A narrative of the early life, the pleasures and trials, and especially the spiritual struggles and triumphs of Margaret Gordon. The book is founded upon facts drawn carefully from personal experience, and is full of important suggestions and instructions in regard to the Christian life.

*The Manuscript Man.* By the author of "Golden Hills."

A picture of life in the western part of Ireland. A few rays of gospel light are introduced by the agency of two or three pious persons into the midst of a community plunged into Papal darkness, superstition, and bigotry. Yet the truth gradually worked its way, and triumphed in many hearts and homes. It is a book to circulate among Romanists, but not them exclusively.

*Rivers of Water in a Dry Place. An account of the Introduction of Christianity into South Africa, and of Mr. Moffat's Missionary Labors. Designed for the Young.*

An account of the missionary labors of Mr. Moffat and other Christian pioneers in Southern Africa, containing many incidents of a highly instructive, and sometimes amusing character, with many hairbreadth escapes from wild beasts and wild men, presented in sprightly style.

*Alypius of Tagaste.* By Mrs. Webb, author of "Naomi" and "Pomponia."

This volume opens with a vivid picture of a terrible scene in the amphitheatre at Alexandria in Egypt, where several Christians were killed by wild beasts be-

cause of their Christian faith. It presents to the reader, in a connected narrative, views of the persecutions and struggles of the Christians in an early age of the church, and exhibits the power of Christian faith to triumph over all opposition.

*Pomponia; or, the Gospel in Cæsar's Household.* By Mrs. Webb, author of "Naomi," "Alypius of Tagaste," etc.

This graphic narrative describes the way in which the leaven of Christianity worked and spread among the people in the days of its early purity and power. The scene is laid partly in Britain, and partly in the city of Rome, while the Apostle Paul was still living. Many of the personages mentioned are historical; some of them are mentioned in Scripture. The author depicts in vivid colors the difficulties and the triumphs of early Christianity in the courts of Tiberius Cæsar and Nero.

The following contributions to juvenile and Sunday-school literature have also been received from the Presbyterian Board of Publication:—

*Love's Labor; or, the Seed and its Blossom.* By Abby Eldredge, author of "Lucy Clifton," "Hattie Powers," etc.

*Grace Harland; or, Christ's Path to Happiness.* By the author of "The Little Watchman."

*True Riches, and Other Stories.* Compiled for the Presbyterian Board of Publication.

*The Child of the Rocks: a Tale for Youth.* Translated from the German of Dr. Chr. G. Barth.

*Kardoo, the Hindoo Girl; and Other Stories.* Compiled for the Presbyterian Board of Publication.

*The Brave Heart.* By Fleeta.

*The Straw-bonnet Maker; or, Ways of Usefulness.*

*Mabel Clarke; or, Looking unto Jesus.*

*Tim, the Collier Boy.*

*I have, and Oh, had I; or, Lessons in Contentment.*

*Cornelia's Visit to Roseville.* By the author of "Harry and his Dog," "Kitty Dennison," etc.

*Martyrs and Sufferers for the Truth.* By William S. Plumer, D. D.

*Setma, the Turkish Girl.* Translated from the German of Dr. Barth.

*Little Girls' Habits.* By Zell.

*Talks with Little Emily.* By Zell.

*Lucy at Home.* By Zell.

*Mrs. Latimer's Meetings.* By Nellie Grahame.

*The Willow Basket.* By Mrs. E. J. Wylie.

*Stories for the Little Ones:*—Home Missionaries; Contrast; The Lion's Den; The Golden Rule; Stray Lambs; The Watchful Eye; Carrie's Hard Lesson; Alice Townsend's Garden; Shining Lights; The Casket of Gems.

*The Two Little Cousins.* By Zell.

*A Little More, and Other Stories.* Compiled for the Presbyterian Board of Publication.

## PAMPHLETS.

*An Address at the Centennial Celebration of the American Whig Society of the College of New Jersey*, June 29, 1869. By Richard S. Field, LL. D. Princeton: Stelle & Smith. 1869.

The subject of this able and scholarly address is the "Obligations of Christianity to Learning." Judge Field insists with great force that knowledge is a good in itself, and that, as all truth is harmonious, so its parts are mutually supporting, and truth in science and literature must, if understood aright, harmonize with and corroborate the truths of religion. He also maintains that the culture of the intellect as one, and that the guiding element in our higher nature, must be propitious to religion. He traces historically the services which learning and science have rendered to Christianity, and combats the arguments offered by superficial religionists against them, to prove them inimical or injurious thereto. We are glad to see eminent jurists, like Judge Field, showing the taste for letters, and the interest in the great questions related to religion in its connections with literature and science, evinced in this address. We think that all the professions gain strength, as well as refinement, from the *literæ humaniores*.

*The American Colleges and the American Public.* By Prof. Noah Porter, Yale College. From the *New Englander* for October, 1869.

This is the last of a series of articles in the *New Englander*, on the same topic, by the same author, which, with other articles from other writers, relative to the same subject in general, or Yale College in special, have occupied a large portion of that Quarterly during the past year. These discussions are valuable, nor can those who have any responsibility in guiding or shaping American colleges be wisely ignorant of them. This is especially true of Dr. Porter's papers on the subject, which, though of various merit, and a little intense on some points, nevertheless show the true characteristics, functions, and needs of these institutions, as developed from their origin, genesis, traditions, surroundings, and the ideal at which they should aim. They are full of sensible, judicious statements and suggestions, evident enough to all who have had much experimental knowledge of these institutions, but greatly in danger of being lost sight of, or disregarded, by those who have not.

The pamphlet before us defends the religious organization which prevails in most American colleges, and secures religious instruction on the basis of Catholic Christianity, but under the control of some one Christian denomination; indicates aversion to the system of choosing trustees by meetings of alumni lately inaugurated at Harvard; insists on the necessity of a good understanding between the trustees and faculty; and the impossibility, for a long time to come, of developing an American University which shall be able to attract to itself the great body of American students that now repair to European universities. "That material is something more than a few millions of money, and a score o brilliant occasional lectures. A great community of highly cultured scholars and literary men must first exist before the representatives of knowledge can appear who are competent to teach the choicest youth of the world, and before a large body of American pupils will be satisfied that they will find no advantage in going abroad." Besides, other things being equal, they prefer going abroad, if they

have the means. They love foreign travel, and the Yankee is a great cosmopolitan.

*The Liturgical Movement in the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches.* By Charles P. Krauth, D. D., Norton Professor of Theology in the E. L. Theological Seminary, in Philadelphia, and Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania. Lutheran Book Store, 807 Vine Street; Reform Publication Rooms, 54 N. Sixth Street, Philadelphia.

This is an able, critical, and historical survey of the liturgical question, beginning with some notice of the books issued by Dr. Shields and Rev. Charles W. Baird relative to this subject. It is more prominently, however, a review of the controversy between Drs. Nevin and Bomberger in regard to the liturgy of the German Reformed Church. Dr. Krauth strongly sides with Dr. Nevin, on whom, along with some minor criticisms, he bestows the highest praise. He evidently favors that view of public service and of liturgical forms, which exalts the altar, and maintains a real presence of the substance of our Lord's body and blood in the eucharist, *i. e.*, conformed to the Lutheran doctrine of con-substantiation. The tendency to exalt the pulpit he opposes as Puritanical. We cannot assent to his main idea, whatever we might think of the propriety of a brief authorized liturgy, to be tolerated, but not enforced. But while we thus differ from Dr. Krauth, we think his pamphlet of high historical and critical value.

*Third or Walnut Street Presbyterian Church, Louisville, Ky.—Jurisdiction of Federal and State Courts—Civil* v. *Ecclesiastical Courts—Rights in Church Property, etc.* Opinion of Special Chancellor A. Barnett, member of the Louisville Bar, October, 1869. Louisville: Courier Journal Job Department. 1869.

*The Great Presbyterian Case. The Declaration and Testimony* v. *The General Assembly. Decision of the Supreme Court of Missouri in he Lindenwood Female College Controversy in favor of the General Assembly.* Opinion of Judge Wagner. Published in the Missouri Democrat of Nov. 23, 1869.

These are the decisions of the courts thus far reached in the litigation arising upon the claim of the declaration and testimony secession to the rights, franchises, and possessions of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky and Missouri. In the latter State the case has gone through the court of last resort, and been decided in favor of the adherents of the Assembly. The case arose upon the claim of the Presbytery of St. Louis, composed of seceders, to the Lindenwood Female College, which, according to its charter, is to be held and controlled by trustees appointed by the Presbytery of St. Louis "connected with the General Assembly of the United States of America, usually styled the Old School." This claim was met by the counter-claim of that Presbytery of St. Louis which adheres to the Assembly, to the custody and control of the college. The court unanimously came to the following result, which they sustain by incontestible argument:—

"That under proper construction of the charter, it was indispensable to a valid election that it should be held by the Presbytery of St. Louis, being at the time in connection with the Old School Presbyterian General Assembly.

"That the decision of the General Assembly as to the *status* and ecclesiastical rights of the two bodies in question, each claiming to be the Presbytery of St. Louis, being a matter solely of ecclesiastical right and organization, is conclusive on the civil tribunals, and must be adopted by them.

"That even if this court had felt authorized to review or control the action of the General Assembly in respect to such questions, its action in these matters would have been sustained as lawful, and in entire conformity with the constitution of the Presbyterian Church."

The great and conclusive feature of this opinion is, that the judgments of ecclesiastical courts are conclusive in their own sphere, and not to be interfered with by civil tribunals, and that the determination of the highest court of a church, as to courts and members below, and who are and are not such, is conclusive. It is the prerogative of the General Assembly to decide who are in connection with it. It is not the province of the State to review, or hear appeals from such decisions. If it were, the church has lost its spiritual independence, and is bound, hand and foot, to the State.

The Walnut Street Church case of Louisville appears at first to have been decided in the same way, in favor of the body adhering to the Assembly. Here the question was, who were true elders of that church? those adhering to the Assembly, or those disobeying its orders, and withdrawing from its jurisdiction? On appeal, the higher court reversed the judgment of the lower, and decided in favor of the Declaration and Testimony appellants. Meanwhile the case was brought before the United States Court which, like the Supreme Court of Missouri, decided in favor of the adherents of the Assembly. At this stage, the seceders invoked the interposition of the Louisville Chancery Court, which gave the decision referred to at the head of this article, denied the jurisdiction of the Federal court, and awarded the property to the seceders. If this is persisted in, we doubt not the United States Supreme Court will set all right. The ground taken in this decision is, that "a claim of eldership asserted, involves a claim to the right of control, use, and management of the church property, and that far and no farther have the civil tribunals, etc. . . . If not elders, they had no such right, and in determining whether they were or were not elders, the civil court was forced to look into the form of church government to see if the rules governing its action had been complied with . . . to adjudge who are, and who are not elders." That is, when the General Assembly representing the whole church, and its supreme authority, has decided which of the two sets of claimants are true elders, the courts of Kentucky are to review their proceedings and judgments, and if they can find any thing therein, which *seems to them* contrary to the Presbyterian standards, they are to set aside the ecclesiastical judgment, and declare them no elders. Such a doctrine would render every ecclesiastical decision—Congregational, Episcopal, Papal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist—a nullity. An appeal, under pretext of litigating civil rights, would lie from all their decisions to the civil tribunals. True, the court must find who are elders. But how? Plainly by finding who have been constituted or decided to be such by the proper ecclesiastical body. And if they are adjudged elders by the body having jurisdiction in the premises, there is an end of the matter. Otherwise, religious independence and church authority are at an end.

This is not altered by the decision in the great Presbyterian Church case

in 1838. The issue then was, which was the true General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church—the true supreme tribunal. This required to be determined. It could turn on nothing else than the question, which was regularly and constitutionally established? But when this was ascertained, no court has undertaken to review the action of this supreme tribunal, to ascertain whether such action is *ecclesiastically* valid—whether those whom it decides to be elders are such. This field of judicial investigation and authority has not been claimed by civil courts, until recently. It cannot be conceded without a struggle.

*Our Creeds. A Sermon preached in the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church, New York, October*, 1869. By James M. Ludlow, one of the Pastors of the Church. Printed by order of the Consistory. New York: Sutton, Bowne & Co. 1869.

A timely and wholesome discourse, which we are glad the young pastor was moved to preach, and the venerable Consistory to publish in exquisite style. The historical account given in it of the genesis and uses of the great symbols of the church, ending with the Heidelberg and Westminster Catechisms, is perspicuous and earnest. And we hope the closing exhortation to the adherents of each to "stand together in nearer sympathy and mutual co-operation," will not be lost.

*Plans of Systematic Beneficence, prepared for the use of the Churches, by a Special Committee of the General Assembly of* 1869. Presbyterian Board of Publication.

This is a carefully elaborated document, containing a great variety of plans for promoting systematic and increased giving in our church. We are glad that they will be furnished gratuitously to congregations applying for them. They ought to be sown broadcast throughout the whole church. We are well aware that no plans can be successful unless actuated and inspired by living piety. On the other hand, good working plans greatly facilitate and augment the contributions of Christian benevolence.

*Two Letters on Causation and Freedom in Willing, addressed to John Stuart Mill; with an Appendix on the Existence of Matter, and on our Notions of Infinite Space.* By Rowland G. Hazard, author of "Language," "Freedom of the Mind in Willing," etc. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869.

Mr. Hazard is, we believe, a civilian of some prominence, residing in the State of Rhode Island. He has long shown a taste and aptitude for metaphysical studies, the fruits of which have already appeared in volumes that have attracted considerable attention. His work on "Freedom of Mind in Willing," along with another on the same subject, by Dr. Whedon, was reviewed in an extended article in the October number of this journal for 1864. In that review it was shown that the author, on the one hand, appeared to admit and insist that the mind in willing is guided by its intelligence and its wants or desires, and, though determining itself freely, determines itself none the less, as it pleases, in accordance with its wants and conditions; while yet, on the contrary side, he carried the absolute autonomy of the will to the extreme of putting its volitions beyond the reach of the Divine foreknowledge.

In the two letters to Mr. Mill which swell out to this good-sized volume, while he justly redargues the idealistic materialism and fatalism of that renowned and acute writer, he sets in opposition to them the views of his previous work on the will, many of them just, but sometimes verging to the extreme just indicated.

In the paper "On the Existence of Matter" he virtually takes ground against its existence. His concluding words are, "That the changes in our sensations are, in all cases, caused by intelligent effort within or without us, in neither case requiring the existence of matter as a distinct entity to account for the phenomenon, nor furnishing any proof or indication of such existence."—P. 273.

His reasonings take for granted that all our cognition of matter is in a change of sensations within us. He ignores any direct and immediate perception of externality and external objects, such as every human being is conscious of, with a certainty as complete as we have of our sensations, or of ourselves. It is quite as reasonable to deny the Ego as the non-Ego. If we must enter on this annihilating process, we think our true goal will be the nihilism of Mr. Mill, who attenuates and volatilizes both mind and matter into mere "permanent possibilities of sensations." For ourselves, if we had reduced matter to a nonentity, we should hardly think it worth while to attempt to preserve spirit and its prerogatives. We have no evidence of the existence of mind stronger than that for the existence of matter.

# Art. X.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

## GERMANY.

No other recent theological production has caused as much sensation in Germany as an article which appeared a few months since in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, entitled "Das Concil und die *Civiltà*," and which has since been expanded and published in a volume (pp. xix., 450) with the title "Der Papst und das Concil." It appears anonymously, the author assuming the pseudonym "Janus." It has already been published in England in a translation, and is there attracting great attention. It is written in the interest of the so-called "liberal" Catholicism, and exposes and denounces the doctrines and policy of the Jesuitical and ultramontane party with extraordinary ability, point, and learning. Hundreds of foot-notes refer to the literature and the authoritative documents of the church, and show how wide is the departure of the assailed party and tendency in Catholicism from the doctrine and practice of early Christianity. The first division of the book (pp. 8–37) relates to the proposed elevation of the propositions of the Pope's syllabus to the position of dogmas of the church. The second section (pp. 37–40) discusses the proposed development of Mariolatry, in the assertion of the assumption into heaven of the body of the Virgin Mary. The remainder is devoted to the proposed authoritative declaration of Papal infallibility. The doctrine of the early church (presented, of course, from a Catholic point of view) in respect to the simple primacy of the Bishop of Rome is set forth with great fulness and variety of illustration, and then the successive steps by which the Papacy was built up are clearly traced. The falsification of primitive documents, early undertaken in the interest of Romish claims and assumptions, the "magnificent fabrications" of the Decretals of Isidorus and their influence from the middle of the ninth century, the decree of Gratian about the middle of the twelfth, the various assumptions of power by Gregory VII., Innocent III., etc., the services rendered by the great monastic orders in their turn, and especially the Jesuits, the occasional protests and oppositions in the church to these novel doctrines and usages—all this, and much more, is presented with a most masterly and unsparing hand. Modern interpretations of Scripture (*i. e.*, the Papist) are exhibited in most significant and effective contrast with those of the Greek and Roman fathers, and the ingenuity and unscrupulousness with which history has been falsified at every critical point are set forth with great plainness of speech and ample illustration. The consequences to many unfortunate Popes of the past, if the doctrine of Papal infallibility should be made a dogma, are so presented that one would think that the kind, tender-hearted Pius IX. would beg his zealous bishops not thus to defame and hold up to ridicule his illustrious predecessors, and to spare him what the future may yet have for him.

The hopeless and pitiable attitude of the Council itself, if the ultramontane spirit rules it, is not the least telling point in this remarkable book.

As a contribution to church history it is a monograph of great value. It secures our warmest sympathy as a high-toned, eloquent, profoundly learned and intensely earnest protest against a monstrous error, threatening society as well as the church. Within about twenty-four years this reactionary movement has acquired a great momentum. As Protestants, we might perhaps rejoice to see every one of its demands granted by the Council, and the Papacy involved in all the natural and just results of such a course; as lovers of truth we would not see even Rome take one more false step, either to save or to complete her consistency, or for any other purpose whatsoever.

Not a few other books and pamphlets have appeared on the same general subject, or some of its kindred. We have, however, seen none that approaches this in power and value. It is republished by Roberts Brothers, Boston.

The most important contribution of the last quarter in the department of dogmatic theology is Part I. of Rothe's *Dogmatik*, edited by Schenkel, from manuscripts left by the author. The volume just issued (pp. 325, 8vo) treats of "The Consciousness of Sin." Other works in this department are "Theology of the Old Testament: Revealed Religion in the An e-Christian Stage of its Development" (vol. i.), by Hermann Schultz (Prof. at Basle); H. Plitt's "Zinzendorf's Theology" (vol. i.), treating of "Zinzendorf's Original Sound Doctrine;" O. Flügel's "Das Wunder und die Erkennbarkeit Gottes;" Prof. W. G. Schmidt's (of Leipsic) "Doctrine of the Epistle of James—a Contribution to the Theology of the New Testament;" H. Ritter's "Evil and its Consequences." From closely-related departments we select W. Otto's "Evangelical Practical Theology" (vol. i.); a second edition of Prof. C. L. W. Grimm's "Institutio Theologiæ Dogmaticæ Evangelicæ Historico-Critica;" "The Christian's Faith and Life," posthumous sermons by C. Harms; an eighth edition of Hagenbach's "Methodology;" P. Zimmermann's "Immortality of the Soul in Plato's Phædo;" E. Buchholz's "Moral View of the World in Pindar and Æschylus;" Vol. I., Part 2, of Alex. von Oettingen's "Moral Statistics and Christian Ethics," containing an analysis of the data, and a tabular supplement of 176 tables.

Among the late contributions to ecclesiastical and religious history we find Förster's "Chrysostom in his Relation to the Antiochene School;" Dr. E. Sachau's edition and version of "Syriac Fragments of Theodore of Mopsuesta, found in Nitrian Manuscripts in the British Museum;" Vol. VII., Part 1, of Hefele's "History of Councils," containing the history of the Council of Constance; Baumgarten's "Twelve Lectures on Church History, in Illustration of the Present State of the Church;" and Schiefner's translation from the Thibetan of Târanâtha's "History of Buddhism in India."

In exegesis very little calls for our notice. We record Moll's "Commentary on the Psalms" (in Lange's *Bibelwerk*), vol. i.; Neteler's "Structure of the Book of Isaiah, as a Basis for its Exposition, etc.;" "A Practical Exposition of Paul's Epistle to the Colossians," by Prof. Thomasius, of Erlangen; Seydel's "Prophecy of Obadiah;" Stein's "Talmudic Terminology, compiled and alphabetically arranged;" the third edition of the "Commentary on Job," in the *Kurzgef. exeg. Handb. zum A. T.* (previously edited by Hirzel and J. Olshausen), revised by Prof. Dillmann, who succeeds Hengstenberg at Berlin.

In philosophy we find Vol. II. of Baumann's "Doctrines of Space, Time, and

Mathematics in Modern Philosophy;" Perty's "Nature in the Light of Philosophical Contemplation;" Biedermann's "Kant's Kritik and Hegel's Logic in their Significance with respect to the Science of Thought;" J. G. Meyer's "Kant's Psychology;" Hermann's "Philosophy of History;" Geiger's "Origin of Language;" Frohschammer's "Right of Private Judgment;" and Menzel's "Kritik des modernen Zeitbewusstseins." Several works of considerable interest and importance in philology and archæology are to be found among the quarter's issues, such as Lorinser's translation and interpretation of the "Bhagavad-Gita;" Vol. II. of A. Weber's "Indische Streifen;" Lauer's "Grammar of the Classic Armenian Language;" Schröder's "Phœnician Language;" L. Meyer's "Gothic Language;" Zschokke's "Institutiones Fundamentales Linguæ Arabicæ;" Vol. III., Part 2 (the conclusion), of Koch's very valuable "Historical Grammar of the English Language;" C. F. W. Müller's "Prosody of Plautus;" Vol. II. of Halm's edition of "Quintilian;" Vol. I. of a new edition of Overbeck's "Grecian Plastic Art;" Madsen's "Antiquités Préhistoriques du Danemark, l'Age de la Pierre;" and Part 1 of Eisenlohr's "Analytic Interpretation of the Demotic Part of the celebrated Rosetta Inscription."

There remain on our list, Vol. II. of the German (enlarged) edition of the "Life of Bunsen;" "Humboldt's Letters to Bunsen;" Vol. II., Part 2 (conclusion) of Strodtmann's "Life and Works of H. Heine;" Part 1 of Hoffmann's "History of the Jesuits;" Vol. III. of Pertz's "Life of Field-marshal Gneisenau;" 3d and 4th Books of Part 2 of Klippel's "Life of General Von Scharnhorst;" Bengel's "Table-talk," edited by Ehmann; a monograph by Hetzel on "Capital Punishment in its Relation to the History of Civilization;" and Passarge's German translation of the "Narrative of the Swedish Expeditions to the Arctic Regions in 1861, 1864, and 1868."

## FRANCE.

In France, even more than in Germany, the Ecumenical Council and its various relations to religious and political questions have called forth no small number of treatises, more or less elaborate and valuable. Of this theologico-political character are Deschamps' "L'Infallibilité et le Concile Général;" Stap's "L'Immaculée Conception;" Jaugey's "Le Concile;" Michon's "Le Concile et la Science Moderne;" Bobart's "Le Sanctuaire;" Maret's "Du Concile Général et de la Paix Religieuse;" Perrot's "Le Libre Examen et la Presse;" Régis' "Le Christianisme et la Papauté au Moyen Age;" Sauvage's "La Clergé et la Démocratie;" Ferrari's "Summa Institutionum Canonicarum;" and Desjardins' "Le Pouvoir Civil au Concile de Trente." These are but samples.

Among the works more nearly related to theology as a science are Aubertin's "Sénèque et Saint-Paul;" Schœbel's "Démonstration de l'Authenticité Mosaïque du Lévitique et des Nombres;" Trognon's "L'Apôtre Saint-Paul;" Bois' "Evangile et Liberté;" Pressensé's "La Vraie Liberté;" Lambert's "L'Homme Primitif et la Bible;" Le Lièvre's "La Science et la Foi;" Lenormant's "De la Divinité du Christianisme dans les Rapports avec l'Histoire;" Ravelet's "Traité des Congrégations Religieuses;" and Lefranc's "De l'Esprit Moderne."

In church history we find Jéhan's "Le Christianisme dans les Gaules" (which evidently has at least one eye turned toward questions in which France is concerned with the Pope); Pilliers' "Les Bénédictins de la Congrégations de

France;" De Montalembert's "Les Moines en Gaule sous les Premiers Mérovingiens;" Darras' "Histoire Générale de l'Eglise" (which at least promises to be voluminous) Part 12; and Vol. IV. of D'Haussonville's "L'Eglise Romaine et le Premier Empire."

From the department of general history and biography we select Vol. VII. of Mortimer Ternaux' "Histoire de la Terreur;" Capefigue's "Clovis et les Mérovingiens;" Lévêque's "Recherches sur l'Origine des Gaulois;" Garat's "Origines des Basques de France et d'Espagne;" Jolly's "Philippe le Bel;" Cavalier's "Histoire de France depuis Louis XIV.;" Vol. V. of Sauzay's "Histoire de la Persécution Révolutionnaire dans le Département de Doubs;" Vol. VIII. of Gabourd's "Histoire Contemporaine." Also, Vol. I. of Gauthier's "Histoire de Marie Stuart;" Desnoiresterres' "Voltaire à la Cour;" two works on the philosopher Portalis—Lavollée's "Portalis, sa Vie et ses Œuvres," and Frégier's "Portalis, Philosophe Chrétien;" Colombel-Gabourd's "Vie de Saint Charles Borromée;" Dourlens' "M. de Montalembert;" Vol. I., Part 1, of "La Vie et les Ouvrages de Denis Papin," by La Soussaye and Péan; Biart's "Benito Vasquez;" and Bolanachi's "Précis de l'Histoire de Crète."

The most elaborate philosophical work of the quarter is Fouillée's "La Philosophie de Platon" (2 vols., 8vo). Among the works belonging to this department, with that of political science, we find Robidon's "République de Platon;" De la Guéronnière's "La Politique Nationale;" Midy's "La Régime Constitutionnel;" Vols. V. and VI. of Clément's edition of "Colbert's Letters, etc.;" Cazenove's "La Guerre et l'Humanité au XIX^me^ Siècle;" Duval's "Mémoire sur Antoine de Montchrétien" (author of the first treatise on political economy)" Bergmann's "Résumé d'Etudes d'Ontologie Générale."

We complete our survey for the quarter with Smolka's "Autriche et Russie;" Girard's "France et Chine;" Bourlot's "Histoire de l'Homme Préhistorique;" Beauvois' "Les Antiquité's Primitives de la Norv ge;" Vol. II., Part 3, of Bourlier's "Recherches sur la Monnaie Romaine;" a new edition of Ampère's "Histoire de la Formation de la Langue Française;" Reaume's "Les Prosateurs Français du XVI^me^ Siècle;" Vol. II. of Dumeril's "Histoire de la Comédie Ancienne;" Egger's "La Hellenisme en France" (2 vols., 8vo); and Vidal's "Juvenal et ses Satires."

From Holland two late publications possess more than ordinary interest—a new translation of the New Testament from the original, made under the auspices of the General Synod of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, and accompanied by introduction, tables of contents, parallel passages, etc., (royal 8vo, pp. 575); and Part 2 of the "History of the Christian Church in the Netherlands," by Prof. Haar and Wm. Moll, with the co-operation of Prof. Hofstede de Groot (8vo, pp. viii. and 715); Vol. II., Part 3, of Moll's "Church History of the Netherlands before the Reformation" is also out (8vo, xiv., 376); and Kovács' "Protestantism in Hungary during the past Twenty Years (Introduction by Kuenen)."

## ENGLAND.

Bishop Wordsworth's Commentary is pushed rapidly onward toward completion—Part 2 of Vol. V. contains the books of Jeremiah, Lamentations, and Ezekiel. Of the Collins Commentary a new volume has also just been issued—Vol. II., containing the books of the Old Testament from Joshua to Esther, with

notes by Dr. Jamieson; a new "Commentary on the Book of Job," by Rev. J. N. Coleman; Dr. Wardlaw's "Lectures on Ecclesiastes;" Littledale's "Commentary on the Song of Songs;" a third edition of Dr. Lightfoot's excellent "Commentary on Galatians;" Dr. Hanna's "Close of our Lord's Ministry;" a translation of Dr. W. Hoffman's "Prophecies of our Lord and his Apostles;" a continuation of Bonar's "Light and Truth; Bible Thoughts and Themes" (based on the Epistles); Bishop Wilberforce's "Heroes of Hebrew History;" Pounds' "Story of the Gospels;" Henderson's "Dictionary of Scripture Names;" Birks' "The Pentateuch and its Anatomists;" new editions of Rev. Isaac Williams' "Characters of the Old Testament," and "Female Characters of Holy Scripture;" Saphir "On the Lord's Prayer;" Whitfield's "Christ in the Word;" the Bampton Lectures for 1869, by Dr R. Payne Smith, on "Prophecy a Preparation for Christ," and Lightfoot's "Epistles of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians," belong, by closer or more remote affinity, to the same general department.

Among the later issues in Doctrinal and Practical Theology are the following: Field's "Student's Handbook of Christian Theology" (Wesleyan); Garbett's "Soul's Life—its Commencement, Progress, and Maturity;" Bartle's "Scriptural Doctrine of Hades;" T. V. French's "Old Commandment New and True in Christ;" Westcott's "Christian Life, Manifold and One;" "Our Common Faith," a volume of Essays by such men as Bishop Alexander, Dean Mansel, Dr. Hanna, Dr. Vaughan, Prof. W. L. Alexander; Hunt's "History of Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to the End of the last Century;" Burgess' "Reformed Church of England;" a translation of some of Lacordaire's Discourses or "Conferences," delivered at Notre Dame, under the title, "Jesus Christ;" Vol. II. of Inman's "Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names;" and Vol. III. of Bunsen's "God in History."

Among the recent contributions to ecclesiastical literature and church history we find De Pressensé's "Early Years of Christianity;" "Ecclesia, or Church Problems," considered by various writers (the general editor being Dr. Reynolds, President of Cheshunt College); Vols. III. and IV. of Dr. Stoughton's "Ecclesiastical History of England;" "The English Church Canons of 1604," with historical introduction, etc., by Rev. C. H. Davis; "First Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI., and the Ordinal of 1549, etc.," edited by Rev. H. B. Walton; "Review of Mariolatry, Liturgical, Devotional, Doctrinal;" and Marriott's "Vestments of the Church."

Arnot's "Life of Dr. James Hamilton" is just ready for publication; likewise Prof. Maurice's "Lectures on Morality;" Vols. VII. and VIII. of the Sunday Library are Maclear's "Apostles of Mediæval Europe," and T. Hughes' "Alfred the Great." A second series of Dr. Butler's "Harrow School Sermons" is just published; also a volume entitled "Foreign Protestant Pulpit," containing twenty-eight sermons from the most distinguished preachers of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland.

In Bohn's Classical Library a new edition of the "Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus," in Long's translation, is one of the latest issues. Mr. Long notices the American reprint of his first edition, and its dedication by the American publisher to an American, and says that he has never dedicated a book to any man, and adds—"I would dedicate it to him who led the Confederate armies against the powerful invader, and retired from an unequal contest, defeated but

not dishonored—to the noble Virginian soldier, whose talents and virtues place him by the side of the best and wisest man that ever sat on the throne of the imperial Cæsars."

In philosophy, philology, and politics we find Sir A. J. E. Cockburn's "Nationalities;" Burgess' "Relation of Language to Thought;" Semple's translation of Kant's "Metaphysics of Ethics," with a preface by Prof Calderwood, of Edinburgh; R. Williams' translation of "Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics;" Reichel's translation of Zeller's "Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics;" a new edition of Shaftesbury's "Characteristics;" a new volume by F. W. Farrar, entitled "Families of Speech;" and Vol. I. of Ferrar's "Comparative Grammar."

In history and the kindred departments we find announced a new edition of Sir John Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times;" Vol. I. of the translation of Lenormant's admirable "History of the East" (American publishers, J. B. Lippincott & Co); Vol. III. of Freeman's "History of the Norman Conquest;" Vol. VIII. of Dean Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury;" Cobbe's "History of the Norman Kings of England;" J. R. Andrews' "Life of Oliver Cromwell;" J. F. Nicholls' "Life of Sebastian Cabot;" A. J. Patterson's "Magyars, their Country and its Institutions;" Dickson's "Japan;" Petherick's "Travels in Central Africa;" "Life of the Sculptor Gibson;" "Life and Letters of Faraday," by Dr. Bence Jones; Scott's "Life and Works of Albert Durer;" "Life and Remains of Dr. Robert Lee, of Edinburgh;" and Krummacher's "Autobiography" (American publishers, R. Carter & Bros.)

"The Letters of Sir George Cornwall Lewis;" the "Poems and Prose Remains of A. H. Clough;" "Scotland, Social and Domestic," by Charles Rogers; F. W. Newman's "Miscellanies;" and three new versions of portions of Horace—the "Odes and Epodes," by Lord Lytton, the "First Book of Satires" by Millington, and the "Satires and Epistles," by the lamented Prof. Conington, of Oxford, must close our present summary.

THE

# PRINCETON REVIEW.

APRIL, 1870.

No. II.

ART. I.—*The Element of Time in Interpreting the Ways of God.*—"*One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.*"

THE schemes of the Divine Government are doubtless all formed in infinite wisdom and goodness, and must, therefore, necessarily be holy, just, and good. But, why should creatures like us expect to comprehend them so perfectly as, in all cases, to perceive their goodness or their wisdom? They concern a whole universe. They reach through eternity. To beings of our limited capacity it may be impossible to give so complete a view of many of the vast designs of God, that no darkness or clouds shall surround them. Why should they not often prove baffling to our reason, and full of mystery? Besides this, the Lord intends to exercise and prove our faith.

What is true of the great purposes of the Divine Government, should seem to be also necessarily true of the great lessons embraced in the essential doctrines of Revelation. The Fall; the ruin of mankind by the sin of their first parents; the union of the two natures—the Godhead and Manhood—in the one person of Christ; the satisfaction of Divine Justice by the sacrifice of Christ, instead of the punishment of the

sinner:—doubtless there are mysteries in these which man cannot yet fathom; and questions may be asked which we are, as yet, unable to answer. The counsels of the Lord are, in many cases, too deep and too far reaching for our full comprehension. If so, it is at least idle for us to presume to sit in judgment upon them, or to try to alter, or evade, whatever he reveals concerning them. We may greatly err in so doing. We may do immense mischief to our own souls, and to the souls of our fellow-men. We may greatly dishonor God.

Probably, also, many things are dark to us at present, not because of our want of intellectual capacity, but because of our brief experience. Time has been wanting to unfold the scheme sufficiently to our comprehension. Wait till the day reveals it; and, if it be best, what we know not now we may know hereafter; and perhaps what is now dark shall then disclose brighter glories than we are as yet able to imagine.

The Apostle Peter calls us to the consideration of this value of time, in forming our judgment of the Divine providences. On the delay of threatened judgments there come scoffers, saying, "Where is the promise of his coming? For, since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation." They forget how the old world perished in the deluge. They do not believe that the same heavens and the earth are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men. On the other hand, the people of God, looking to the completion of some promised scheme of glory and beneficence, and seeing the wicked long triumphant, and the righteous suffering long affliction, sometimes give way to impatience, and cry, "How long, O Lord, how long?" But the delay, either of judgment or of promised blessings, is no evidence of slackness on the part of God. Often he delays judgment because he is long-suffering, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance. If judgment had always been speedily executed, how many who are now saved would have been lost? Had Saul of Tarsus been cut down while breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the church, it would have been just: but what a revenue of praise and glory to God,—what songs of salvation over all the earth and

in heaven would have been lost! And, as to the delay of promised blessings, the harvest comes when it is ripe. In the mean time, there must be the toils of the husbandman, and days of sunshine and of storm. God is not unfaithful. He does not forget. His purpose is not changed, nor defeated, nor delayed. "The vision is for an appointed time: but, at the end, it shall speak and not lie. Though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come; it will not tarry." The apostle, therefore, calls us to the consideration of this element of time, in forming our judgment of the Divine providences: "But, beloved, be not ignorant of this one thing, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day."

To us, time is a matter of great account. Ten, twenty years, is a great stage in the career of human life. But the Lord, in the eternity of his being, and the immensity of his plans, counts not time. From infinity it matters not whether you take away ten, or ten times ten thousand millions. A drop of water may bear some proportion to the whole ocean; a grain of sand to the bulk, not only of our earth, but to the aggregate bulk of all worlds and suns in the universe. But millions of ages bear no proportion to eternity. The scheme of man's recovery from sin has already advanced six thousand years, during which we can trace one purpose of Jehovah. Prophecy unfolds long ages yet to come, ages of blessedness and glory, —after the world's redemption, before that part of the scheme limited by time shall be finished. Then the world shall be consumed and vanish away: but the glories of redemption have then but just begun. The short-lived actors in these transitory scenes are to outlive this earth and these heavens. The transitory events of this earth are to exert their influence in another world, ages without end.

All these vast schemes of time and eternity God beholds at once. Amid changes which to man appear naught but confusion and chaos, the Lord sees order and plan. Man faints and is discouraged. God looks on unmoved, beholding in every thing parts of his stupendous and perfect scheme. When this shall be completed we may wonder and adore. Indeed, to us, these schemes may never be completed. They may be, in

eternity, only unfolding more and more the wonders of the infinite God, and the amazing reach of his eternal purpose.

Designs which lie wholly within the scope of ten, twenty, or fifty years, are not altogether beyond our comprehension. Yet these are, to the greater purposes of God, only subordinate and comparatively insignificant: for when they seem to us to have spent their force and to have done their work, a hundred or five hundred years after they are seen to have relations, and to bear an importance and significance in the great scheme, which no mortal could have dreamed possible while the events were transpiring. After-ages discover that the history of the world turns as much upon unnoted and apparently trifling events, as upon things which in their day filled the hearts of mankind with expectation or with dread for the destinies of the world; till at length we begin to doubt which shall be in the end most pregnant with mighty results, the overturning of an empire or the fall of a sparrow. As we trace out the works of God our vision enlarges. We learn to connect apparently isolated events with great schemes extending over thousands of years; to trust God, and to judge nothing before the time. Now nothing is insignificant. If the bow is drawn at a venture, Jehovah guides the arrow; and, as yet, Jehovah alone comprehends the design, and the results depending. We begin to see how important it is that the Lord should work all things after the counsel of his own will; that not a mote floating in the sunbeam should stray beyond his control; and that the very hairs of our head should all be numbered. We begin to see that our lives are too short to judge of schemes which show their significance only after the lapse of ages. The period will arrive, in our eternal existence, when a thousand years will be to us what one day is now. We shall look back and count thousands, myriads, millions of ages; and the period will seem short. Doubtless we shall then be able to comprehend many of the Divine providences which now, to most of mankind, seem dark or painful: and they may appear clearly to be wise and glorious, beyond what man has as yet been able to conceive.

Let us try to illustrate these things more clearly. It is said that some insects of this world have a mere ephemeral exist-

ence. They live one day, and expire. Suppose such an existence endowed with human capacities; differing from man in nothing save in the brevity of its life. How impossible it would be for such a creature to comprehend many of the arrangements so familiar to us: *e. g.* of our seasons. One lives his day in the spring: the earth is beautiful, but where is its food for man? Another passes his day of existence in summer: how poorly does he judge of the unripe fruits and grains? Another passes his day in autumn: and cannot comprehend why mankind are laying up the productions of the earth in store-houses. Another lives his day in the winter: what a dismal world it is to him? Another spends his day in some terrific storm: what a judgment he forms of the cheerlessness and chaos that reign in this lower world!

A child, among us, soon learns, that, as the sun goes down, and darkness and damp mists rest upon the chilly air, the sun is once more to resume his circuit in the heavens; and that day and night are to run their rounds according to the appointment of a wise and beneficent creator. But if man were, like some insects, ephemeral, these things he could not know. Sunset would be to him like the end of the world. Or living only in the night, or in winter, or in some terrific storm, he could not understand the divine order and harmony of these things. He would be unable to discern the glorious and beneficent design, by which the Creator makes the night, the winter, and the storm, parts of his orderly and excellent plan. What is the world to such a being? It is night! It is winter! It is storm! He sees no wisdom. He comprehends no goodness. He discerns no consistent and glorious plan in the creation and government of this world. Give to such ephemeral existence all the intellectual capacities of men; let their reasoning powers be developed to the full; only by the brief period of their existence shut them out from nature's book of knowledge; and even the simple and beneficent arrangements of day and night, and of the seasons, would be beyond the limits of their comprehension.

It is true, that if you give them letters, some philosophers may begin to record their observations; and when these records shall have accumulated for as many centuries as have

passed between us and the ancient Chaldeans, some Copernicus, or Newton, or Kepler, may arise, who, after long and painful deductions, may unfold the law of the vicissitudes of day and night. He may speculate, that perhaps in future ages the period may arrive when observations and science shall avail to elucidate the laws of cold and heat alternating at distant periods: discover an arrangement of seasons, and tell, like bards of old, why the winter suns hasten so much to dip themselves in the ocean. To such beings, literally beings of a day, such discoveries would be as great as those of our proudest astronomers.

Some discoveries of modern astronomy seem to intimate that our conceptions of time and distance have hitherto been but the conceptions of ephemerals, in comparison with the grander views now opening upon us. During the thousands of years that the heavens have been observed by men, the stars, excepting a few wanderers, have been regarded as relatively fixed. With some slow vibrations of the entire heavenly sphere, recurring after vast periods, and—as one of our own astronomers has well expressed it,—"beating the seconds of eternity,"—the same heavens look down upon us, in the same arrangements in which they looked down upon the ancient Chaldeans. At length it seems to be determined that our system of suns and worlds is moving with immense rapidity, in an orbit which will require millions of ages to complete the circuit, and yet with an apparent motion so slow, that centuries are required to make the change perceptible. What then are our old conceptions of distance and time?

Now suppose creatures who live through, and comprehend, the great years of the entire revolving system of our universe; and who measure their lives by the march of revolving ages. They may comprehend things in the purposes of God, in which we can, as yet, trace neither wisdom nor plan. Things which are most painful to us may to them appear most glorious. Nor is it unlawful to suppose that there are such creatures; creatures who shouted for joy when these worlds were made, and who count it but yesterday since they came to announce the glad tidings of a Saviour's birth. Indeed, if they have never sinned, and know no death, what matter if their

year comprehends so many millions of ours? And if they witnessed, and remember, the creation, the career, and the final conflagration, one after the other, of many such worlds as this; such periods will be familiar to us too, if we ever reach the heavenly inheritance. Then we shall understand what an apostle meant, when, so many ages before the end of the world, he said, "Brethren, the time is short!" Yes, *Time* is short!

Now, if beings, literally beings of a day, would be so lost and confounded in our simple change of seasons, and even in our vicissitudes of day and night;—if we in our turn are lost and confounded amid the vast machinery and vast revolutions of the ages which measure the years of sinless beings,—how poorly are we qualified to sit in judgment on the plans and ordinances of the most high God! They comprehend immensity! They embrace eternity! The insect of a day sees a little, and failing to grasp the entire plan, which would fill him with wonder and adoration, he forms his judgment from what he sees. He rashly judges his Maker; blames the constitution and government of this world, fills his soul with murmuring and discontent, and dies! We readily see his mistake. His existence is too brief for knowledge. He has no faith in the Divine wisdom and goodness. Are *we* in no danger of similar mistakes when we fancy that we can find out the Almighty unto perfection? Can we venture to sit in judgment on God; and that too from what we see in our brief day spent amid winter or storm? Suppose we do see difficulties in the history of the fall, and in the ruin of all mankind by the sin of their first parent, so that "by the offence of one, judgment comes upon all men to condemnation;" the counterpart of the "justification of life" which comes upon all believers in Christ? The difficulties are not removed by rejecting the account given in the Bible. The mournful part of our native depravity and ruin belongs not to any one scheme of Christianity alone, but to Christianity itself; and not to Christianity alone but to every possible form of Theism. Nor do we remove, or evade, the difficulties by interpolating into the scriptural account any explanations or provisoes to satisfy our reason in our present state of knowledge. On the contrary, such

explanations and provisoes, however well meant, and whatever difficulties they have seemed for the moment to evade, are soon found to do no more than simply to introduce some new, and still more baffling, element of disturbance. Either they necessitate a change in some other important doctrine, or in some way they break the harmony and integrity of the scheme of salvation which God has revealed, and whose harmony and integrity are essential to the greatest power of Divine truth over the conscience and the heart of man. Is it not the safest and most reverent course, to limit ourselves to a fair and natural interpretation of what God has written, without attempting to vindicate the Divine justice and goodness by any additions or explanations of our own; which additions or explanations may in the end prove the greatest possible obscuration of the Divine justice and goodness?

A profitable lesson may be learned from a slight survey of the many attempted explanations of the existence of sin and misery under the government of One who is Almighty, and of perfect wisdom and goodness. It has been assumed that men are competent to explain why God did not prevent all sin. Some have supposed that he was unable to do so without departing from a proper moral government. Some have maintained that he chooses that men should sin, as the necessary means of the greatest good. Most of the attempted solutions have assumed a defect either in the Divine power or in the Divine goodness.

Epicurus reasoned thus: "God either wills to prevent evil, and cannot; or he can, and will not; or he neither can nor will; or he both can and will.

"If he would, but cannot, he is imbecile; which is no property of Deity. If he can and will not, he is malevolent; which is equally abhorrent to Deity. If he neither can nor will, he is both malevolent and imbecile; and, therefore, not God. If he both can and will, then whence are evils? or why does he not take them away?" Epicurus concludes, therefore, that there is no God.

Leibnitz supposed that the world would have been less perfect, if sin were wanting in it; and that, hence, there was a "necessity of God's bringing about the origin of sin."

Against such a view others supposed the problem solved by showing that sin is wholly of the creature, and no part of the Divine method or strategy. But even so, does it solve the problem? may it not be asked, further, did not God care to prevent it? or was he not able?

Others supposed that sin is necessarily incidental to any—at least to the best—moral system: and asked, "Who can prove that sin *will* not be, when for aught that appears, it *may* be?"

This did not affirm directly that God is *unable*, by any proper method, to prevent sin in a moral system; though it had no validity as an argument save on the assumption of such promises.

This necessary contingency, and so a possibility of sin beyond the power of God to prevent it in a moral system, has been by others stiffened out into an absolute certainty. Thus (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, Jan., 1856), it is insisted that we *must* solve this problem, but may not waive the solution by saying, "Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight," for till the problem is solved we cannot know that we have a Father in heaven; nor "that what seems good in his sight is at all worthy of him, or kind to his children;" nor, till we solve this problem, can we conclude as against the atheist, "that coming light will vindicate the witness of sin and misery against the superstition of an assumed deity." The affirmation is then made without further reasons than as a matter of pure rational insight, that there will be sin so long as God deals with his creatures "*according to what is due to himself:* in other words, *If God always deals with finite spirits, according to the principles of honor and right, there will be sin.*" But how can man know that, in all possible worlds, and among all possible creatures, God is unable to prevent sin without violating the principles of honor and right? Or, admitting that he cannot (which we can by no means admit), how can we certainly know that among all finite spirits there will certainly be sin, as long as God deals with them according to what is due to himself: or, according to the principles of honor and right? There is no rational insight of man competent to see this.

Another attempts to solve the problem, both for men and

angels, by assuming that God never intended or deemed it possible that his commands should be obeyed, till sin and consequent suffering should have supplied the motives indispensable to obedience. He therefore supposes that the holy angels are such as have sinned; and that having learned obedience by the things they have suffered, they have been restored.

What is punishment? What is justice, under such a scheme? What can they be save shifts and pretences, rendered necessary as matters of policy, through some defect n the original constitution of man, or in the law which demands obedience? The scheme, accordingly, discards every thing like punitive justice, making sin only in itself a law of bad causation, demanding no further penalty, and requiring for the sinner no propitiation or redemption; but only that he be influenced to repent, and to restore himself to righteousness.

All these theories, from the Epicurean downward, seem to be based on the assumption that the existence of moral evil admits only one alternative, viz., that God is either unable, or else unwilling to prevent sin in a moral system.

But may it not be that God is entirely able so to control a moral system as to prevent all sin, with no violation of the principles of honor or right, and with no infringement upon the freedom or responsibility of his creatures, whenever he shall see it best to do so; and that he is limited by no want of power or of goodness, but only by the holy counsel of his own righteous will? May it not also be, either from some peculiarity in the cases themselves, or from their relation to the universal scheme of his providence in all worlds, or for some other reason, that he may see it best, in some cases, and in some worlds, to interfere; and not best in others? May it not be that he is in no case so straitened as to be beholden to sin as the necessary means of the greatest good; and that he does not choose that men should sin, but only that they should be left to their freedom and responsibility? May it not be also that he is perfectly sincere in forbidding, lamenting, and punishing all transgressions? *Why* it is best thus to permit sin, *i. e.*, not effectually to hinder it, we may not understand. We

do not solve the problem. Nor do we see any necessity of solving it. We have a Father in heaven, even though there are depths of Divine wisdom and knowledge which we are as yet unable to fathom.

So in the doctrine of Christ crucified, as a "propitiation through faith in his blood,"—"that God may be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus;" there are many still who see no satisfaction to the Divine Justice in this, but an utter overthrow and abandonment of every idea of righteousness and goodness. They deny the propitiation for sin. They deny the satisfaction rendered to the Divine Justice. They deny the need of any such propitiation or satisfaction. They make Christ a mere messenger of love and goodness; and his death the mere incident of such an errand; of no more significance or effect than as it moves the heart of man to tenderness and repentance. They do indeed remove "the offence of the cross." It is no longer odious to the modern rationalists, nor would it have been of old a stumbling-block to the Jew, or foolishness to the Greek. But in making the offence of the cross to cease, they have taken away the very elements of its power; they do indeed claim that they exalt its power over the human soul, by holding up pre-eminently Christ's tender sympathy, his holy example, and his bleeding love. But neither has the common doctrine of Christ crucified omitted these; nor exhibited them with less tenderness, nor insisted upon them as matters of less moment.

After all, there is no love exhibited in any mere sympathy and faithfulness, like that exhibited in Christ's dying to redeem us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us; and bearing our sins in his own body on the tree. The peculiar and efficient power of the Gospel to draw men to the Saviour, and to bring them to repentance, lies not alone in the mere sympathy, and love, and suffering, which it exhibits; but most of all, in the reason and significance of that death; as it declares God's awful holiness and justice; his utter condemnation of all sin; the deadly character and desert of sin; the utter impossibility that God should indulge his love and save the sinner without some way in which he may "BE JUST;" preserving in all its integrity the holiness, the sacredness, the

vindicatory power and authority of his law. It is this that alarms the conscience. It is this that crushes down the soul under a sense of sin, and guilt, and ruin. It is this that makes the law a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ. It is this alone that reveals the depths of the Saviour's sympathy and love. It is this alone that gives the deepest impression of the nature and need of holiness. It is this that magnifies the love of God in redemption, and that shows his salvation to be indeed a great salvation.

The other scheme, in taking away the offence of the cross, takes all this power away. It relieves the soul from the most painful impressions of the desert and punishment of sin, and of the awful and inflexible character of the divine law. It gives a low view of the righteousness which the law requires, when it sets the sinner to trust to his own attempts to raise himself to a personal righteousness which shall constitute his justification before God.

What constitutes the offence of the cross to some is proved by experience to constitute the very element of its power. Nor does Paul admit that they are the truly wise, to whom it is a stumbling-block or foolishness. It is so indeed to some, but only to "them that perish;" while to "them that are saved, it is the wisdom of God." "Howbeit," says Paul, "we speak wisdom to them that are perfect (τοῖς τελείοις)." To men of adult understanding and spiritual comprehension, the doctrine is not foolishness but wisdom. Oh, how full of wisdom! How rich in its revelation of the eternal harmony and combined glory of the Divine attributes of holiness, justice, mercy, and love! And has not the Gospel long proved itself in these, to be indeed the wisdom of God, and the power of God unto salvation? Is there then any ground left, on which the rationalistic objections commonly urged against the doctrine of the Atonement, may fairly be considered to be of any moment?

Does any one suppose that, nevertheless, such difficulties ought to be considered and removed before we may unwaveringly receive the doctrine? Nay, what the difficulties are is not the question, but whether God has, on a fair interpretation, unequivocally revealed it? Can finite beings ever be set free

from mysteries and difficulties, amid the plans and government of the Infinite God?

Suppose we see clearly whatever lies wholly within a sphere of one mile in diameter; and all that we fully comprehend is wise and glorious. But there are things, parts of which are apparent in that sphere, while the other parts lie mainly beyond it. These things, partly seen, appear dark and forbidding. We cannot reconcile them with the goodness of God.

Enlarge the diameter of our sphere to ten miles: the things partly seen before are now seen completely. The darkness vanishes. They are more glorious than any thing we had before conceived of. But by enlarging our sphere we have increased our difficulties. For now there are a hundred times more things lying partly within and partly without our sphere, and these more dark and difficult than those which disturbed us before; and, unless our faith keeps pace with the increase of our knowledge, it turns out true that "He that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow."

Enlarge our sphere to a diameter of ten thousand miles; or to the sphere of knowledge open to an archangel. We have increased the number of things lying partly without and partly within our sphere, in the duplicate ratio of the increased diameter, and these things are still more wonderful and difficult.

Where shall we stop? Where shall we reach the point where we may grasp and comprehend all the plans of the Infinite God? Plainly, there can never be a point where, to creatures, clouds and darkness shall not be round about the Throne of God. Whatever be the reach of our knowledge, we shall still be obliged to *trust* God, because we cannot fully *know*. What necessity, then, for solving all mysteries, before we can know that we have a Father in heaven? Or for removing all difficulties, or for altering the fair import of what our Father teaches, before we can receive his teachings as the truth? These difficulties may reveal the richest glories, when our knowledge shall be but a little more enlarged. They may be difficulties only to our narrow views, our ignorance, our prejudice,—or worse,—to our wickedness. To such beings as

we, either the Divine glories must be limited to a narrow compass, or they must extend beyond our narrow vision. Somewhere we must have faith. Nay, everywhere we must have faith. And whatever God may do, or whatever he may reveal, there is ever enough known to him to warrant the most implicit trust.

Even the little part which lies wholly within the history of this world has, to us, many deep mysteries. Shut out from us the light of prophecy; let us read the Divine purposes only from human history; and what a dismal chaos does the government of this world, in many parts appear? What a chaos it must appear without the Bible? What can we judge of wars, of changes, of the rise and fall of nations, of the wisdom or order of these things, any better than the insect of a day can judge of the winter or of the storm, or of the utility of these to the earth, to its fruits, or to the salubrity of its atmosphere, or to the well being of the people who inhabit it? Close the volume of inspiration; let no voice from heaven reveal the connection of any great event with the Divine purpose, the Divine justice, or the Divine government; let no prophecy point to the consummation of a scheme of glory and blessedness in the ages to come; and what can the people of any age know of the meaning and utility of the events passing before their eyes? Had the Israelites in their bondage in Egypt known of no promise of deliverance, and of no covenant with their fathers, nor of any divine purpose in that sojourning in bondage; what judgment could they have formed of its significance or design? So, when they were passing through the wilderness, and in their subsequent history under the judges and kings, the eye of faith alone, trusting to what God had revealed, could see any order, or justice, or government, or goodness in the current events of their history while these events were transpiring. Such darkness rests upon our minds still, with regard to the long deferred destinies of India and China. Such darkness rests still on the government of a just and holy God with regard to benighted Africa. Why her long-continued blindness and woes? Why have wickedness and woe reigned so long in this world? Who could see any end, or hope, were it not that

God has declared that the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea? Taught by revelation something concerning such a vast and beneficent design on the part of Jehovah, we do begin at length to see light dawning upon the otherwise dark and chaotic history of this world. Plans reaching from generation to generation, for thousands of years, seem to be verging toward their completion. Christ is manifestly setting up his kingdom. We begin to see how disastrous events had their part in preparing the way, or in hastening on the work. We begin to see that there has been a devising mind and a guiding hand. We begin to trace out the connection and design of events, which, as they were passing, seemed without order or law; as though mankind had been left the sport of chance, or given up, without guidance or control, to their blindness and wickedness. Who, that has intelligently read Edwards' "History of Redemption," has not felt his soul comforted and joyful as he has seen a chain of the Divine purposes running through the earth's whole history, marking Jehovah's reign and Jehovah's plan in every thing; and discovering in all things an ultimate bearing upon that one point—the glory of God in the redemption of a fallen world? Perhaps the time will come when the book of the Divine Providence in the government of this world will be completed; and what we have hitherto read, even in Bible history, shall be almost lost in the flood of light that shall then burst upon the vision of the sons of God. Nay, when this world's history is complete, then the Divine providences will hold on their way through purposes not yet imagined by mortal man, unfolding the glories of the Divine wisdom and goodness more and more for ever and ever. With what rapture, as the redeemed behold these things, will they shout, "Alleluia! for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!"

It is interesting to see that, as men advance to a wider survey of the physical history of our earth, the same far-reaching purpose of God is apparent in the ages before man was made.

In this respect the comprehensive survey of Edwards, in his "History of Redemption," has its counterpart in the work of Guyot, "The Earth and Man." God was preparing the earth for man in the slow ages during which, in obedience to his

word, the waters were gathering themselves together in one place, and the dry land appeared. Continents, islands, headlands, all conformed themselves to the great design for man's development and trial; as though in God's book all the members of the great scheme were written while as yet there was none of them. Nor is there any end of wonders, of knowledge and wisdom open to the discovery of man, if he will but patiently trace the great design. During the period when the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep,—long, long before man was made,—could even the angels tell the meaning of the convulsions and throes with which the earth was heaving? In the hot,.damp periods, while the beds of coal were forming, who could have told in these the purposes of the Creator? The metals and metallic oxides injected into the veins of the rocks, or mingled with earthy substances—who could have seen in these any significance beyond chance, or sport, or caprice? Yet without the waterfalls, caused by the upheavings or irregular deposits of earth; without the coal, the iron, the silver, the copper, the gold, where would have been the arts, the commerce, the development, the history of man! Nothing appears to have been left out of the Lord's plan! Nothing undesigned! Nothing without amazing foresight, and amazing reach of wisdom! Yet had beings like us stood by at any of these periods, what could they have comprehended of the wonders of Jehovah's works that were transpiring before their eyes? Very likely they would have said that chance or chaos reigns, and that such works are altogether incompatible with the wisdom and dignity of any Being whom they could acknowledge as God. Is it impossible that even the witnessing angels had such a trial of their faith? And then the slow process! and the delay even after the design begins to be manifest! There is doubtless wisdom in these slow processes; and yet wisdom that is not, to finite minds, immediately apparent. But beings like us must consider, that with the Lord there is no proper delay, but that with him one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.

In mercy to us, and probably to strengthen our faith, the Lord, in some subordinate purposes, permits us to see the be-

ginning, the middle, and the end of the plan. At the end we see the wisdom and goodness of the design; while at the beginning, or at the middle, we see nothing but darkness. Thus it was dark when Joseph was thrown into the pit; when he was sold into Egypt; when by a false accusation he was cast into prison. The lingering days of that imprisonment were dark; but they lasted not one moment too long. Had one of the links in the chain of Providence been omitted, Joseph might never have been ruler in Egypt, nor his father and his father's house been kept alive from famine. Joseph's faith must have been sorely tried, as he could not foresee the end of the Lord, nor the reason of these dealings. Yet that trial and chastening might have been necessary to fit him for his subsequent advancement to power; and without them his exaltation might have been his ruin for time and eternity. God meant it all for good. And see how the subordinate purposes of God entwine together, and interweave themselves with the great purpose of the main scheme. Joseph was blessed, his father's house was saved; but God was also preparing a history by which men may believe his goodness while as yet they are unable to perceive it. The benefits conferred upon Joseph and his family were, perhaps, as nothing, compared with the greater and more enduring benefits to them who read his history. Perhaps, even now, his heart rejoices and is glad; perhaps he thanks God, and will be forever grateful for those providences which at the time were so distressing, but which have been for ages bringing such a revenue of glory to God. They may be a blessing to mankind forever.

*We* must work while the day lasts. The night cometh when no man can work. To our purposes delay is often defeat or ruin. It is not so with Jehovah. A day, a thousand years is with him all the same. Thus, the Messiah is promised: he comes not till nations have risen and fallen, and a hundred generations are in their graves. Not that the Lord is slack or hindered, but that his plans required four thousand years. And when the Messiah comes, the world is not at once wholly redeemed. There is a part for Antichrist to act, and a part for false teachers and false prophets; the blood of martyrs

must be shed, their souls under the altar must cry, "How long! O Lord, how long!" The Lord has his reasons. It is not to be expected we should he able to comprehend them all. Perhaps it was fit, since men have transgressed, that sin should be allowed to show somewhat of its fruits. Perhaps it was best that men should behold not only the goodness but the severity of the Lord. Perhaps it was well to let the world see what meaning there is in the curse pronounced in consequence of transgression. There may be other, wiser, and deeper reasons, which we are not yet able to fathom, or even to conceive. But of these we may be sure, that the Lord is not slack as men count slackness, but that in his vast and perfect purposes one day is with him as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.

To us the Gospel seems to have made slow progress since the Saviour left the earth. But few of the nations are as yet even nominally Christian. Of these, a large part is under the power of a corrupt Christianity, which seems as serious an obstacle to the kingdom of Christ as paganism itself. Many people in lands called Christian, are utterly disobedient to the truth; or they give heed to schemes of faith which are any thing rather than the gospel of Christ. Of the remainder, who hold fast the form of sound words, and profession of godliness, how few are in all respects worthy examples of a pure and living Christianity? Need we therefore be discouraged? We may indeed find arguments enough in these to evince the exceeding sinfulness of man. The unfaithfulness and wickedness of Christ's people may be sufficient to account for this slow progress of the cause of salvation. It may not appear best to the Lord to work the mightiest triumphs of his cause by people whose hands are so unholy, and whose faith and zeal are so low. It may be better to suffer grievous errors to prevail, and fierce conflicts and terrible disasters or persecutions to take place, such as are to be precursors of the battle of the last day. Perhaps God's people must be so sifted, chastened, and purified. Then, at last, Zion may arise and shine, her light being come, and the glory of the Lord being risen upon her. Therefore, will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea. It

may be best that these corruptions and conflicts should be suffered for a time among God's people, that they, and all men, may understand by these the desperate wickedness of the human heart; the exceeding sinfulness of sin; and the just necessity for its severe condemnation on the part of a righteous and holy God. Certainly it will at length be gathered from these, that the reformation of a lost world is to be not by might, nor by power, but by the Spirit of the Lord. In some manner there will be made to appear the best reasons for this seeming delay. We have seen the slow preparation, when what we would have had done at once required a thousand years. Perhaps, when all things are ready, and the people of God duly prepared, the Lord will amaze us still more by the counterpart; and one day shall accomplish the work of a thousand years. Observe the Lord's husbandry: "There shall be a handful of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains; the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon." Nor is there any reason to suppose that the Lord's sovereignty is so dissevered from the responsibility of his people, that their unfaithfulness is no hinderance, or that their zeal and labor have not the most assured encouragement. We are not called to pray without faith, nor to labor without hope. There is no need of being disheartened by seeming adverse occurrences, or by seeming delays. Christ's kingdom is sure to prevail. The decree is declared. It is established by covenant, and by oath. Only let us be careful that none of the hinderances be found in us, and that our love and zeal may be approved; and then we may "Rest in the Lord, and wait patiently for him." Amid the darkness that veils his designs, we shall ever find enough to try our faith; so amid the brightest glories of his redemption we shall find mysteries still. But they are mysteries which, to the true child of God, need cause neither perplexity nor fear; but as his spiritual perception is enlarged, and new glories burst forth from these clouds of mystery, he may cry out with Paul: "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? Or who hath been his counsellor? Or who hath first given to him, and it shall

be recompensed to him again? For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to whom be glory forever. Amen."

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## Art. II.—*Pantheism as a Phase in Philosophy and Theory of History.*

As Providence maintains a positive theism in history, and a course of orderly events against all atheistic and naturalistic speculations, so against Pantheism and Polytheism it asserts with equal distinctness the infinite personality of the one true God. As a philosophy, Pantheism is more life-like and attractive to the cultivated, and has always been far more prevalent than Atheism.

The one finds no proof in nature or history of a Creator and Ruler of the universe. This blindness is so repugnant to the common sense of men, that few, even in speculation, venture upon it. The other, finding the evidence so abundant, wildly rushes into an extravagance of theism, and infers that every thing is God.

Pantheism is thus a profound theism against atheism; a broad positive against a narrow negative. It is, also, monotheistic against all the forms of polytheism. It includes, in a sense, those other doctrines of a natural theology —omnipotence, omnipresence, and a will-less divine sovereignty. The atheist is often a mocker and a blasphemer. The pantheist is neither; but meditative and reverent. The former is generally gross and sacrilegious; the latter, in these days of intelligence, is refined and philosophic. He lives in a state of dreamy, blissful nebulosity; of imperturbable placidity and contentment; in a gratulatory admiration of himself and of every thing else as divine. "Whosoever sees me," he says, "sees the divine, and whatever I see is divine."

The idea of *all* as God sprang originally from the notion of many gods. Multiplicity of divine beings in nature, by a natural transition, ran into the all-comprehending unity as the

*sole* and the all of nature. But, in this passage from the concrete to the abstract, the cardinal idea of personality was lost on the way; so that while polytheism stands with monotheism on the question of personality, pantheism, in its denial of a personal infinite being, goes over from both these to atheism.

The four fundamental principles of pantheism, as a phase in philosophy and theory of history, are the following:—

1st. God is an infinite and impersonal substance.

2d. God and the universe are one and the only substance, essence, or being.

3d. The universe, material and intellectual, is an expansion, emanation, or series of individuations of the one Infinite into the many finites.

4th. The tendency of all individuations of the primal unity is first, to consciousness and freedom in man, and then back to absorption in the impersonal One and All. The characteristic averment of the pantheistic scheme is, and has been in all ages, what is called the one-substance doctrine. This is its key-note, its corner-stone.

Here are the rudiments of a philosophy of the universe, physical, psychological, and ethical, which it is claimed solves all the problems of the finite and the infinite. It contains the seeds of a comprehensive realism, or of a fascinating idealism; of an absolute mathematical unity, or a mere metaphysical identity; according as its advocate is materialistic or spiritualistic. On the idealistic side, history is only a series of ever-advancing and receding shadows. On the realistic, it is an endless process of expansion and contraction—the individuation and reintegration of the One and All.

Since Providence, in its claim to a satisfactory rendering of the course of the world has this phase of philosophy to meet and dispose of, and as no system has had expended upon it more constructive skill, or contains such a combination of attractive and obstructive elements, a glance at its history is indispensable to a clear view of its true place and uses in the providential plan.

It first appeared as Brahminism—a philosophic system which has held in its strong grasp, for three thousand years, the teeming millions of India. Brahm is the central, imper-

sonal, unconscious substance and unity. According to the Vedas, Brahm is God, and God is one. "His oneness is so absolute, that it not only excludes the possibility of any other God, but likewise the possibility of aught else, either human or angelic, material or immaterial." It is not an object of worship or scarcely of thought—a something which makes the nearest possible approach to nothing, so near that modern refinements hold them as identical. Yet all things, sun, stars, earths, animals, and the souls of men, are individuated parts of this one, and alike infinite and eternal. The chief emanations into personal consciousness are Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Siva the Destroyer. These are the main forces of history.

The soul, in its circumlocution from the emanating point, passes down into the form of beasts, birds, and sometimes even vegetables and minerals, and back again after almost interminable transmigrations, to be merged and lost in the infinite abstraction. This return process is a kind of regeneration, or a second birth, of which the emanation was the first,—the whole cycle constituting the soul's history.

"The Indian view of things," says Hegel, "is a universal pantheism—a pantheism, however, of the imagination and not of thought." The central and all-comprehending abstraction he defines as, "the nothingness of being." From this nothingness every thing goes out blindly, and blindly returns. This process is universal history,—nothing at the beginning, nothing at the end, and, by a logical necessity nothing in the middle. This central infinite passivity or abstraction is the acme of blessedness; and to obtain it by stagnating thought, the repression of every thing human was the ruling idea with that tropical lethargic mass.

Among the Greeks, this pantheistic philosophy hardly existed as a self-consistent form of thought. The Eleatics pitted some phases of it against the prevalent polytheism. Zenophanes affirmed God to be one, and that one the round world. Hence his dogma, "God is a sphere." It is ever unmoved and immovable, for there is nothing to move it; and never self-moved, for that would require it to become external to itself. It is not infinite, since that only is infinite which has

neither beginning, middle, nor end. Nor is it finite, for the finite is something limited by something else.

It is not strange that Aristotle called Zenophanes, "clownish."

Parmenides taught that the all is one; that the one is finite and real, and the many, only in appearance. "All *is*," says Heraclitus, "and all is *not;* for, though it comes into being, it forthwith ceases to be." Such meagre fragments of thought, though glittering in the firmament of knowledge, scarcely obtained the consistency of theory in ethics or history.

The next form in which pantheism appears as a moral force in history, is the Neo-Platonism of the Alexandrine School, which took its rise near the close of the second century. Its chief phase as a theory of history was its antagonism to Christianity. It combined against that all the elements of Indian and Grecian philosophies, all the dialectic subtleties and mysticism of Aristotle and of Plato, with so much of the Christian guise as would render it attractive to those on the verge of the Christian faith. Ammonius Saccus was its distinguished founder; but it included some of the most brilliant minds of the age,—minds that made the age brilliant,—Plotinus, Proclus, and Jamblicus.

As in the Hindoo pantheism, so here the identity of God and the universe underlies this more poetic and attractive scheme. "God is all things," says one of these writers; "he is both the things that are, and the things that are not: for the things that are he hath manifested, and the things that are not he contains within himself."

The Neo-Platonic school started with unity as the last analysis of deity,—an absolute universal one, neither personal, intelligent, nor existent. "The God that does not think," says Aristotle, "is not worthy to be respected." And yet this abstract unity was their ideal of the beautiful and the good. This non-existent Esse, by emanation, becomes first concrete in intelligence, the νοῦς or a spiritual world. Then by a further movement it passes into soul, or ψυχή which constitutes the psychical or outer world of life, and ultimates in matter as the gross or dregs of the Divine. And this tidal ebb and flow of the one substance is not a matter of thought

and will, for there is nothing of intelligence at the starting point.

History is the flux and reflux of this infinite ocean of substance, through the ideal straits and channels of boundless space—this one and all, passing through the tenses and eternities, in its transitions from unity to multiplicity, and back again—"the restless manifestation," says one, "of an eternal and ever restless force."

"But these manifestations," writes an acute and candid critic, "have no absolute truth or duration. History is then only a phantom. The individual perishes and passes into the universal, because individual. It is only the universal that endures. The individual is the finite, the perishable. The universal is the infinite, the immortal. To die, therefore, is simply to be free from the conditions of space and time, and to lose personality." "I am struggling," said Plotinus in his closing hours, "to liberate the divinity within me."

With these old heathen forces, those great thinkers at Alexandria and at Athens joined the issue against the new Christian power. They fought skilfully and valiantly, but they could not conquer. The dead abstraction of a One-All could not stand before the distinctly pronounced one, living, personal and Divine Being. Emanation gave way, in the circles of philosophy and science, as well as of theology, to the original and simple doctrine of creation; and the confused idea of one substance for God and the universe, yielded to the clear discriminations of Creator and creature, the infinite and finite; and the endless circle of blind, tidal forces, before a wise and all-ruling Providence in history.

"In no species of grandeur," says M. Taisset, "was the Alexandrine school deficient; genius, power, and devotion, have consecrated it." For three centuries it was a formidable rival to the greatest power that ever appeared on earth—the power of Christianity; and if it succumbed in the struggle, it only fell with the civilization of which it had been the last rampart."

But the struggle with this form of pantheism was a help to humanity, and in it a new step was taken in correct catholic thinking. Its fall was another testimony to the Providence

that is in and above the universe. The fighters on the side of theism and a providential history were made better swordsmen by the battles they fought on this field. They understood more fully the weak points of their old enemy, and the invincibility of their cause. Providence rules as completely over the philosophies that discard its sway, as in those that include it; for it moves on in all the philosophies and *above* them, making its own wise use of them. Pantheism, with all the accessories of Grecian acuteness and Roman judicial comprehension, could not answer the great questions that everywhere, in all ages, meet the thoughtful mind. Those it leaves as "a desert, whose only semblance of vegetation is mirage, without fruit, without flower, without vegetation; arid, trackless, and silent, but vast and fascinating."

For more than twelve hundred years this victory of Providence over pantheism attended the Christian movement. No counter-current of any moment is perceived in the flow of those centuries. Ripples, indeed, were visible, and single elements of the nebulous maze mingle here and there in the speculations of the schoolmen.

But in the middle of the seventeenth century, pantheism re-appeared in a system more logical, and of far greater mathematical exactness than had ever marked its history. It introduced an era in philosophy, and its influence in speculative circles has not yet ceased.

The Hindoo pantheism was cloudy; the Neo-Platonic, poetic and brilliant. But that of Benedict Spinoza was a structure of the most solid mathematical and deductive masonry. He was a Jew, thoroughly trained in Old Testament and Talmudic lore, and who, from his idea of every thing as God, is called by Novalis a "*Gott trunkner mann.*" He early discovered an acuteness in speculation which perplexed the Rabbis, and later, a philosophic audacity which offended them.

Finding himself menaced with excommunication, he withdrew from the synagogue, leaving the thunderbolt which had hung darkly over his head to spend itself in the air. The large black candles are lighted at the door of the Tabernacle, above the books of the Law. Execrations come forth

from the chanters on one side, and the trumpet tones on the other. The candles are then reversed and drip slowly into a vase of blood, in which, at the final anathema, the light is extinguished.

Meantime, the object of this direful consummation is quietly pondering the mysteries of his own being, and of the universe. "What am I? Whence did I come? Whither do I go? What is this around me and above me—the finite and the infinite?" These problems he solved to his own satisfaction, by a series of axioms, definitions, and propositions, of which the one-substance doctrine is the beginning and the end. The animus of his system will be best conveyed by a brief statement of its main principles.

First.—All substance is that which exists in itself, and can be conceived only through itself; and this substance is God, not gross, as matter, but the abstract essence of all things—God, and necessarily infinite. Def. III. VI.

Second.—This God-substance has attribute and mode: attribute, the very essence of substance and mode, an accident or variation of it. Def. IV. V. VI.

Third.—There cannot be many substances, but only one. Prop. V.

Fourth.—Substance cannot create, nor be created. Prop. VI.

Fifth.—All substance is necessarily infinite, for if any were finite, it would be limited by another substance, when there would be two substances, which is impossible. Prop. VIII.

Sixth.—Time has no more relation to spirit than to a circle or a triangle, man, as to his essential nature, never being older or younger.

These principles, according to Spinoza, are the rudiments of history, and the elements of all science.

The expansion of God's being into the universe, on this philosophy, is an eternal necessity, and consequently an eternal fact, which precludes all idea of freedom, beginning, or creation. The varied forms of nature, of animal life and intelligence, are only so many modulations, intonations, and vibrations of the one will-less and planless substance.

Hence by a logical necessity, it allows only a mathematical and soul-less ethics. To ascribe justice to God, is simply to see in him a reflection of ourselves, which is no more proof of such a quality in him, than if a circle should give to him the property of circularity, or a triangle conceive of him as triangular. Evil, because it cannot be a part of the divine essence, is a non-entity. "What in me is right," say the Spinozists, "is good, because it is God; and what is wrong is nothing, because it is not God."

History, as in all forms of pantheism, is the process of the infinite, unconscious impersonality, under the necessity of self evolution and involution, in an endless gyrating, rotating, and revolving universe, without beginning, problem, progress, or end.

But is this the true philosophy, the right rendering of the finite and the infinite? It is very simple, methodical, and mathematical. Yet it does not even look toward the solution of these problems. Its fundamental falsity is in its bald assumption of one substance as the starting point. Its most delusive fallacy lies in its definition of substance as *infinite*. Allow these two, and it is a compact and beautiful structure. It illustrates and explains every thing. Deny these, and it is a castle in the air, dazzling, but deceptive, which explains nothing.

How can the pantheist know that every thing is God, better than the atheist that nothing is? How does Spinoza prove that the world and man are not a new and created substance? By his sixth proposition that all substance is infinite, and as such, cannot create or be created. Why does he assert that cause and effect, subject and object are identical? For the simple reason that his system will not allow them to be otherwise, as a triangle does not allow its three angles to be either less or more than two right angles.

This figure of the triangle illustrates the cardinal vice of pantheism as a phase in philosophy and a theory of history—it is an error of method. It is purely deductive; and hence, assumptive. With Spinoza, it was a futile, though splendid effort to apply the principles of mathematics in the province of metaphysics, theology, and history. From a mathematical *point*,

geometry draws out with infallible accuracy, the whole mathematical science. In like manner, from this metaphysical idea of one substance, Spinoza deduces the whole material, intellectual, and moral universe. He allows nothing to enter the evolving process but the point,—the one eternally expanding and contracting substance.

But are matter and mind diverse only in form: a thought and a stone simply different *stages* in the eternal circle: love and a lobster unlike only in degree of refinement? Such a boundless generalization confuses every thing. It throws into chaos the most important discriminations between Creator and creature; freedom and fate; virtue and vice; order and anarchy.

"We have followed Spinoza step by step," writes the acute George Henry Lewes, "dragged on by his irresistible logic; and yet, the final impression left on our mind is, that the system has a logical, not vital, truth. We shrink back from the consequences whither it so irresistibly leads us; we gaze over the abyss to the edge of which we have been dragged, and, seeing naught but chaos and despair, we refuse to build our temple there." It has no more logical than real truth. It is false in first principles—no solid reasoning can be built upon them. Yet, M. Saissez, the learned biographer of Spinoza, declares that "the ultimate struggle will be, not between Christianity and Philosophy, but between Christianity and Spinozism, its strongest and most inveterate antagonist." And there is an important truth here; for, although essentially false, Spinozism is to a class of minds exceedingly fascinating.

About the middle of the last century, the essential principles of pantheism were gathered up by Emanuel Swedenborg and elaborately wrought into a remarkable philosophical scheme. In 1743, at the age of fifty-five, having received what he regarded, as a special commission from God, as the evolutionist of the spiritual sense of the Bible, he devoted the remainder of his life exclusively to the development of his system into what he conceived as the correct philosophy—the true Christian religion. Esse and Existere, substance and forms, emanations and conjunctions, spheres and atmospheres, innermosts and extremes, degrees of altitude and latitude, discrete and continuous, constitute the nomenclature and the

ligatures of his philosophy and theology. "His object," says one of his biographers, "was to open a new way through natural knowledge to religious faith."

Swedenborg, like Spinoza, assumes the one-substance doctrine as the starting-point in all his speculations and interpretations. Of this primal Esse or God, all things in the universe are only modes or forms. Person has no significance when applied to the infinite, for it *limits* the ideal to what is finite; and only *thing* extends it to the infinite. "Without the exclusion of person, the thought cannot," he says, "become universal and extend to the ineffable and the infinite."

Creation—the production of another substance—is held to be impossible and absurd, and emanation is brought in as the substitute. "God first made his infinite finite by substances emitted from himself." These, in concentric spheres and atmospheres, move outward, and cooling and condensing, form the spirit world, and ultimate in *matter*.

This identity of God and the universe is a pivotal axiom on which the Swedish seer's whole system is made to turn. "Whatever proceeds from an Esse, makes one with the Esse; because it is one from the Esse, and the one is all and all in the other as in itself." What proceeds from any one is himself. "God is man and the *only* man, no one is man but Jehovah alone." Others are men only "by derivation from him." It is not man's eye that sees, though it appears so, but the Lord's; for he alone lives and acts. If there existed in man one grain of will, the whole human race would perish.

Providence by emanation proceeds from God, and is called the proceeding divine,—an endless "operation" of the one substance going out from itself and returning to itself. History is a cardinal pulsation of the divine One-All from eternity to eternity, self-wasting and self-repairing; now sending out its finited particles through the spheres and atmospheres, condensing into matter, and then, by refining influx and infillings, drawing them back again toward conjunction.

Hence, the accredited providential history of the world for the first sixteen centuries is not accepted by Swedenborg as a record of physical events, but of merely mental and moral

processes. It is an allegory, and not a history of a literal creation, fall, and deluge.

The last phase of the pantheistic philosophy is the recent German. The skilful elaborators were Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel,—all building, as did the Swede, on Spinoza's foundation, and, for the most part, out of his material, though not all after his fashion.

Fichte, following the idealism of Kant, developed the one-substance into a mere phantasmal outer world. The mind creates whatever it is not, and then negates it as an illusion. The subject, the *me*, is every thing, and the object, the *not-me*, nothing.

Schelling reversed this method, and assuming the reality of the outer world ran into objective pantheism, in the identity of the me and not-me.

Hegel, dismissing both subject and object, and resolving every thing into the mere *relation* of being and not-being, something and nothing, matured a system of mental gymnastics which has been claimed by a few as Christianly theistic, while the majority of his pupils are open pantheists or atheists. History here, as in all pantheistic schemes, is more a chemical process than a course of intelligible, providential events. The one-substance in its first form, Hegel calls nature —God, spirit, soul, matter,—all is nature.

In this is an eternal molecular movement; a *primum mobile*, tending to emanation and *discrimination;* yet, unconscious and unfree. In a second stage, *spirit* is eliminated and reaches consciousness,—God becoming conscious of himself as an individual, or as finited in man. The third stage is a return movement and carries the spirit from conscious freedom and personality back to the universal and unconscious impersonality. God is man, and man, so far as he nullifies the natural, is God.

"God," says Fichte, "is the moral order" of the world, and personality has no significance except in the finite. Light, thought, being, is not mine, but God's; for every thing belongs to him and is God, and what is not God is nothing.

The most remarkable character in history, the truest and most representative man of the race, by some students in this

philosophy, is resolved into a myth; while the grandest events of his life are explained by magic or mental hallucinations. Emanation, development, flux and reflux of the one-all and all-one, this is providence, this history; and God-worship nature-worship, self-worship, all-worship, and nothing-worship —this is religion.

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Art. III.—*Memoirs of the Life and Ministry of the Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D., LL.D.* By Thomas Raffles, Esq., B. A. Second edition. London: Jackson, Walford & Hodder, 27 Paternoster Row. 1865. Pp. 515.

The late Dr. Raffles, of Liverpool, was one of the lights of the English pulpit. He needs no introduction to our readers, for his fame long since reached our shores. Indeed, it was from an American college that he received his degree of Doctor of Divinity. The work before us has been accomplished by his son, who, in this memoir of his father, has shown excellent taste and feeling. It has gone through two editions in England, but as it is not likely to be reprinted among us, we propose to furnish a succinct account of its subject, derived from the book itself.

Dr. Raffles, during a large portion of his life, kept diaries, and some extracts from them we expect to give before we conclude; but our readers will find that they reveal little in regard to his inward life. What he wrote down in regard to the secret exercises of his soul, if indeed he recorded any thing touching that matter, his biographer has withheld from public gaze, and has only given us what the writer penned with a willingness that others should read. This negative excellence which the volume possesses, would, of itself, we had almost said, be enough, in these days, to make us respect it highly; for there is now very little secrecy in this world. As a genial writer once said: "It is well understood that if a man gains a battle for his country, or writes a book for its entertainment, the penalty he must pay for it is the vulgar exposure of every emotion that he had ever written down for one near his heart,

and of every treasured thought and feeling that he had recorded for his soul's good." To write such a journal as that of the late Henry Crabb Robinson, one which shall embody instruction or information, designed either for friends or the public, is one thing; but to write a diary filled with accounts of one's secret religious experience, and of the results of the soul's self-scrutiny, intended for the writer's eye alone, is another thing, and is what should be eschewed, unless the writer could be certain, as he cannot be, that before his exit from the world he will have the opportunity, and, we may add, the grace, given him to commit all to the flames.

Thomas Raffles was born at the house of his father, Mr. William Raffles, in Princes Street, Spitalfields, London, on the 17th of May, 1788. His mother, an excellent woman, belonged to the body of Wesleyan Methodists. His religious impressions seem to have begun at an early age. He became a member of the Methodist society soon after the completion of his tenth year, and so continued until he was sent to a large boarding-school in Peckham, where he joined the Independent Church. In 1805, he entered Homerton College, an institution for the education of young men for the ministry among Congregational Dissenters, then under the care of Rev. Thomas Hill, as resident tutor, and of Rev. Dr. John Pye Smith, as theological tutor. In 1809 he was called to the church of Hammersmith, near London, and immediately entered upon his ministerial and pastoral duties. As a settled minister, he was from the first most abundant in his labors. One evening of each week he occupied some pulpit in London, and undertook, in addition, various week-day services. He began now to form the nucleus of the valuable library which, after many years, he accumulated, and which was especially rich in old and curious theological books. His fondness for antiquarian literature was maintained throughout his life. He delighted in poring over an old book-stall, and was familiar with every place in London where there was a chance that any thing curious might be met with. Topography was always a favorite branch of study, and he was in the habit of collecting materials for history, some of which have already been used by writers at whose disposal he placed them. Since the appearance of these memoirs, the

Rev. Dr. Robert Holley, now of London, has published, in two octavo volumes, a very valuable work, entitled, "Lancashire: its Puritanism and Nonconformity." He repeatedly refers to MSS. of Dr. Raffles, containing collections for a history of the Nonconformist Churches of Lancashire.

Dr. Raffles had been settled in Hammersmith about three years, when the Rev. Thomas Spencer, the youthful and gifted minister of Newington Chapel, Liverpool, was drowned while bathing in the river Mersey. The congregation, thus bereaved, requested him to supply their pulpit for a few Sabbaths, which he agreed to do, without entertaining, as it would appear, the remotest idea of ever becoming their minister. His labors, however, resulted in his settlement over them, for they invited him to become the successor of Spencer, and, after seeking the path of duty with much prayer and anxiety, he consented, and began his pastorate among them in the month of April, 1812. This conspicuous position he held for very nearly fifty years; and it may be doubted whether any Nonconformist pastor in England ever occupied a more important sphere of ministerial exertion and usefulness. At the time of his retirement from his stated ministry in Great George Street Chapel, in 1861, he was the patriarch of his denomination in the county. All his seniors who had occupied prominent positions had passed away, one by one, while he still survived, honored and beloved by all at the close of a long and laborious career, which had, throughout, shed lustre upon the religious body to which he belonged.

Before the death of the Rev. Mr. Spencer his congregation had begun to erect a new chapel in Great George Street, calculated to contain two thousand people. This was finished shortly after Dr. Raffles' settlement, and on the occasion of its opening, sermons were preached by the Rev. Wm. Jay, of Bath, and the Rev. Dr. Collier, of London. There were in Liverpool many members of the Established Church of England—and a few of them survive to this day—who gratefully acknowledge the debt which they owe to the faithful ministry of Dr. Raffles within the walls of Great George Street Chapel. For, at the time of his settlement in Liverpool, the state of religion was very different from what it subsequently became.

Owing to the want of evangelical preaching in the pulpits of the Established Church, many persons, avowedly holding the principles of that church, were in the habit of attending the ministry of Dr. Raffles.

His chapel immediately began to be crowded, and church-members constantly increased in numbers. And while his labors were blessed to the spiritual benefit of the hearers who composed his own charge, he was permitted to be useful to many others; for, in consequence of his popularity as a preacher, his services were constantly sought throughout the neighboring counties. And this gave him frequent opportunities of preaching the essential doctrines of Christianity to the ignorant masses, an employment in which he delighted. In looking over some parts of this volume, one almost fancies he is reading the life of an itinerant missionary.

With such frequent absences, his home duties were necessarily crowded into a briefer space, so that it would have been impossible for him to get through them had he not been an early riser and extremely methodical in all his arrangements.

He had been settled in Liverpool two years, and was but twenty-five years old, when he received an invitation to preach one of the annual sermons before the London Missionary Society. The invitation, which, after some hesitation, he accepted, came almost at the last moment for preparation, in consequence of the failure from illness of the gentleman who had been appointed to preach. It is interesting to read his own recollections of the occasion, written in old age, at the request of others. He says: "The missionary sermon was preached in the Tabernacle, Moorfields, in 1814. The cause of missions was at that time comparatively new to our churches, and there was a freshness and a power connected with it then, of which people now can scarcely form an adequate conception. The congregation on that occasion was immense. The spacious chapel had been crowded since four o'clock in the afternoon. A sermon was preached at the same time in the chapel-yard to the multitudes who still lingered there. I cast myself on the Divine help, and went to the service with a feeling of intense anxiety. The crowd was so great, and the

people were so thoroughly dovetailed one into the other, that it was with great difficulty, and only after a considerable lapse of time, that I could reach the pulpit. Then, when I ventured to open my eyes and look around me, the scene was truly overwhelming. The leading men in the religious world of that day were there gathered from all parts of the United Kingdom, and hundreds of ministers who seemed completely to fill the galleries, and who, with their sable costume, and, in many instances, venerable countenances, presented an appalling appearance to me, the pale stripling who was about to address them. Many a fervent prayer was, I believe, presented for me. After the first five or ten minutes, every thing like trepidation passed away. I obtained a perfect composure and entire mastery of my theme, and the vast audience was held in perfect and profound stillness and attention to the end. The delivery of the sermon occupied about an hour and twenty minutes. In another year it will be half a century since that sermon was preached, but the scene and all connected with it, is as fresh in my memory as though it were only yesterday, and my impression is that the challenge which I ventured to give at the close of the sermon was not premeditated, but the suggestion of the moment. I have often wondered how I could have had the boldness to utter it. I had been for some time occupied in answering objections to the missionary enterprise—at that time of day it was necessary on such occasions to deal with them—when I suddenly paused and said, 'And now is there still an objector in this assembly? if there be, let him rise! Pardon me, my reverend fathers and brethren (turning to the venerable group of the founders of the Society, who sat leaning over the front of the gallery behind me), your cause is bad if it will not stand this test. I wait the objector's charge!' For some moments I was silent. The stillness of the grave pervaded the vast assembly, and I resumed: 'What, none! then I congratulate you, ye directors of this noble institution! To be approved by so many thousands as are here assembled, must be animating to your minds. I congratulate myself; my work is done. But I am surrounded by friends; you are all true men to the cause I have this night espoused, and to attempt to

plead with you would be only to insult your understandings and your hearts.'"

It would have been interesting to read an account of this discourse, and of the effect which it produced, from the pen of some one who heard it. Much of course is left untold. Judging from all we have heard of Dr. Raffles, he must have possessed in an eminent degree a lively susceptibility of emotion, and this of itself was sufficient to make his speaking impressive. Such preachers of the gospel, and their number is not large, are highly favored. They have greatly the advantage of others. The preacher may be sincere, and he may have no little zeal and fire, but this peculiar susceptibility of which we speak cannot be acquired. It is a gift. But it is curious to remark the mistake into which people are sometimes led in regard to eloquent men who show much emotion in speaking. We once heard a lady eulogize the *character* of an able speaker, who, in this way, was apt to be deeply and tenderly moved, by saying, "he is a man of great feeling;" whereas those whose acquaintance with him was more intimate, knew that the nobler traits did not preponderate in his character, and that he was not remarkable for tenderness of heart, nor for much feeling for others. We cannot decide upon the character of any one from his transient emotions. But the nobler traits were prominent in the character of the subject of this biography, and, moreover, we fully credit the assurance of the author that popularity itself failed to change his loving and genial nature.

Dr. Raffles was settled for half a century over his church in Liverpool, and the labors of each year were greatly blessed. There was a steady, quiet ingathering of souls, without what we in this country call revivals. There was constant enlargement, and believers were not only "added to the Lord," but they grew in grace. This was a result which might have been expected from his ministrations, for his preaching was from first to last not only earnest, but thoroughly evangelical. Moreover he *visited* his people, not by fits and starts, but regularly and without ceasing, up to the very close of his ministry. Some idea of his zeal and faithfulness, as well as of his success as a Christian minister, may be

obtained from the following extracts from a few of his letters:—

"If I appear at present to neglect you, you must not complain, for if ever a poor mortal was driven by the multiplicity of his cares and concerns almost to desperation, I am he. Think for a moment of my situation. Two thousand people demanding my attention and time; three sermons every week to make and preach; sick every day to visit; Bible to prepare (for the printer) and the press almost every day to correct; innumerable letters to write, in answer to various applications from London and other places about preaching—I may say innumerable, when I wrote upward of ninety letters in the course of the last fortnight; I say, lay all these things together and you will have a picture of my present situation. I go to bed weary and rise unrefreshed; day and night, mind and body are all on the rack. . . . The world envies me, and in my exertions I am the envy of all; but my personal comfort is resigned; yet I labor in a good cause, and I acknowledge the hand that sustains me."

"——— This afternoon I was called to visit one of Mr. ——'s people. It was at his earnest request I was sent for. He is fast wasting away in a consumption. On my asking him how he felt in the prospect of death, he told me he was very composed; he had not committed any great crime, he had not done anybody any harm, and he had made up his account with God. I let him go on and tell his own tale, and then asked him whether he found the account balanced, or whether in any thing he found he was deficient? He said, 'Yes, for no man could say he was without sin; but still he had never done his neighbor any harm, and always endeavored to conduct himself with propriety. I said, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' is the second commandment, what is the *first?* 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart;' have you kept *this?* Not perfectly, he acknowledged, though he had always striven to reverence the Supreme Being. 'Then,' said I, 'is it safe to stake your everlasting salvation on the second command, when you confess that you have failed in the first?' He paused, and was evidently confounded, and I embraced the opportunity to preach to him Jesus; when, after insisting on the depravity of the human heart, and the necessity of an atonement, I said, 'And now what is your hope?' 'I have no hope,' he said, 'but in Jesus Christ?' 'Do the things that I have said, then,' I rejoined, 'commend themselves to you as truth?' 'Yes,' said he, 'they do.' I was much astonished at his altered tone, talked further with him, and my satisfaction increased as I conversed. I prayed with him, and left him with the promise that I would see him again."

"——— Visited Mr. C—— again. His mind is still fixed on Christ."

"——— I have little worth communicating to you in the way of news. My ministry here, I have reason to believe, is still useful, and certainly the congregation, both parts of the day, has been much greater than in any former summer. Our church also still increases."

"——— It is Monday morning, and, after preaching three times and administering the sacrament yesterday, I feel more fit for a pillow, than for pen and paper. But my orders are, 'Work while it is day, for the night cometh when no man can work.' And, indeed, I have every encouragement to work, for the numbers that attend, and the success that, under God, crowns my ministry, are

enough to arouse the most timid to activity, and inspire the most desponding with hope. Last night I addressed about 2,500 from the request of Moses—'I beseech thee, show me thy glory.' Six persons were received into the church at our last church-meeting, and on every hand the word of the Lord appears to have free course and be glorified."

"——— As the clock struck twelve last night, I rang the bell, having been on an errand of mercy, with the record of which I commence the new year."

"——— I ought to feel the deepest and most unfeigned gratitude to God that my ministry was never more prosperous than it is at present. We never had the chapel so completely crammed as it has been this winter. I have commenced a course of lectures on the doctrines of the gospel, and delivered the second lecture this evening. They promise to be very useful. My *pastoral* duties keep pace with my increasing congregation. Seven members were proposed for admission into the church at our last church-meeting; and, what with visiting the sick, baptizing children, burying the dead, attending committees, preparing sermons and preaching them, my time is wholly occupied. A few weeks ago I baptized twelve children at one time, and seven last Sunday. A stated charge of 2,000 souls is an awful and oppressive weight upon my spirits, and often, when I think of the account I shall have to render at the tribunal of God, I am ready to exclaim, 'Who is sufficient for these things?'"

"——— I have this week been to the district meeting of the County Union at North Meols. Preaching was not expected, but the place was crowded, the congregation being assembled by the proclamation of the bellman. In the evening the place overflowed. A simplicity approaching to that of primitive times prevails among the people. The eagerness with which the people flocked to hear the word, the deep seriousness, and profound attention which marked every countenance, were truly affecting."

"——— I am well worked with public labor. I preached last Saturday night, last night, and am to preach again at Surrey Chapel to-night. The congregations have been very large, particularly at Hoxton. It was not known in London that I had come, for some time, as I preached at Paddington the whole of the first Sunday, and Mr. Wilson kept his promise not to announce my coming."

The following letter to Dr. Raffles, which we here insert, is full of encouragement to all faithful ministers, for it shows that even when they see no extraordinary results from their labors, they may be doing an amount of good which they do not dream of:—"If prayer for those who do us good and wish us well, is our bounden duty, then how ought I to pray for you! To your preaching I believe I am mainly indebted as a means employed by that God who is rich in mercy, of preserving me from total declension and final apostasy, within a few years of your first coming to exercise your ministry in this town, and also of leading me in the way of truth until now—if, indeed, I am in that way. And for a considerable period of late, during which troubles upon troubles have been coming

upon me, and which do not seem as if they would soon come to an end, were it not for many of the subjects to which a compassionate Saviour has especially directed you, and enabled you to dwell upon in such a manner as to impart the most abundant encouragement and strength to my soul, I should be overwhelmed and sink the victim of despair. Still I am enabled to hope, and though I am a subject of nervous debility, etc., which produces much depression of spirits, and almost continual fear of death, and a looking too frequently to the dark side of almost every case, yet I am constrained to say that to your ministry I owe it in a great degree, that I am able still to trust—and at times to feel—that all is well, and to believe that all shall work together for my good, and that when I am sufficiently humbled, God will remove his chastening hand from me."

It was at an early period of his ministry in Liverpool that Dr. Raffles wrote the life of Spencer, his lamented predecessor. It reached its seventh edition in England, and many editions also appeared in this country. The last of these was published in New York, by Dr. Patton, with an introduction from his pen. The author often expressed his astonishment at the reception it met with. "Its usefulness," he writes to a friend, "has overwhelmed me; and when I consider that there are many, both in Great Britain and America, whom I have never seen, nor shall see in the flesh, who will have cause to all eternity to bless God that they ever perused that book, I am truly confounded and humbled. I am now most deeply conscious of the Divine goodness in leading me to publish it, though with how little faith and how much trembling it was committed to the press the Searcher of hearts knoweth. It has been the means of sending many pious young men into the ministry." Owing to the pressure of public and pastoral duties, the volume was written chiefly after midnight.

It was this production chiefly which made the author's name a familiar one in this country. Subsequently there were many on this side the water, who came to know him personally and to esteem him highly. His biographer writes:—"He was constantly visited by Americans, on their way to or from Europe. Many agreeable acquaintances, some of which ripen-

ed into friendship, were thus formed; for few came to Liverpool without finding their way, on the first Sunday after their arrival, into the chapel, and subsequently to the vestry in Great George Street. In the early part of this year, the Rev. Dr. Sprague, of Albany, U. S., arrived with a letter of introduction from the Rev. Dr. Spring, of New York. Dr. Raffles and Dr. Sprague had already corresponded while unknown to each other, except by reputation. They now became personally acquainted, and the friendship which was thus formed continued unabated to the last. In addition to the ordinary grounds for mutual esteem on which friendship is, for the most part, based, there was a strong bond of sympathy in an antiquarian taste, which was common to both. Dr. Sprague was a great collector of autographs; and an interchange of MSS. was constantly taking place, by which each enriched the other's collection."

Dr. Raffles, like his American antiquarian friend, made himself thoroughly acquainted with his own accumulations. Toward the close of the volume the biographer says: "The collection of autographs which Dr. Raffles had been gradually but steadily accumulating, had now become very extensive and interesting. He had, for some years past, been engaged, during the few spare hours which he could devote to the purpose, in arranging and illustrating them. In this task the editor had been his chief assistant, and among the happiest reminiscences of the past, is the memory of the evenings which he was now and then privileged to spend with his father, surrounded by his manuscripts, and agreeably occupied in investigating the past history of those whose autographs were from time to time before them for the purpose of illustration and arrangement. The editor soon became inoculated with the taste for biographical and historical research, which such an occupation can scarcely fail to create, and which his father did all in his power to foster and develop by amusing and instructive anecdotes, and remarks from his own large stores of information. To attempt a description of the contents of the collection would be quite impossible within the limits of this biography. One series alone consists of forty folio volumes, with illustrations, and there are at least as many quarto vol-

umes of various kinds, exclusive of an extremely rare and valuable collection, in seven volumes, of distinguished Americans."

The writer of this article will long remember the pleasure he experienced at the sight of some of these treasures on a visit to Liverpool, heightened as it was by the warm hospitality, the kindness, and genial manner of their owner, as he exhibited them to him for inspection. Strangers, whether from other parts of his own country, or from America, were sure to find themselves at his hospitable table on the morning following their introduction, when, with a delightful frankness of manner and the utmost Christian courtesy, he would in every way in his power lay himself out for their entertainment. We can never forget the keen interest with which we examined a little manuscript book, which he placed in our hands, perfectly circular in its form, each page of which, not including the margin, was only an inch and a quarter in diameter, and which contained the entire Koran, written in Arabic. It was worn on the arm of a prince, and a priest of Mahomet, from which it had been taken as he lay dead, after the storming of a citadel in Java, in 1816, while Sir Stamford Raffles was governor.

Doctor Raffles seldom came home empty-handed from any of his journeys, as his biographer tells us, and his friends throughout the country were only too well pleased to gratify him by procuring any interesting letters or other documents which they could obtain. In this way, for the most part, his valuable collection was gathered together. He purchased comparatively few autographs, but he attached to them portraits and other illustrations, at a considerable cost in the whole, which he had picked up from time to time.

With his antiquarian tastes he had a strong turn for the humorous. This trait of his character constantly showed itself in company, and it accounted for his irrepressible disposition to treasure up droll things in his memory. Many were the curious epitaphs which he could repeat, discovered by him in his rambles, and which his memory tenaciously retained. Few men were ever gifted with greater powers of attraction, and, notwithstanding his exceeding frankness, it is

not known that he ever uttered a word to give pain, or which could be construed into disregard for the feelings of others who might differ from him in opinion. He had the good sense which is a characteristic of his nation, joined to a child-like simplicity which prevented him from constantly taking care of his dignity, under the queer impression that he was husbanding his influence.

Before Dr. Raffles' settlement in Liverpool, the Congregational ministers in Lancaster County had established what is called the Lancashire Congregational Union, for the purpose of spreading religion in the rural districts. He soon became aware of its great value, and his attachment to it constantly increased. For the purposes of efficient work, the county is divided into districts, and each district contains a number of stations. Preachers and teachers are secured for all the stations, and the funds of the Union, raised by appeals to the churches and to benevolent individuals, are used for the erection of suitable buildings, chapels, etc., in the several stations, and for the support of the missionaries and teachers whose services are enlisted. In time the people learn to depend mainly upon themselves for the support of the gospel, instead of looking for aid altogether from the Union. Every year there is a meeting of the Union in one of the large towns of the county, when a report from each station is read, in regard to its religious condition, and also the report of the treasurer of the Union as to receipts and disbursements. These reports are afterward printed. There can be no doubt that the dissenting denominations of England, each of which has done so much in this way, or in similar ways to promote religion among the neglected population, have greatly stimulated each other in the good work. It will never be known how much the church of Christ owes to their labors. There are the clergy of the Establishment, and abundant provision is made for their support, but the instruction by their exertions of all the population in their parishes is not to be looked for. The people belonging to their parishes have ever been left, to a great extent, uninstructed, and were it not for the efforts of Dissenters, a large proportion of them would be in a state little above heathenism. And this, although so

many ministers of the Established Church are men of piety and worth.* Dr. Raffles soon formed a strong attachment to his co-laborers, members of the Lancashire Congregational Union. Their untiring exertions in many of the wild and scarcely civilized districts of Lancashire County, resulted in a degree of success altogether remarkable. He himself was a constant visitor throughout the length and breadth of the county. His office as secretary of the Union and his fame as a preacher laid him open also to numberless calls for services at the opening of chapels in the different stations, and the ordination of ministers. "Few can imagine," says one who worked with him in the same field, "what large demands upon his time and strength all this involved."

A considerable space is devoted in this volume to an account of the efforts of Dr. Raffles, in connection with other leading ministers, to found the Lancashire Independent College, near Manchester, an institution for the education of young men for the ministry among Congregational Dissenters. In bringing about the result he appears to have been especially active and influential; and before his death it was his happiness to see it fully established and flourishing. At first, no small amount of time was devoted to collecting funds for the college. No doubt there is a large class who feel no particular interest in knowing either the trials or encouragements which attend employments of this kind, but for some of our readers the following anecdote may have its relish:—"On one occasion, in company with Mr. Hadfield, he went to call on an old and wealthy, but somewhat eccentric gentleman, the late Mr. Samuel Lees, of Oldham. They found him at home, smoking his pipe, and after a while opened fire upon him in reference to the college. Dr. Raffles and Mr. Hadfield successively enlarged upon the prospective benefits of the projected institution, but apparently to little purpose, for all they could extract from Mr. Lees was, 'Weel, I mun gie ye a lift, I mun gie ye a lift;' but what was the extent of the lift was wholly left in the dark. Mr. Hadfield enlarged upon the

* The Rev. Baptist Noel's book, "Essay on the Union of Church and State," was published more than twenty years ago. It is still instructive and valuable. See the chapters on the "Effects of the Union."

mode of payment by instalments as very desirable, but Mr. Lees only said, 'Weel, I mun gie ye a lift;' adding, 'I've two causes at the assizes, I mun see how they turn out.' At length, the talking being somewhat exhaustive, tea was asked for, and brought; and after some more conversation the two visitors departed, Mr. Lees saying, 'Haply I might call some day at Mr. Hadfield's office in Manchester.' On leaving, Mr. Hadfield expressed an opinion not very favorable as to the probable result of the visit; while Dr. Raffles, on the other hand, said he would give £100 for it. Weeks or months rolled by, when, upon a certain morning, Mr. Lees walked into Mr. Hadfield's office, and, on being shown into the presence of that gentleman, he said, 'Weel, Mr. Hadfield, I've come about th' college;' and pulling out a large pocket-book, apparently well lined with notes, he said, 'You said you'd take it in 'stalments,' and inserting his finger among the notes, speedily pulled out one for £100, and presented it to Mr. Hadfield, saying, 'Here's th' first 'stalment;' then, taking another dip, he drew out a second note for the same amount: 'Here's th' second 'stalment;' and so with two other notes, till he counted out £400 down on Mr. Hadfield's desk in ''stalments;' and, having done so, he added, 'An' if ye want more, ye mun have it.'"

The biographer adds, "The story can be only very imperfectly told on paper. As Dr. Raffles related the incident, and threw into it his own rich vein of humor, it was inimitable." Dr. Vaughan was the first President and Theological Professor of the new college, and for several years Dr. Samuel Davidson, a biblical scholar and critic not unknown in this country, was the professor of Biblical Criticism and Oriental Literature. In 1855 Dr. Davidson was charged with holding views which disqualified him for his position in the college, and the controversy which arose in reference to the matter resulted in his resigning his Professorship.

Dr. Raffles entered into the benevolent enterprises of the Bible and Missionary Societies with all his heart, and, to promote the objects for which they were founded, he engaged with alacrity in any work which in the Providence of God he was called to perform, however arduous it might be. In order

to lend a helping hand, he was willing to travel and preach to the limits of his strength, and even beyond his strength. He was one of the directors of the London Missionary Society and it was at his suggestion that it sent out three missionaries, Messrs. Supper, Kam, and Brückner, to Java, with the view of establishing a mission on the island. They had been educated in Holland and Berlin, but had been consigned to that society. In the success of this mission he took a deep interest, and he furnished the missionaries with a letter of introduction to Sir Stamford Raffles, his cousin, who was at that time the governor of the island, and with whom he had already been in correspondence in relation to missionary enterprise in that portion of the globe.

The island of Java was in the possession of the Dutch up to 1811, when it was taken from them by the English; but the English Government's tenure of it was very brief, for it was restored by them to the Dutch, in 1815, by whom it is still held. It was by the advice of Sir Stamford Raffles that the expedition was fitted out against Batavia in 1811. He was, as has been seen, a relative of Dr. Raffles, and his name is frequently mention in the volume under review. He was a remarkable man. He was appointed an assistant clerk in the India House at fifteen. He afterward became chief secretary to the new government formed by the East India Company, at Penang. In 1809 he published an essay on the Malay nation. When Batavia was capturedfrom the Dutch, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Java and its dependencies, and while he held the office slavery was abolished in the island. He published a history of Java, in two quarto volumes, with one volume of splendid plates, evincing much scientific knowledge and exquisite taste. He was afterward made lieutenant-governor of Fort Marlborough, the seat of the English government at Bencoolen, Sumatra, and remained six years in this position, emancipating the slaves here also. He established the British settlement at Singapore, and founded a college there for the encouragement of Anglo-Chinese and Malay literature.

It was to labor among the Chinese emigrants in Java that the three Dutch missionaries were sent to that island by the London Society, for these compose a large part of the popula-

tion. Supper died in Batavia in 1816. Brückner joined the Baptist Society and continued his exertions, amidst many difficulties, on the island for some years. Since these missionaries first went to Java, a number of devoted servants of Christ —English, Dutch, and German, as well as American—have toiled on the ground.

Large portions of several chapters of this volume are occupied with Dr. Raffles' graphic descriptions, in letters to his friends, of his visits to interesting spots in his own country, as well as on the Continent and in the East. His love of nature was intense, and he could not help writing about all he saw. There can be no doubt that his periodical absences from his public services, for the purpose of change of scene and relaxation, were the means of prolonging his useful life, and preserving the freshness and elasticity of his powers. But even when he journeyed, he engaged, whenever it was possible, in his work of preaching.

He published an account of one of his tours on the Continent, which went through five editions, and which for many years was even used as a guide-book. He used to tell the following story in reference to it:—

"On one occasion, as I was travelling out of Lincolnshire into Lancashire, I was put down at the Tontine Inn, Sheffield, at the close of a long summer's day. I went, as my custom was, into the traveller's room, and, having secured my bed, sat down in the midst of a large company, and began to ponder the question—tea or supper? In the midst of my musing, a gentleman entered the room, and looking round, said, 'Will any gentleman take supper?' That settled the matter; I accepted his challenge, and supper being speedily on the table, we sat down *vis-à-vis* to enjoy it. I found my companion very intelligent and communicative, and we talked freely on various topics; when at length he said, 'I had a very delightful tour lately on the Continent—my wife, my wife's sister, and myself were the party. We went to Paris, Geneva, Chamouni, down the Rhine, and by the Netherlands, etc. We had all the tours with us; but somehow I like Raffles' tour best of all. I think he only describes what he actually saw, but I believe there are many who describe what they did not themselves see. And there is something so like in Raffles' descriptions, they bring it all to my memory as though I had seen it only yesterday. Did you ever see the book? But, by the bye, were you ever on the Continent?' 'Yes,' said I, 'I have been on the Continent.' 'Were you in his direction at all?' he added. 'Yes,' I answered, 'the very tour he took, I took.' 'Oh, then,' said he, 'you are a judge; what do you think of it?' 'Why,' I said, 'I agree with you; I don't think he does describe any thing but what he saw.' 'And then,' he continued, 'it is so cheap! There's ———, he has spun it out into two volumes: he might very well have put it all into one. I

have Raffles' book in my trunk: it is a nice travelling companion, and every now and then I take it out and read a bit, and then I travel over the ground again, and it is all fresh and vivid in my mind. That Raffles, I believe, is a Dissenting minister, at Liverpool.' It may be supposed that I was not a little amused as well as gratified with all this, and much more passed between us, but I preserved my incognito till we parted for the night, when I said, 'Will you allow me, before I say good-night, to tell you how much pleasure you have afforded me by the testimony you have borne to the correctness of Raffles' tour?' 'What!' said he, 'is he a friend of yours?' 'Perhaps,' said I, 'the closest friend he has, for I wrote the book.' '*You* wrote the book!' he said with considerable vehemence. 'Do you mean, sir, to tell me that Dr. Raffles did not write the book himself?' 'No,' I replied, 'I don't mean to tell you any such thing, for I know that he did write it himself; nevertheless I say again, I wrote the book.' 'You don't mean that you are Dr. Raffles?' 'Yes,' I said laughing, 'I do, and I'll stick to that.' 'What, have I been all this time talking to Dr. Raffles?' 'Yes,' I replied, 'you have.' 'Well,' he exclaimed, 'I do hope, Dr. Raffles, that I have said nothing that could give you pain.' 'No, sir,' I said, 'quite the reverse; I have had many testimonies to the correctness of that book, but they have been from persons who knew that they were addressing the author, but your testimony is, in my esteem, of greater value than that of all the rest put together, for it is perfectly impartial.' 'Well, Dr. Raffles,' he said, 'it is kind of you thus quickly to relieve me of the dilemma in which I have placed myself. The fact is we were all really much indebted to you for the information and pleasure we derived from the perusal of your book.'"

Not a few illustrious names are brought before us in these pages. Near the close of his life, Dr. Raffles, at the request of intimate friends, committed to writing a few autobiographical recollections, and these include an account of interviews with some of these celebrities. Our readers will no doubt be entertained with the following relation of his intercourse with Rammohun Roy, the Hindoo scholar, whose arrival in England, in 1831, caused such a sensation in certain circles:—

"I had the good fortune to be twice in company with that remarkable man, the Rajah Rammohun Roy. A benevolent errand in behalf of his countrymen brought him to this country in the year 1831;* and though it is more than thirty years ago, I have a perfect recollection of the man, and of his conversation. What astonished me most was the wonderful acquaintance which he had—so accurate and so minute—with all our institutions, and habits, and history. One of the occasions on which I met him was at dinner at Mr. Cropper's [he was a Quaker friend of Dr. Raffles], at the Dingle. I sat next to him at table. Nothing very remarkable occurred in the conversation during dinner, but, immedi-

* He was accredited to the British court by the king of Delhi, to make a representation of grievances, and, though not recognized officially, he was successful.

ately after the cloth was drawn, a carriage drove up to the door, bringing the celebrated phrenologist, Dr. Spurzheim, and another gentleman, to call on the Rajah. They were ushered into the dining-room, and a chair was placed for Dr. Spurzheim immediately opposite the Brahmin. The Doctor was scarcely seated, when the Brahmin said (I wish I could give the deep tone and broad pronunciation with which he spoke; any thing said by him must lose much by the absence of that which can't be transferred to paper), 'But I must have a word with this philosopher; I was a member of the Phrenological Society of Calcutta for two years myself, but they all fell to quarrelling among themselves, so I left them; but you say the head—it is formed with the bump, the conformation, the figure, and that the bump, the conformation, the figure does indicate the character, the habit, the disposition of the mind. You say so; well! you shall meet with a man who lives to be twenty, thirty, forty, fifty years old, and then he change, he quite change, he become another man. Now his head, does that change?' 'Oh, yes,' said Dr. Spurzheim, with a strong German pronunciation, 'and you shall meet with some men that do change, but there are many more that do not change.' 'Oh, yes,' replied the Brahmin, 'there are many men that never change. You may find five hundred men that do not change, five thousand men that do never change; but if I find fifty men, five men, that do change, and their head it does not change, my fifty, my five go to prove that your system is not universal.' Dr. Spurzheim's friend then related the case of a boy, who was a bad boy, and grew up to be twenty, and till that time was a pest to society; but, when little more than twenty years old, he changed, and became an altered man, and the bumps on his head went down till they were entirely lost. The Brahmin listened most earnestly, till the gentleman ceased to speak, and then he lifted up his hands as in astonishment, and said, 'So the bump it go away!' 'But,' Dr. Spurzheim cried, 'don't you believe the fact?' 'Oh, yes,' he replied, 'I must believe the fact, as the gentleman says so; but, it is a very remarkable fact, and very much to your purpose.'

"The other instance in which I had the pleasure to meet this most interesting man, was at breakfast in my own house. On that occasion I invited men of various religious opinions to meet him, and there were about thirty persons present. The conversation was very lively and well-sustained. The Brahmin exhibited wonderful shrewdness. 'Ah,' he said, 'you say that you are all one in Christ, all brethren, and equal in him. Well, you go to the cathedral at Calcutta, there you see a grand chair of crimson velvet and gold—that is for the Governor-General of India; then there are other chairs of crimson and gold, they are for the members of council; and then there are seats lined with crimson, they are for the merchants, etc.; then there are the bare benches for the common people and the poor; yet you say we are all one in Christ; but if the poor man—whose seat is *there*, on that bare bench—if he go and sit down on the crimson velvet chair of the governor-general, they will break his head! Yet you are all one in Christ!' Some one was about to expound this matter to the Brahmin and explain the impropriety of any one taking the seat of the representative of majesty. But the thing was too good for our Quaker friend, James Cropper, quietly to let it go. He so thoroughly sympathized with the Brahmin's view of the matter, that he could not refrain from interposing. 'Nay, nay,' he cried, 'thou must not seek to put aside the force of our friend's remark;' so the Brahmin and our friend James had the matter entirely to themselves."

Dr. Raffles lived to see our terrible conflict for the preservation of our national existence, but there is nothing in this volume to show whether his sympathies were on the side of the Unionists, or dis-Unionists. While the war was in progress he wrote to his American friend, Dr. Sprague, as follows:—"I thank you for your photograph. It tells of advancing years, though I trace the resemblance to what my memory retains of your appearance, when I had the pleasure of seeing you last. Shall I never have that pleasure again on this side the grave? I can scarcely expect it, for should you visit this country again—which, indeed, you told me some time ago you had the purpose of doing—unless it be very soon, I cannot reasonably entertain the prospect of being here to see you. But we shall meet, I trust, in a better land! I am truly glad to have so good an account of yourself from your own pen. You have been a hard worker with heart, and brain, and tongue, and pen, and God has enabled you to work well and to good purpose, and you will leave behind you works for time and for eternity that will render you immortal! I am glad to find you don't anticipate a long continuance of this dreadful war. May God speedily send peace!"

In 1862 Dr. Raffles resigned his pastoral charge of the Great George Street Church, his bodily infirmities rendering the performance of regular duties impossible. He said, at that time, to a friend, "I have known nothing all along save Jesus Christ, and him crucified, and that which has supplied the burden of my ministry is dearer to me now than ever." He preached occasionally after his retirement. At the close of his last sermon, he experienced so much pain and exhaustion that it was some time before he could converse, though during the delivery of the discourse, the spirit of the aged servant of God triumphed over the infirmities of the flesh. The sermon was one of great power and tenderness. On the 17th of May, 1863, he peacefully breathed his last. His funeral was attended by clergymen of various denominations, including many ministers of the Church of England. The Mayor of Liverpool and many of his fellow-townsmen followed the funeral *cortége*, at the head of a long line of carriages, and it was estimated that 50,000 people lined the route of the procession.

Considering the reputation enjoyed by Dr. Raffles as a preacher, and the multitude of his admirers, we are surprised to find that the descriptions contained in this volume of the character and style of his public services are so few. The following is an account written by an American gentleman for a religious newspaper:—"At the appointed hour of service, a large, portly man, with full and ruddy countenance, and in full clerical dress, ascended the pulpit. After a hymn, he read the 24th chapter of Matthew, with great pertinency and pathos of expression, in silvery and subduing tones. From the first opening of his lips, he seemed moved from his inmost soul. I could have imagined, though ignorant of the cause, that the deep fountains of feeling were opened within him, and that some mighty sympathies were working there. And I thought, too, that the congregation were ready to be with him in feeling. But I knew not the occasion. 'Is that Dr. Raffles,' said I, in a whisper, to the gentleman on my right? 'Yes, sir,' was his answer. After the usual introductory services, and a prayer which breathed the soul, and which seemed a fellowship with heaven, the following text was announced. 'Therefore, be ye also ready, for in such an hour as you think not, the Son of Man cometh.'

"'Nearly twenty years have rolled away since I have had the pastoral charge of this congregation,' said the preacher, and these were his first words after reading the text,—'and never have I been called to mingle my tears with the bereaved of my charge in any instance for a work of death so astounding to private and public sympathy as in the late and ill-fated doom of the *Rothsay Castle*.' And here, at the end of the first sentence, the secret was all opened to me, and I felt myself at once a mourner with the mourning, for I had passed in full view of the scene of death, and heard the story, for the first time, this very day. Three members of Dr. Raffles' church were of the number who perished, and this evening it had devolved on the pastor to stand up before a mourning people to tell the story, and try to impress them with the practical lesson of the awful event. And he did tell the story in the outset, the simple story, as the exordium of his sermon. He briefly noticed the character of those they mourned, traced

the pathway of their spirits through the stormy waves of the ocean to the haven of eternal rest; and then applied himself to the proper theme of his text, in application to his hearers—'Be *ye* also ready.' Never did I see an audience so perfectly spell-bound by the voice of a man. Occasionally, in the progress of the sermon, the Doctor was powerful beyond description; his thoughts and manner, and the tones of his voice all befitting each other. The interest of the occasion was itself intense, and when the 'Amen' was pronounced, the perfect stillness which had reigned for the hour was succeeded by the singular bustle which an instantaneous change of position in every individual of a great congregation, after having been long chained by eloquence in fixed and motionless attitudes, produces."

An attendant on the ministry of Dr. Raffles could not fail to remark his strong attachment to the doctrines of grace. The Saviour, and redemption through his blood, were constantly exhibited in his preaching. It was a favorite saying of his, that in every sermon there ought to be something which would teach any ignorant person who might happen to be present the way of salvation through the atonement of Christ. When a friend, in conversation with him, expressed the opinion that people were pretty well enlightened on the doctrines, and needed to have the practical truths presented to them, he admitted the latter part of the statement, and then said, "If I were preaching a sermon such as you speak of, before I closed I would give it a *twist*, so as to bring in Christ and his great salvation." A consideration which greatly favors this view is, that though the exhibition of the particular truth which the anxious sinner most needs to know may seem to do no good at the time it is presented, yet very frequently its saving effects are experienced years afterward. Prayer should be incessantly offered by the people of God, that the Holy Spirit would apply the truth lodged in their souls to their conversion and salvation.

We do not think that Dr. Raffles' preaching was characterized by frequent formal exhibitions of the denunciations and threatenings of the Word of God against the impenitent. Whether he erred in this we pretend not to say. The explicit-

*The Bitter Dose, and other Stories.*

*The Little Street-Sweeper.*

*The Silversmith of Jerusalem.* By the author of "Asa and his Family," and "Ellen and her Cousins."

*Edith's Two Account Books.* By the author of "Annie Lincoln's Lesson," "The Little Watchman," etc., etc.

*Margaret Lawrence, and other Stories.*

*Footsteps in the Light.*

*Tell the Truth, and other Stories.*

*Echo to Happy Voices.* Published by the American Tract Society, 150 Nassau St., New York.

At the moment of going to press, and too late for further notice, the Carters send us the following excellent books:—

*The Life of James Hamilton, D. D., F. L. S.* By William Arnot. Edinburgh. Second Edition.

*Memoir of the Rev. Wm. C. Burns, M. A., Missionary to China from the English Presbyterian Church.* By the Rev. Islay Burns, D. D., Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Glasgow.

*Expository Thoughts on the Gospels, for Family and Private Use, with the Text Complete.* By the Rev. J. C. Ryle, B. A., St. John. Vol. II.

*Removing Mountains. Life Lessons from the Gospels.* By John S. Hart.

## PAMPHLETS AND PERIODICALS.

*Index Volume of the Princeton Review.* Peter Walker, 821 Chestnut St., Philadelphia. Sold by Charles Scribner & Co., New York.

Mr. Walker, former publisher of the *Princeton Review* has undertaken the highly important enterprise of publishing an index volume for the first forty volumes, and up to the time when he ceased to be its publisher. It consists of three parts—1. Historical analysis of the origin, aims, and course of the Review by the senior editor. This is the only part for which either of the editors are responsible. 2. The authors of the articles, with biographical sketches of them. 3. The index proper. The great value of this index must be obvious to all. Those who have sets of the work complete, or partially so, will of course procure it, while it will be eagerly sought by many others as a standard addition to our religious and theological literature. We notice that the words on the cover "January, 1870," and "Published Quarterly, Price $3 per annum," might possibly mislead the incautious to confound it with the regular issue of the *Review* for the current year by its present publishers, Messrs. Scribner & Co. Of course nothing of this sort was intended. On account of our personal relations to the *Review* we prefer copying the only notice of the religious press which has met our eyes, to any characterization of it by ourselves. The following is from the *New York Observer* of March 10:—

"One of the most fascinating books for a religious scholar, that we have seen, is the first part, just issued, of the 'Index Volume of the Princeton Review.' It gives a history of that great Quarterly, unquestionably the ablest Calvinistic

Review ever published, and then commences a biographical sketch of each author who has at any time contributed to its pages. It reaches only to the letter E, yet in these few letters are included the Alexanders, two Dods, Carnahan, Cox, and an array of 'lights in the world' whose names we cannot enumerate. The sketches are written with spirit, and the volume will prove a literary treasure to every well-read man."

*The Interior:* Thursday, March 17, 1870.

This is the first number of the new Presbyterian weekly, established at Chicago, which, as requested, we shall gladly add to the list of our exchanges. We are gratified with its tone, temper, ability, and promise. If it shall develop in accordance with this promise, it may do a great work for our ecclesiastical interior and for our common Christianity. We are happy to notice a general improvement in the Presbyterian weeklies since the Re-union.

*American Sunday-School Worker.*

The second number of this magazine, published by J. W. McIntyre, St. Louis, at $1,50 a year (four months on trial for 50 cents), is received. We are glad to see so able a journal as this issued in the very centre of our continent, and with contributors of known ability from the different evangelical churches.

It contains articles on the "Supply of Teachers," by E. D. Jones. "The Bible in our Common Schools." "The proper manner of conducting a Sunday School," by Bishop E. M. Marvin. "Infant School Lesson," by Prof. E. E. Edwards. "Expository Preaching." "How are Children Saved," by Rev. Jas. H. Brookes, D.D. Besides Blackboard Lessons, Notes and Queries, Book Notices, Music, and Prepared Lessons for each Sabbath, with expositions, questions, etc.

*The European Mail.* 44 Cannon Street, London.

Contains much valuable literary and scientific intelligence, and judicious criticism, besides a full and complete summary of home and foreign news for the United States, Canadian Dominion, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Bermuda, Cuba, Honduras, British Columbia, Vancouver Island, and the Sandwich Islands.

*The Technologist.* Vol. I., No. 1, February, 1870.

This is a new periodical, so far as we are able to judge, of very high character. If the editors keep their pledge that "no descriptive puffs of worthless inventions shall be inserted in its columns under any circumstances whatever," they will do a grand thing for the industrial journalism of the country. We find that the number before us consists of forty-four large pages, and it is printed on very superior paper, and in the best style of the typographic art. Altogether, it is the finest-looking journal of practical science now before the public. The articles, too, are of unusual excellence, and contain matter calculated to instruct and interest all classes. The titles of a few of the subjects discussed are,—Technological Education, Tempering Steel, Trial of Steam-Engines, Improvement in Distillation, Sunless and Airless Dwellings, the Measurement of Electrical Resistance, Vision and the Stereoscope, the Walks of New York Central Park, East River Bridge Caissons, the Microscope, Lessons on Drawing, Relation of Technology to Insurance, etc., etc.

ance relative to the subject that has been maintained by any prominent commentator, divine, or school of theology. We therefore avail ourselves of the opportunity thus afforded, to dispel some current misconceptions respecting the subject, and to say some things which we judge the present occasion opportune for saying in support of what we deem the scriptural view. It is a very small part of what we intend, to correct mistakes of Dr. Schaff concerning any principles entertained here or elsewhere. Indeed, as will soon appear, in most essential points we welcome him as an ally. We simply improve the opportunity presented by his unique and encyclopediac survey of the subject, to repeat in a form suited to the exigency, the standard answers to objections, which have been oft refuted only to reappear and reassert themselves, as if they were alike unanswered and unanswerable, since, until answered again, they will assume the air and authority of incontrovertible truths. We refer to this portion of Lange's Commentary, as giving Dr. Schaff's analysis of original sin, because, whatever others have contributed to it in the original text, or as translators and annotators, the final exegetical and doctrinal shaping of the whole is effected by the comments and discussions of the editor-in-chief. He winds up his able summation of the case with the following just and striking statement, which will not be forgotten or ignored by any competent thinker on the subject:—

"Most evangelical divines are divided between the Augustinian or realistic, the federal or forensic, and the Arminian theories, or they look for a still more satisfactory solution of the difficult problem by a future Augustine, who may be able to advance, from a deeper study of the Scriptures, the knowledge of the church, and reconcile what now seem to be irreconcilable contradictions. It should be remembered that the main difficulty lies in the *fact* itself—the undeniable, stubborn, terrible fact—of the universal dominion of sin and death over the entire race, infants as well as full-grown sinners. No system of philosophy has ever given a more satisfactory explanation than the great divines of the church. Outside of the Christian redemption, the fall, with its moral desolation and ruin, remains an impenetrable mystery. But immediately after the fall appears, in the promise of the serpent-bruiser, the second Adam, and throws a bright ray of hope into the gloom of despair. In the fulness of the time, according to God's own counsel, he appeared in our nature to repair the loss, and to replace the temporary reign of sin by the everlasting reign of superabounding grace, which never could have been revealed in all its power without the fall. The person and work of the second Adam are the one glorious solution of the problem of the

first, and the triumphant vindication of divine justice and mercy. This is the main point for all practical purposes, and in this, at least, all true Christians are agreed."—P. 195.

The question before us is, what is the relation set forth in Scripture, of Adam's first transgression to the fall of our race, to the "undeniable, stubborn, terrible fact of the universal dominion of sin and death over the entire race, infants as well as full-grown sinners?"

It will further our present method of reaching an answer to this question, to exhibit, first, the answer given by the standards of the Presbyterian Church which we adopt as our own; secondly, that given by Dr. Schaff, and *as* compared with the former in their several points of agreement and difference; thirdly, a similar presentation and comparison of the answers given by various adversaries of the doctrine we maintain, especially by those claiming to be Calvinists, who have most signalized themselves by vehement and unresting opposition to it; and, finally, to sum up the conclusion of the whole matter.*

On the teachings of our standards we observe—

1. That it asserts a covenant with Adam wherein God stipulated life (which includes perfect and perpetual holiness and blessedness) on condition of perfect and personal obedience; and death (which includes every form of evil) on condition of disobedience. That such a stipulation was made with Adam, whether called covenant or not, is past all doubt. The threatening "in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die," involved the correlated promise, thou shalt surely live, in case of perfect obedience. What the threatened death meant is made clear in the evils actually inflicted for the first transgression. The life impliedly promised to perfect obedience clearly involves the contrasted inestimable benefits. Where disobedience was death, so obedience was life; "the man that doeth these things shall live by them." By the constitution of his nature man is unalterably bound to perfect rectitude. But it is only by special promise that the rewards promised to Adam for obedience, or the evils threat-

* See *Confession of Faith*, chap. vi., 1–6; also vii., 1–2. *Larger Catechism*, Quest. 21–26; *Shorter Catechism*, Quest. 15–19.

ened for disobedience, especially as the issue of a trial in one single act, could be insured to him. And this is all the more so, if we consider what will be shown to be conceded by all with whom we are now dealing, that the benefits and evils stipulated to himself as the consequence of his obedience or disobedience were to be extended to his posterity—which is the obvious doctrine of our confession, and, as we believe, of the Scriptures.

2. It is undeniably the doctrine of our standards, that this stipulation with, or appointed trial of, Adam, was not for himself alone, but for his posterity; so that, whatever the event and consequences of his trial, penal or otherwise, should be to himself, they should be the same to all his offspring. So the Confession of Faith avers that "life was promised to Adam, and, in him, to his posterity, on condition of perfect and personal obedience." The Larger Catechism, "the covenant being made with Adam, *as a public person*, not for himself only, but for his posterity." The Shorter Catechism also says, "the covenant being made with Adam, not only for himself, but for his posterity." This moreover appears in the fact that precisely the same evils have been inflicted on their posterity which were inflicted upon Adam and Eve for eating the forbidden fruit; that it is declared, in the word of God, that "in Adam all die;" that "by one man sin entered the world and death by sin;" and that, "by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation."

3. In this transaction Adam acted representatively for his posterity, being constituted a "public person" in order that he might so act in their behalf. Our first progenitor was put in this position on account of his being the "root of all mankind," thus containing them seminally and potentially. It was fit that the federal head and representative should be the natural head of the race. Literally and personally, the sin of eating the forbidden fruit was "their (our first parents') sin." So the obedience for which life was promised to themselves and their posterity was their "personal obedience." Their act herein was that of their posterity, not literally and personally, but constructively and representatively.

4. The death threatened and visited upon our first parents

and their posterity was not merely corporeal or physical death, whether immediate and at once complete, or seminal and to be afterward fully realized, but such that they thereby "fell from their original righteousness, and lost communion with God, and became dead in sin and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body," that "the same death in sin and corrupted nature were conveyed to all his posterity proceeding from him by ordinary generation," and that "from this original corruption of nature, whereby we are indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, proceed all actual transgressions."

5. This death, the punishment of Adam's first sin, thus shown to include all penal evils, was visited upon his posterity because "they sinned in him and fell with him in the first transgression," he acting for them as a "public person" on the terms of a covenant made with him for himself and them also. It was a penal visitation for their sin thus committed in him. "The guilt (obligation to punishment) of this sin was imputed (reckoned to the account of), and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to, all their posterity."

6. It was the *first* transgression of eating the forbidden fruit, in which Adam fell, and his posterity sinned and fell with him. The first and fontal element in original sin is "the guilt of Adam's first sin."

7. Original sin is the guilt or obnoxiousness to punishment of Adam's first sin, the want of original righteousness and the corruption of man's whole nature, whereby he is indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good.

8. This estate itself, viz. : of native corruption, is itself sinful, together with all actual transgressions which proceed from it. Our standards recognize no sinless or guiltless original sin or native depravity.

Thus they teach that Adam being the root and natural head of our race, was constituted its covenant and representative head, so that, in his first transgression, he was on trial not only for himself but the race; that in his sin they so participated, not personally, but representatively, that they are counted to have sinned in him; that with him they bear its penalty, in the loss of communion with God, of his favor, and

of original righteousness, whence arise the sinful defilement of our nature, corruption of all our parts and faculties, and the domineering bondage to sin. Thus they account for the fall, degradation, and misery of our race. The curse causeless does not come. It is the penalty of the sin of our progenitor imputed to us, because, standing on trial for us, we "sinned in him and fell with him in the first transgression."

*The Realistic View, as maintained by Dr. Schaff.*

In presenting and discussing Dr. Schaff's view of original sin, and of the relation of Adam's first sin to the fall of our race, it is not requisite to our present purpose, if we had the space, to go into any minutiæ of grammatical criticism or verbal controversy, beyond what is involved in showing, 1. How far he agrees with us; 2. How far he concedes our principles, when he claims, or seems, to differ; and 3. What is the exact and only real point of difference, and with which view the weight of evidence and argument lies. What is true of his presentation is substantially true of that of Dr. Shedd, and realistic Augustinians generally.

1. Dr. Schaff maintains that Adam, in his first transgression, was on trial, not for himself alone, but for the race. "It was *man*, or human nature, which we have in common with him, that was put on trial in Adam," p. 176. So, he holds,

2. That all men sinned in Adam, as their head and representative. He says: "We hold that all men sinned in Adam, not, indeed, personally by conscious, actual transgression, but virtually and potentially; in other words, that Adam fell, not as an individual simply, but as the real representative head of the human race," p. 179. Still further, he maintains that παντες ἡμαρτον, in Rom. v. 12, means, not that all became sinful, or had a sinful nature, but that they sinned in act, which was, and could only be, in the first sin of Adam, p. 177. Moreover, he says that παράπτωμα, in verses 15, 17, 18, is "not a sinful state, or condition, but a concrete, actual sin, . . . by which Adam fell." The same also of παρακοη, verse 19.

3. Dr. Schaff maintains that death was inflicted on Adam

and his posterity in punishment of his sin, and that it includes every form of penal evil. After stating that, "There are three kinds of death: (1), the death of the soul, which is properly the first and immediate effect of sin, since sin is the separation of the soul from God, the fountain of life; (2), the death of the the body, which is the culmination and end of all physical malady and evil in this world; (3), the *eternal* death of soul and body, which is also called the second death," he says: "In one passage (Rom. v. 12), death hath passed upon all men, for that all have sinned, as also Rom. vii. 21–23; vii. 5; 2 Tim. i. 10; ὁ θάνατος is as comprehensive as ἡ ἁμαρτια, its cause, and as ἡ ζωή, its opposite. It embraces all—*all physical and moral evil* as *the penal consequence of sin;* it is death temporal and spiritual, viewed as one united power and principle ruling over the human race. That the Apostle meant physical death is clear, from verse 14."—P. 176.

4. Therefore he holds that the present reign of sin and death over our race is in its originating cause,—the punishment of Adam's first sin, wherein we "sinned in him, and fell with him in the first transgression."

5. Therefore, also, that this sin is imputed or reckoned to the account of their posterity, so that they are condemned, and punished for it. That he avowedly holds to some sort of imputation, appears from his saying that, "the new school theology of New England has gone to the opposite *extreme* of rejecting imputation under any form."—P. 193.

6. Not only so, but this imputation of Adam's sin can be no other than immediate. The imputation is, indeed, on the ground of virtual, not personal, participation in it by his posterity. It matters not what the ground is, the imputation of that sin is none the less immediate in his theory, than on the more exclusively federal, which he opposes so strenuously. It is in punishment of that sin which, as immediately participated in by the race, is immediately imputed to it, that it is afflicted with that death, which "embraces all physical and moral evil, as the penal consequence of sin." We do not understand Dr. Schaff to object so much to immediate imputation, as to "*exclusive* immediate imputationism."—Pp. 192–3.

7. Hence, we see not how his view comes short of that of our standards already quoted, viz., "The covenant being made with *Adam*, not for himself only, but for his posterity, all mankind descending from him by ordinary generation, sinned in him, and fell with him in the first transgression." "The fall brought mankind into a state of sin and misery." The sinfulness of that estate, where into man fell, consists in the guilt (obnoxiousness to punishment) of Adam's first sin, the want of original righteousness, and the corruption of his whole nature, which is commonly called original sin, together with all actual transgressions which proceed from it."

Where then is the difference between Dr. Schaff and ourselves? And what inspires his frequent, earnest, and even vehement protestations against what he, with others, considers the "Princeton" view? We will now attempt briefly to get at the true answer to this question.

He says: "Legal representation seemed to offer an easier vindication of Divine justice than the Augustinian view. It involves, undoubtedly, an element of truth, but, if detached from the idea of moral participation, it resolves itself into a mere legal fiction, and greatly enhances the difficulty of the problem, by removing the best reason for imputation."—P. 194. What is this "moral participation" in Adam's sin, which Dr. Schaff insists on as the necessary basis of legal representation? It is not merely what is implied in his acting as our representative. It is something more required to warrant his righteously acting in that capacity. What is this something? Dr. Schaff espouses what he considers the Augustinian theory, which he pronounces "realistic." He says:—

"The AUGUSTINIAN or REALISTIC theory of a real, though impersonal and unconscious, participation of the whole race in the fall of Adam, as their natural head, who by his individual transgression vitiated the generic human nature, and transmitted it in this corrupt and guilty state to his descendants by physical generation. As an individual act, Adam's sin and guilt were his own exclusively, and are not transferable to any other individual; but as the act of mankind in their collective, undistributed, and unindividualized form of existence, it was virtually, or potentially, the act of all who were germinally or seminally contained in their first parent, as Levi was in the loins of Abraham. (Heb. vii. 9, 10.)* Persona

* But how did Levi pay tithes in Abraham? Not literally, but representatively. Ebrard says *in loco*—"That he does not mean an *absolute* participation by

corrumpit naturam. Natura corrumpit personam."—P. 192. It is evident that Augustine did not teach, as he is sometimes misrepresented, a *personal* and *conscious* coexistence and coagency of Adam's posterity in Adam and his fall (which involves the contradiction of existence before existence), but simply a *potential, germinal* coexistence. The *genus homo*, or human nature, which he represented, was not a receptacle of millions of human beings, but a single simple essence which became manifold by propagation. As in the doctrine of the Trinity and of the person of Christ we distinguish between nature and person, so also here. Our human nature was on trial in Adam and fell in him; consequently, we all fell as partaking of that nature, and share in his guilt."—P. 178.

So Lange says, "Paul evidently views the human race as an organic unit."—P. 173. Says Dr. Schaff again: "The human race is not a sand-heap, but an organic unity; and only on the ground of such a vital unity, as distinct from a mechanical or merely federal unity, can we understand and defend the doctrine of original sin, the imputation of Adam's sin and of Christ's righteousness. Without an actual communion of life, imputation is an arbitrary legal arrangement."—P. 179.

"The *purely federal* school (from nominalistic premises, according to which the general conceptions are mere names, not things,—subjective abstractions, not objective realities) denies the Adamic unity of the race in the realistic sense; consequently, all participation of Adam's descendants in the act of the primal apostasy; yet it holds that by virtue of his federal headship on the ground of a sovereign arrangement, his sin and guilt are justly, directly, and immediately imputed to them."—Pp. 193–4. "Dr. Hodges' hostility to the realistic Augustinian view, proceeds, I think, from a misunderstanding; he does not distinguish between a virtual or potential, and a personal or individual coexistence and coagency of the race in Adam,"—P. 194.

We think these quotations sufficiently disclose the real and only point of difference,—a realistic oneness of the race, so that the act of one is literally and really the act of all, being maintained by Dr. Schaff, as not only true, but of the utmost importance to account for the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity. This the "purely federal school," with multitudes besides, does not see its way clear to adopt. But as Dr. Schaff and others at times get aside of the real issue, or evince a misunderstanding of our position, we will premise a few things to prevent misapprehension.

Levi in the paying of tithes,but only such a participation *in a certain sense*, not a participation in the act as such, but only in the results and *legal consequences* of it, seems to me to be indicated by the clause ὡς επος ειπειν, which is added to δεδεκταωται, etc., etc.

1. The question is not whether there is an organic or vital connection of the race with Adam. This all admit, who admit that the race is descended from him by ordinary generation. The federal school do not hold the race to be a "sand-heap," or embrace any "atomistic" conception of its unity. Those who have such conceptions of the unity of the human race can defend them if they see cause. That is not our mission, nor do such objections to the federal theory touch us.

2. Nor is the question whether this natural and vital connection of the race with Adam is the reason and ground of his being constituted their federal or representative head. He is made their covenant head, doubtless, because he is their natural head. This renders it fit that he should be appointed to act for them, as well as himself, and bring upon them as well as himself the consequences of his action. It is according to the ordinance of God, as evinced in his word and providence, that, in ways innumerable, parents should represent children, act for them, and involve them in the consequences of their conduct for better or for worse. So he visits the iniquities of the fathers upon their children and shows mercy to them that love him unto thousands of generations. As rulers properly represent and act for their constituents, so do parents rightfully stand in a like relation to their children in things innumerable, irrespective of any appointment on the part of the latter. The federal or representative school have almost universally found the reason of God's constituting a federal headship, in a prior natural headship, as appears in various quotations made by Dr. Schaff from Turrettin and others; but they have maintained that the ground of the imputation of his first sin to his posterity is that therein Adam acted in his federal or representative capacity. Thus our own standards, which have been sufficiently shown to hold the federal view, refer to Adam's being "the root of mankind" as the ultimate ground of the whole arrangement. It is common for the old Reformed symbols and theologians to refer our being in "the loins" of Adam as implicated with the special covenant made with him. Turrettin, in a familiar passage quoted by Dr. Schaff, says:—

"Adamus duplice vinculo nobiscum junctus est; NATURALI, quatenus pater est, et nos ejus filii. (2.) POLITICO AC FORENSI, quatenus fuit princeps et caput representativum totius generis humani. Fundamentum imputationis non est tantum communio naturalis, quae nobis cum Adamo intercedit—alias omnia ejus peccata deberent nobis imputari—sed precipue moralis et federalis, per quam factum est, ut Deus cum illo, ut cum nostro capite, foedus pefrigerit. Unde se habuit in illo peccato, non ut PERSONA PRIVATA, sed ut PUBLICA et REPRESENTATIVA, quae omnes suos posteros in actione illa representabit, cujus proinde demeritum ad omnes pertinet."

3. Before the seventeenth century, and to some extent since, the Augustinian divines, including Augustine himself, had not sharply defined and distinguished between the federal and realistic views, or between mediate and immediate imputation. Hence they were often confused or inadequate in their modes of stating these points. Dr. Schaff says that within the Augustinian system, "both kinds of imputation are held in fact; but the distinction was not made before the seventeenth century. Participation is assumed as the ground of imputation. Native corruption is itself sin, and likewise punishment for guilt incurred in Adam's sin. Hereditary guilt coexists with hereditary sin; man is condemned, both on account of the act of disobedience which he committed in the loins of Adam, and for hereditary depravity."—P. 192. It hence results that quotations from many of those writers, for or against the realistic or federal theories, are often very unsatisfactory and inconclusive. They may speak of our sinning in Adam because we were in his loins, and thus were the one Adam who sinned, when all that they meant to hold or say was simply what we have set forth in the last paragraph, viz., that Adam was made our representative, because he was our natural head, or that while we are condemned for our native corruption, this, in their view, "was likewise punishment for guilt incurred in Adam's sin," which supposes immediate imputation of it, whether on federal or realistic grounds. Turrettin explains the statement of Augustine, "in illo uno (Adamo) multi unus homo erant," to mean, "unitate non *specifica* vel *numerica*, sed partim UNITATE ORIGINIS, quia omnes ex uno sunt sanguine, partim unitate representationis quia unus personam omnium representabat ex ordine Dei." These quotations from Turrettin bring us to the precise point in issue. It is whether

the unity of the human race is "numerical," or, whether all the members of the race are one substance or agent, numerically, so that the act of one is the act of all: and, therefore, when Adam sinned all sinned, not merely as represented in him, but really and literally because "generic human nature," the one numerical substance common to all the race, acted in each act of Adam, and so sinned when he sinned. Now, if this could be admitted, it would solve the whole mystery of original sin. The condemnation, fall, and ruin of the race are simply the punishment for its real, actual, and culpable participation in Adam's first sin. The attractions it offers on this account to thoughtful minds, if it be once admissible, come in aid of the tendency to realistic thinking, to which minds of a certain constitution are always predisposed. It is, *mutatis mutandis*, just as Dr. Schaff says of the legal representation theory in view of other minds: "Legal representation seemed to offer an easier vindication of Divine justice than the Augustinian view." But this realistic view is exposed to the following insuperable objections:—

1. It directly contradicts the intuitive convictions and normal consciousness of the human mind. All men feel that the bond involved in unity of species, or of descent from a common parent, is intimate, and, in some sense, vital and organic. But the relation of parents to children, of distant ancestors to their descendants, of our first parents to their remotest posterity, however close, is not that of numerical oneness, so that they are all one substance, agent, or being, and what one does all do. However any may speculate themselves into such a conviction, the spontaneous judgments of the race which regulate their normal thinking, speech, and action, are all against it. No man acts on the supposition that his own act is the act of his children, or of other men, much less of all men. No one believes that, however just, on account of community of origin or descent from a sinning ancestor, may be sufferings inflicted upon his posterity in certain cases for his sins, yet, that it is so on account of any real participation in those sins; or that his acts are, really, their acts. Indeed, this is so obvious, that Dr. Schaff expressly disclaims as a groundless charge of adversaries, "a personal and conscious coexistence and co-

agency of Adam's posterity in Adam and his fall (which involves the contradiction of existence before existence), but simply a potential or germinal coexistence. The *genus homo*, or human nature, which he represented, was not a receptacle of millions of human beings, *but a single simple essence*, which became manifold by propagation. As in the doctrine of the Trinity and the person of Christ we distinguish between nature and person, so here." We sinned in Adam then, not personally, but only, as partaking of "a single essence," human nature, now diffused by propagation through the millions of our race, sinned. Who can recognize any ground of guilt and condemnation merely on account of what this "single essence" did six thousand years ago? Or who can believe that the myriads of our race are one "single simple essence," however manifoldly diffused? We fear if the fall of our race in Adam is left to this solution, it were better to leave it unsolved. Nor is the case relieved by the illustration from the Trinity. If it were just, the Trinity ceases to be a mystery. The unity of essence and plurality of persons is precisely that which exists among men, and there is no more that is incomprehensible in it than in the plurality of human persons having a common humanity. Is this all the mystery of the Trinity? What is this common humanity? Is it one substance numerically? Or is it not, rather, resembling qualities depending on a common origin? Dr. Schaff speaks of denying "the unity of the race in the realistic sense" "from nominalistic premises, according to which the general conceptions are mere names, not things,—subjective abstractions, not objective realities." Such nominalism as this is not the only alternative to realism. The general conceptions which represent the resembling qualities of the race, represent real qualities which belong to men, and not mere names. They stand not for fictions but realities; not, however, the reality of philosophic realism, or the numerical oneness of substance of the descendants of Adam or of all the individuals in any other class.

2. As Turrettin observes, on this theory all the acts of Adam are ours just as much as his first sin. They are the acts of the *genus homo*, a "single and simple essence" common to him and all his posterity. The "one offence," or first sin to which the

Scriptures and the church attribute the fall of our race, has no more to do with it than any other sin, except that it is chronologically first in the series of his transgressions. All his other sins are as much those of generic humanity, and as much corrupt it, as this. Not only so, but if all our race have in them a "generic humanity" not merely of resembling qualities and a common origin, but which is one numerical substance pervading all, whereby the act of the first man is the act of all, then not only are all his acts the acts of every other man, but the acts of each and every man are the acts of each and every other man. The merit and demerit of each belong to all. All personal identity and responsibility are utterly confounded and vacated. These objections seem to us insuperable.

3. The theory, as put by Dr. Schaff and others, fails to furnish the relief in regard to the fall of the race in Adam's fall, for which it is adduced. For, as we have seen, they assert that there was no "conscious" or "personal" "participation" of Adam's posterity in his sin. This would imply that they "existed before they existed." How a "participation," which was neither conscious nor personal, and before actual existence infers blame or guilt in them for Adam's first sin, or accounts for its imputation to them as a ground of punishment, unless on account of some special constitution or covenant constituting him their representative, we cannot understand, nor do we believe the unsophisticated human intellect can understand it.

4. The last objection which we shall now stop to specify is that arising from the whole parallelism between the condemnation of the race through Adam's sin, and the justification of believers through the righteousness of Christ. The realistic scheme imputes the sin of Adam to us because of our literal and real participation in it. In like manner, then, we must be justified by Christ's righteousness, because it is literally ours—because we have such a oneness with him that we *really* have performed those acts of obedience which he has performed. Thus we are justified by inherent righteousness, not solely by another's righteousness, imputed to us and received by faith alone. This vitiates the entire doctrine of gratuitous justifica-

tion through Christ. Nor does Dr. Schaff meet the case by telling us that "the analogy of forensic justification is not to the point, for the righteousness of Christ is not imputed to the impenitent, but only on the subjective condition of faith, by which Christ is apprehended and made our own."—P. 194. But how made our own? So that his acts are literally our acts, and his righteousness ours inherently? Never.*

For these and other reasons we find ourselves unable to accept the realistic hypothesis of the derivation of the fall of the race from Adam's first sin. In this we believe ourselves at one with the immense majority, not only of Calvinists and Augustinians, but of Christians. Of the sufficiency of these reasons our readers must judge. But if they are well founded, they eliminate philosophic realism from the true solution of

* As might be expected from such fundamental principles, these writers sometimes betray a tendency to confound justification and sanctification, and to regard them as one and the same Divine work. Lange says: "Justification is essentially a pronouncing righteous, but by the creative declaration of God; therefore it is also a making righteous, in the sense that it is a communication of a new principle of life, yet in such a way that this new principle of life must ever be regarded as the pure effect of Christ, and not in any way as the cause of justification."—P. 138. We find other passages equally wanting in exact discrimination between justification and initial sanctification mingled with much very precious truth on these great subjects. Compare with Schaff's definition of justification on the next page, which concludes thus, "the sinner being one with Christ, no longer lives unto himself, but, the grace of Christ enabling him, unto Christ, who died for him, and rose again. THIS IS JUSTIFICATION." On p. 129, he speaks of "righteousness communicated to the believer for Christ's sake in the act of justification by faith. It is both *objective*, or inherent in God, and realized in Christ, and *subjective*, or imparted to man."

See also Dr. Schaff on Justification, in his first volume of *History of the Apostolic Church*, edition 1853, section 162, p. 638.

"The justification itself is (1.) negative, the judicial sentence of God, in which he pronounces the sinner, for the sake of Christ, free from the curse of the law, from the guilt and punishment of transgression,—in other words, the forgiveness of sin, pardon; (2.) positive, the imputation and *actual communication* of the righteousness of Christ to the penitent, believing sinner. If we would not involve God in inconsistency and falsehood, we must carefully guard against the notion of an empty declaration, and must necessarily suppose that the objective state of things corresponds to the judgment of God; in other words, that God actually *makes* the penitent sinner righteous in imputing and imparting to him the righteousness of Christ, renewing him by the Holy Ghost, and placing him by faith in holy vital communion with Christ."

original sin. This being done, Dr. Schaff and such as he are brought into complete harmony with ourselves.

We now pass to consider the different phases of the opposition to the federal theory which has formed one of the distinctive features of the so-called New England theology—intending to signalize the important concessions consciously or unconsciously made by the Old and the New School types of that theology. Leaving out of view for the present the elder Edwards, whose great treatise on Original Sin vacillates between mediate and immediate imputation, between the strictly federal theory and the "root theory" of Stapfer carried so far into realism as to confound all ideas of personal identity, and of which Dr. Schaff correctly enough says, "his main object was to defend the doctrine of native depravity by the theory of identity; *i. e.*, a divinely constituted oneness of Adam and his race, by which his posterity should be born in his moral image, whether good or bad, according to the law that like begets like," (p. 193), we pass to the statements of some representative divines, who articulated the New England doctrine after it had crystallized into a definite anti-imputationism. Before the time of Dr. Taylor, the doctrine was that, by a divine constitution, according to which living things propagate their kind, and like begets like, Adam transmitted the sinful nature incurred by his sin, to each and all of his posterity, at their birth; that for native sin, thus propagated, they were condemned from birth; but that they were punished for Adam's sin not immediately, but only mediately, inasmuch as this corrupt nature consents to, and thus contracts the guilt of that sin. What they stoutly contested was, that the visitation upon the race for Adam's sin was of the nature of punishment for it, or that it was made penal by the covenant or representative relation of Adam.

The New Haven School, while conceding the transmission of a depraved nature, as a consequence of Adam's sin, denied that this native corruption has the quality of sin; yet maintained that it insures the certainty of sinning in all individuals of the race as soon as moral agency begins. This school, too, are exceedingly strenuous in denying that this corruption of nature, and consequent certainty of sinning, although the

consequence of Adam's sin, are the *penal* consequence of it. But with all this, in both the foregoing forms of New England hamartiology, the following extracts will show how difficult it is for those claiming to be Calvinistic, to miss the truth, even while opposing it. We quote first from Dr. Samuel Hopkins, the founder of Hopkinsianism :—

"The covenant or constitution, in which Adam was considered and treated as the father and public head of his future posterity, was more than *mere law*."

"The covenant made with him was made with all mankind, and constituted him the public and confederating head of mankind, and he acted in this capacity as being the whole, and his obedience was considered as the obedience of mankind; and, as by this Adam was to obtain eternal life, had he performed it, this would have comprehended and insured the eternal life of his posterity. And, on the contrary, his disobedience was the disobedience of the whole, of all mankind, and the threatened penalty did not respect Adam personally, or as a single individual; but his whole posterity included in him and represented by him. Therefore the transgression being the transgression of the whole, brought the threatened punishment on all mankind."—*Hopkins' Works.* Boston edition, vol. i., pp. 292–5.

Again he remarks, on Rom. v. 12–21: "Here Adam is asserted, in the most plain and strongest terms, to be constituted the public covenanting head of mankind, so that sin, condemnation, and death came upon all his posterity by his disobedience."—P. 295. He argues the same thing also from the fact that the precise punishments threatened and inflicted on Adam actually fell on all his posterity. It would seem difficult to state all the elements of the federal or representative system, including the immediate imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, and their condemnation and punishment therefor, more explicitly. Yet Hopkins elsewhere argues that the first condemnation of the race is for their own personal sin, transmitted by natural derivation from Adam.

Smalley, a leading New England divine, and opponent of those who resolve all moral character, and some of them even the soul itself, into a chain of exercises, uses the following language :—

"Now he (God) hath seen fit to create at first only one man and one woman, to be the progenitors of the rest of human kind—to create them in perfect maturity of natural powers, and in perfect rectitude of disposition—to place them under as good external advantages for persevering obedience as could reasonably be desired; and to ordain that their probation should be instead of the probation

of all men; that if they persevered and kept their virtue through the time appointed, all descending from them should be born in a state of confirmation, and be exposed to no further trials; that if they fell, all their descendants should be brought into existence in a fallen condition like theirs. . . . Human nature has had a fair trial in its most perfect state. We know, or might know, that had we been tried in innocence, as Adam and Eve were, and been left as they were left, we should have sinned and fell as they did. All the ends of a trial of innocent human nature on a constitution requiring sinless perseverance as the condition of life, are sufficiently answered by the trial of our first parents. Wisdom requires no more. And, in point of justice, what can be the objection?"—*Smalley's Sermons*, Hartford edition, pp. 186–7.

Yet he repudiates the imputation of Adam's sin in the very words in which he acknowledges its repute for orthodoxy, and its general acceptance as the doctrine of the Scriptures. He begins his discourse on this subject in the following terms: "Of all the articles of faith which have had the reputation of orthodoxy, or have generally been supposed to be plainly taught in the Holy Scriptures, none, perhaps, have made more infidels, and none appear harder to reconcile with reason and common sense, than the doctrines of imputed sin and imputed righteousness."—*Id.*, p. 169. But he insists that Adam stood on trial for his posterity, so that the consequences of his sin to himself also befell them. Were they not penal? But Dr. Smalley answers himself elsewhere. He contends "that all men were brought into the present fallen state by the fall of one or both of our first parents, is evident from the continuation of the very same curse that was denounced upon them—as to the temporal part of it at least—to the present day." Then, after reciting it as given,—Gen. iii. 16–20,—he asks:—

"Now, when we see every part of this sentence so exactly executed still on the sons and daughters of these first human transgressors, have we not the most sensible evidence that their offspring were included with them, thus far, at least, in their original condemnation? And if, as to the present life and temporal death, we are evidently dealt with according to the sentence passed upon our first parents, what reason have we to think that we were not, according to the original constitution, to be dealt with in like manner relative to the life to come? It is no easier to reconcile with reason and justice our being involved so far in the bitter consequences of their sin, as we certainly at present are, than it is our sharing all the fruits of man's first apostasy."—Pp. 176–7.

Now, if Adam so stood on trial for his posterity, as their representative, that they were included with him in the origi-

nal condemnation, and suffer the curse visited upon him, and the sentence executed upon him in punishment for his sin, is also inflicted upon themselves in its unnumbered evils and woes, have we not given us all the elements of the federal hamartiology?

But he finishes the complete and utter refutation of his opposition to the imputation of Adam's sin, in his argument to prove native depravity, from the sufferings and death of infants. He says: "If sufferings may be supposed in God's moral kingdom when there is no imputation of sin, the ground is given up of ever knowing the Divine hatred of any thing in his creatures, by his righteous judgments inflicted on them either in this world or the world to come. Therefore, the common painful dissolution of infants plainly avers that they are some way sinful in the sight of God."—P. 174. But is not the evil of a corrupt and sinful character, transmitted to all our race at birth, which deserves and suffers God's wrath and curse in all miseries, temporal, spiritual, and eternal, according to Smalley's view, an evil far worse than any of the mere physical pangs which it causes? And if it "may be supposed where there is no imputation of sin," does it not sever the *nexus* between sin and suffering in moral beings, and confound moral distinctions by referring the most dreadful of all visitations upon man to the mere sovereignty of God? It is no answer to say that Adam's nature having once been vitiated by his sin, this vitiosity and sinfulness are transmitted by the laws of natural propagation. Who made these laws? Besides, punishment may as truly be inflicted by the operation of natural laws as in any other way? Do not the drunkard, glutton, and debauchee suffer dreadful punishments for their sins in the mere operation of natural laws on their own constitutions?

The New Haven divines say that all who bear the name of Calvinists will unite in the statement, "that Adam was not on trial for himself alone, but that, by a Divine constitution, all his descendants were to have, in their natural state, the same character and condition with their progenitor."—*Christian Spectator*, 1830, p. 343. This surely puts the representative character of Adam unequivocally. But they differ from Dr.

Smalley, and other preceding New England divines, in regard to the sinfulness of the corrupt nature transmitted from him. They deny that this inborn corruption is of the nature of sin, because they admit nothing to be sin but acts committed in violation of known law; but they insist that it causes a certainty of sinning in the first act of moral agency in the case of all men, or as soon as moral agency begins; that this dire certainty of sinning is the consequence to all Adam's descendants of his sinning when on trial for them as well as himself. But they differ from us, not only as from Smalley, when they deny the sinfulness of our hereditary corruption, but still further, in denying that these consequences of Adam's sin, involving a depraved nature, the certainty of sinning, and consequent death, and other woes, are penal. Though flowing from Adam's sin, they are not the punishment of it.

In, by far, the ablest, most authoritative, and elaborate discussion which ever proceeded from the New Haven divines on this subject (we refer to their article in controversy with this Journal, published in the *Christian Spectator* for June, 1831, and entitled, "*The case of the Rev. Mr. Barnes, Biblical Repertory on Imputation*"), they maintain most strenuously, that, while differing from us as above shown, as to what the consequences of that sin to his posterity are, yet as respects the relation of those consequences to his sin, they differ from us only in words. They pronounce it in capitals, "SOLELY A DISPUTE ABOUT WORDS," p. 301. What words? They tell us *imputation, guilt, punishment.* Are these applicable to Adam's sin as related to his posterity, and as the ground on which its consequences to himself are inflicted on them? "In what, then, do they (Princeton and New England) differ?" Ask these divines, and they answer, "Not in the fact that these evils are a consequence of Adam's sin; but simply and solely whether they are properly termed the punishment of his posterity." And so, *mutatis mutandis*, they state the case in regard to the terms imputation and guilt. "It is agreed, then," they say, "that certain evils come on Adam's posterity, in consequence of his sin; and the question now before us is, whether this fact is to be resolved into the sovereignty of God, or to be accounted for, by asserting that

these evils are brought on beings who have not yet sinned, as a *punishment* for the sin of *Adam*. We prefer the former view of the subject."—P. 33.

In answer to the objection that the present condition of Adam's posterity, even according to their view of it, with an inborn bias which insures in each and all of them the dread certainty of sinning, is such as to preclude a fair probation, unless they have had it in their first progenitor; they argue that such certainty of sinning in all the race is not inconsistent with a fair trial. They ask, "How does it appear that a trial, which will certainly result in sin, is not a fair trial? Was not the trial of the angels who fell, as well as that of our first parents a fair trial, and did not God know that they would sin? If that certainty of sin is inconsistent with a fair trial, then in the case of any being who will sin, a fair trial is impossible. In respect to every being who sins, there was a previous certainty that he would sin. According to this objection, then, *no being who sins can have had a fair trial.* . . . . What our brethren intend, when they say, that, for probation to be fair, it must afford as favorable a prospect of a happy, as of an unhappy conclusion, we are unable to discover."—P. 353.

We think that this is, at best, special pleading, and betrays the extremity of the position taken. Surely, a trial of sinless angels, in which some fell, and vastly more stood, or the trial of a single individual, resulting in his fall, implies no presumption of a trial under unfavorable prospects and unequal chances preponderating against him. And the antecedent certainty to the Divine mind as to the way in which they would abide their trial, alters not its intrinsic nature or chances. But when untold millions are put on trial, with an inborn bias and attendant circumstances as render it certain that they all, without exception, will fall, is this a fair trial? Does it give an equal chance of standing or falling? Is not such a certainty theoretically and practically inconsistent with a fair probation? In one of the noted passages of their *Review of Taylor and Harvey on Human Depravity*, trying to account for the uniform development of sin in our race from the constitutional propensities of our nature, these divines say: "If

the temptation presented to constitutional propensities could be so strong in the case of Adam as to overpower the force of established habits of virtue in the maturity of his reason, how absolute is the certainty that every child will yield to the urgency of these propensities, under the redoubled impulse of long-cherished self-gratification, and in the dawn of intellectual existence? *Could the uniform certainty of the event be greater, if the hand of Omnipotence were laid on the child to secure the result?*"—*Christian Spectator*, 1829, p. 367. And is that a fair probation, whose failure in every case of unnumbered millions is, by the constitution of God, made as certain as his omnipotence can make it? And is the infliction of so dire an evil upon the posterity of Adam better accounted for as an act of simple sovereignty on the part of God, or as punishment for the sin of their first parent, when on trial for them as their representative, in whom they had a fair probation? But we are not left to the mere gropings of our own reason in this matter, which, however it may accept, and be relieved by, the scriptural solution of our fall in Adam, never could have invented it. The word of God teaches not only that all suffer the consequences of Adam's sin, but that these consequences are the penalty of that sin for which "judgment came upon all men to condemnation."—See Rom. v. 17, 18. All the explosive rhetoric which so many writers pour out upon the federal, or what they call the "Princeton scheme," recoils with tenfold force upon their own. They do not get rid of the awful evils inflicted on the race. They only attribute these evils to the mere sovereignty of God, inflicting them without any probation.

Besides, it encounters other difficulties. How are the sufferings and death of infants to be reconciled with the sinlessness which this scheme ascribes to them? In the article just quoted from, they reply—"The answer has been given a thousand times; brutes die also." We think they have hardly given it since, and, probably, they found their scheme gained nothing by it.

But we know no adequate answer that has or can be given. The language of Smalley, already quoted, cannot be gainsaid. "If sufferings may be supposed, in God's moral kingdom,

where there is no imputation of sin, the ground is given up of ever knowing the Divine hatred of any thing by his righteous judgments inflicted on them, either in this world, or the world to come. Therefore, the common painful dissolution of infants plainly proves that they are some way sinful in the sight of God." He proceeds to argue the same thing from infant baptism—"For there can be no occasion for baptizing any but sinners, in the name of a Saviour and sanctifier."

If we are not mistaken, we have shown that the various theories of original sin, or of the relation of Adam's first sin to the sin of the race, which have been devised to avoid the difficulties in the federal hamartiology, rather increase than obviate them, while they labor under the disadvantage of being less in harmony with the obvious sense of Scripture, the methods of Providence, and a Scriptural soteriology. With the realistic Augustinians, like Drs. Schaff and Shedd, we are in entire harmony, except in their realism as set against covenant representationism. They can and do adopt in sincerity the essential truths in regard to original sin, even to the minutest *ipsissima verba* of our confession. Doing this, we are at one with them, until they press their realism against the federal scheme. Then we feel called to show that we gain nothing and lose much in substituting this solution for that of Turrettin and most of the Reformers.

In conclusion, we offer a summation of the whole subject, which may present the strength of the latter system in a new light. We believe that, if not held in all of its parts by any given majority of Christians, each of its separate elements is held by its own majority of them.

1. The vast majority, not only of Calvinists, but of Christians, hold that the race so had its probation in Adam's first trial, that it fell in his fall, and the consequences of his sin to himself passed over to his posterity.

2. The majority hold that his descendants did not sin in him really and literally.

3. A great majority hold that death is the penalty of sin, and includes every kind of penal evil.

4. A great majority hold that death thus extending to soul and body was visited upon Adam and his posterity, by

virtue of "a judgment unto condemnation" for his first sin.

5. A great majority hold that Adam's sin was so reckoned to the account of (imputed to) the race, that its loss of the Divine favor and communion with God, and, by consequence, its lapse into sin was a visitation in judgment for that sin.

6. A great majority believe that evil inflicted on moral beings for sin, in support of law, is punishment, and that the present degradation of our race came in this way.

7. A great majority believe that Christ bore our sins, only as he bore their penalty, became a curse for us, and had the chastisement of our peace laid upon him, and hence that sin may be so imputed to or reckoned to the account of those who did not personally commit it, that they shall bear its penalty. If this is possible in one extraordinary case, it may be in another.

8. A great majority believe that Christ is the second Adam, of whom the first was a type, inasmuch as being condemned for the sin of the first Adam, we are justified by the righteousness of the second. "As by the disobedience of one, many were made sinners, so, by the obedience of one, shall many be made righteous."

Herein are found the elements of the true doctrine of original sin. They might almost claim the *semper, ubique, ab omnibus.*

These pregnant words of Pascal cannot be gainsaid. "It is astonishing that the mystery which is furthest removed from our knowledge (I mean the transmission of original sin) should be that without which we can have no knowledge of ourselves. It is in this abyss that the clue to our condition takes its turns and windings, insomuch that man is more incomprehensible without this mystery than this mystery is incomprehensible to man."

Art. V.—*The Witness of Paul to Christ.* By Rev. Stanley Leathes, "Boyle Lectures for 1869." Rivingtons.

The Boyle Lecturer is limited to the task of "proving the Christian religion"—so runs the will of the illustrious founder—"against notorious infidels, viz.: Atheists, Theists, Pagans, Jews, and Mohammedans, not descending lower to any controversies that are among Christians themselves." Has Mr. Leathes transgressed the limits assigned him in entering into controversy with those who deny that the resurrection of Christ is vital to Christianity? Is the denial of Christ's resurrection equivalent to giving up Christianity? These questions are pertinent here, because Mr. Leathes has been blamed for his strictures on the views of Dr. Davidson. The latter, in the second volume of his "Introduction to the New Testament," takes the ground that "Christianity does not fall with the denial of the resurrection, especially as the fact is reported in a manner so contradictory and susceptible of different interpretations." Mr. Leathes argues that Christianity rests on a dogmatic basis, which a man cannot forsake without forfeiting the Christian name. He considers it, therefore, within his province, as Boyle Lecturer, to dispute the position taken by Dr. Davidson. It is somewhat surprising to find the *Contemporary Review* (Broad-church as it is), under the editorial care of Dean Alford, taking Mr. Leathes to task, and advancing the sentiment that "we have no right to deny that any man is a Christian who says he is." This is certainly a new application of the doctrine of *homo mensura.* There may be room for difference of opinion as to what is the *minimum* of Christian knowledge and belief which will entitle a man to rank as a Christian, but there can be no doubt, surely, with regard to the fundamental character of the doctrine of the resurrection. Reducing Christianity to its lowest terms, this doctrine will be found of such vital importance, that to deny it is to repudiate the religion of Jesus. It might be considered unjust to class the deniers of the resurrection among the "notorious infidels" whom Boyle had in his mind, to wit:

Atheists, Theists, Pagans, Jews, and Mohammedans, and yet it is certainly true that the controversy is not one "among Christians themselves." We have, to be sure, the authority of Mr. Morell for speaking of "Unitarian Christians," and by men of his school we should be thought very illiberal. But, inasmuch as the entire scheme of redemption derives its significance from the union of Godhead and humanity in the person of Christ, we cannot consider those entitled to the name of Christians who believe that Jesus is still in his grave. A Socinian theology finds the doctrine of the Resurrection inconvenient, and a theology which denies the penal and vicarious character of Christ's death would not be the loser if the doctrine were taken away. We do not mean to impute to Dr. Bushnell any doubt in regard to Christ's triumph over the grave, when we say that his theory of the atonement would be more consistent without the doctrine of the resurrection than with it. The moral influence theory stands in no need of a *Divine* Redeemer, and, therefore, would be none the weaker if the proofs of Jesus' resurrection were untenable. If Christ's work was only to set an example and manifest his sympathy for men, it might reasonably be argued that the scope of his mission is not curtailed by denying his resurrection. But believing, as we do, that his death was a penal and substitutionary sacrifice, we are compelled to regard his divinity and resurrection as fundamental truths. We cannot, therefore, throw open the door of liberality so wide as to regard every man as a Christian who says he is one. On the contrary, we consider it one of the most dangerous features of current infidelity, that it gains respectability and countenance by being baptized with a Christian name. Christian people are greatly imposed upon when they give shelter to ideas of infidel birth, because they come recommended by men who call themselves Christians.

We are, to a great extent, indebted to the epistles of Paul for our uncompromising views regarding the cardinal doctrines of the faith. Paul was the chosen instrument through whom the Holy Ghost gave full expression to these doctrines. We are correct, therefore, in regarding the Apostle of the Gentiles as the greatest stumbling-block in the way of all advocates of

"advanced views." Heterodox theologians of every shade would breathe more freely if the way were clear to dispose of the Pauline writings.

In dealing with the thirteen epistles attributed to Paul, the enemies of evangelical theology have three courses open to them. They may endeavor to prove (1) that the epistles are forgeries; (2) that they have been misinterpreted; or (3) that Paul alone is responsible for the teaching embodied in them.

Any one of these would serve the cause of Rationalism, and each has been perseveringly tried.

The first has the advantage of being more thorough-going and destructive. For, if it can be proved that the epistles usually attributed to Paul are forgeries, that puts an end at once to all appeal to them. Renan, in that case, might feel greater confidence in saying that "Paul is coming to the end of his reign."

The task of meeting the attacks of destructive criticism belongs to those who have made New Testament introduction a specialty;—and has been accomplished with a thoroughness which sets the question at rest in the minds of all who are not obstinately prejudiced. In fact, it requires but little critical learning to perceive that the conclusions reached by critics of the school of Baur are of the most arbitrary kind. To determine beforehand what Paul ought to write, and then condemn nine well-authenticated epistles because they do not meet the critic's idea of Pauline authorship, is, to say the least, a very high-handed proceeding. Yet this is, in plain English, just what has been done.

The point, however, which concerns us in this article is, that there are four of Paul's epistles which the most reckless critic acknowledges as authentic. We take up our New Testament with all the more confidence when we know that even Baur admits that the epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians came from Paul's pen. Negative critics have halted too soon in their work of destruction, and, singularly enough, have left unquestioned the very epistles which contain the most pronounced expression of Pauline doctrine.

We are willing to test our convictions regarding the fundamental doctrines of Christianity by these epistles. Is it possi-

ble to cite the Apostle Paul as an advocate of the advanced views of sin and the atonement, by a fair interpretation of these four epistles? Have Christians been reading Paul with a veil upon their faces, as the Jews read Moses? Have the doctrines of original sin and vicarious sacrifice been perpetuated from century to century, through a persistent mistranslation of the New Testament? Matthew Arnold asserts distinctly that "Protestantism has misinterpreted Paul, and is based upon a blunder." He adopts the second of the three courses which we pointed out. Is he right? We cannot answer the question in detail. A few words must suffice.

It is important to remember that what Paul said is one thing; and the authoritative value of what he said, quite a different thing. The one can be determined by an appeal to the grammar and the dictionary; the other involves an inquiry into Paul's claim to be an accredited messenger from God. Strangely enough, writers sometimes get these two questions confused, and even Matthew Arnold, in his articles published some months ago in the *Cornhill Magazine*, while laboring hard to show that the Apostle Paul did not teach the doctrines usually ascribed to him, really rests his case against evangelical theology on the ground that the Apostle had imported into Christianity notions which he had acquired from Judaism.

Now the question is not whether any abatement is to be made from Paul's teaching on the ground of his educational bias, but whether the doctrines ascribed to him are really to be found in his pages. The two facts on which all Paul's teaching turns, and which give shape to all his utterances, are the literal death and resurrection of Christ. Whether he had sufficient reason for believing these doctrines, or whether he believed them at all, does not alter the fact that they are of prime importance in his epistles. To give them a secondary place in his system, as Matthew Arnold does, is to betray strange ignorance of the system. The key to the Epistle to the Romans is the seventh chapter, Mr. Arnold tells us—a chapter which is inferential from beginning to end. The primary ideas of Paul's teaching, as we learn from the same writer, are the spiritual dying and rising with Christ of the believers—ideas

which could have no significance, as the most careless reader may see, but for the *literal* death and resurrection of Christ, of which the Apostle had been previously speaking. This artifice of interpretation has been adopted by Mr. Arnold in order to get rid of the doctrine of justification by faith. It shows us the real strength of our position as advocates of evangelical theology, that a scholar of Matthew Arnold's standing, in order to assail it, is obliged to look for Paul's leading doctrines in the metaphysical application of Christ's literal death and resurrection to the spiritual state of believers. So with regard to the words which Paul uses respecting the atonement. It does not change their meaning to say that Paul was so saturated with Jewish ideas that they influenced his conceptions of Christianity. The very point we are at is the meaning of the words, and an evasion like this only increases our confidence in the generally received interpretation. And of as little avail is it to say that these words of sacrificial and expiatory import are figures of speech. If it be only a question whether we are to interpret Paul figuratively or literally, further argument is unnecessary. For to suppose that Paul's strongest utterances, his most didactic deliverances were all figurative, and at the same time give him credit for speaking seriously regarding the issues of another world, is palpably absurd.

There is yet another refuge for those who deny the system of evangelical truth taught in Paul's epistles. It may be said that, admitting these epistles to be the work of Paul's hand, and admitting, moreover, that the received interpretation of them is correct—after all, we had these doctrines only on Paul's authority. It is still a question whether Paul did not invent them, or was not himself the victim of imposture.

The lectures of Mr. Leathes are intended to meet objectors of this class. His object is, not to combat the opinions of critics, but to show that, after making all the admissions they demand, the structure of Christian doctrine is untouched.

The thesis which he endeavors to establish is as follows: "*It is not possible to account for the phenomena which the writings and the history of Paul present to us, except upon*

*the supposition of certain facts which are substantially those of the gospels.*"

Making now a general acknowledgment of indebtedness to the author under review, we shall, in what follows, endeavor to express in our own way the substance of his argument, and so avoid the necessity of making frequent quotations and references.

The historical apparatus on which this discussion depends, consists of the Acts of the Apostles and the four epistles already mentioned. On their united testimony we learn that the leading features in the character of Paul, as we have been accustomed to regard him, are true. That he was a Jew of Tarsus, a Benjamite, a Pharisee, an enthusiastic lover of the Law of Moses; that he had been a malignant enemy of the Christians, and that, at one period of his life, he did his best to destroy them, are facts which we have on his own confession. It has been said that the representations of Paul's vehement persecution are exaggerated. This is done, of course, in order to remove the difficulty occasioned by the contrast between Paul's life before and his life after conversion, when the attempt is made to explain his altered course by natural circumstances. The Scripture statements, however, must strike us as particularly calm; and, unless we had a theory to sustain, it would never occur to us that there was any disposition on the part of the sacred writers to exaggerate Paul's persecuting tendencies.

We pass, then, to Paul's conversion. That a great change came over him, from some cause or other, we have no reason to doubt. Even Mr. Jowett assures us that there is no fact in history more certain or independent than the conversion of Paul? How was it brought about? Suddenly or by degrees? Did Paul gradually come to the conclusion that the balance of truth was on the side of Christianity, or did he, by some sudden revulsion of feeling, pass through all the distance that lay between uncompromising Judaism and uncompromising Christianity? The latter, we shall say, if we attach any importance to the Apostle's own version of the story. In broad daylight, as he approached Damascus, he and his party were encompassed by a brightness greater than that of the midday

sun, and a voice fell in distinct tones upon Paul's ear. Instead of prosecuting his journey as he had begun, he was led into Damascus stone-blind. He went in the enemy of Christ; he came out the servant of Christ. There is little need of asking whether the circumstances attending Paul's conversion were natural or supernatural. The very weakness of rationalism is shown in the shallow and gratuitous assumption that the occurrence was an earthquake, and that Paul's blindness was the result of an epileptic fit.

"It was not the first thunderstorm to which he had been exposed, nor, possibly, even the first earthquake; and he seems to have been a man of considerable nerve, judging from what we are told of his conduct during the shipwreck in the Mediterranean, when he appears to have been almost the only one of the company who was calm and self-possessed. So that it is impossible that any natural convulsion of this kind would have produced on him the effect recorded; while it is no less unlikely that a fit of epilepsy, catalepsy, or any thing else, would have been followed by a total change of mind and revulsion of feeling—in short, would have made him a Christian from being a Jew."

He had ample time, during his three days' blindness, to reflect on the transaction; yet, at the close of that time, he was none the less persuaded that he had been face to face with Jesus. His impressions, moreover, received remarkable confirmation by the vision which appeared to Ananias, who went to Paul on the strength of it, and administered to him Christian baptism.

If, then, the occurrence was not a natural one, as we are forbidden in the nature of the case to suppose, the voice which Paul heard was the voice of Jesus, and the words which are recorded as passing between Saul and his Master, not only furnish the key to the Apostle's after-career, but are testimony beyond dispute to the literal and bodily resurrection of Jesus.

In Acts xiii. 38–9, we read :—"Be it known unto you, therefore, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins: and by him all that believe on him are justified from all things, from which they could not be justified by the law of Moses."

The comparison between Christ and Moses in this verse is in favor of the former. The position is laid down, and afterward taught at greater length, that Judaism and Christianity

are absolutely incompatible. How was Paul led to impute to Christ the power of forgiving sin? How did he come to express such dissatisfaction with the system in which he was brought up? He knew the "ins and outs" of Judaism, as Mr. Leathes says, and therefore does not speak from ignorance. He recognized the divine origin of Mosaic legislation, and never spoke disparagingly of it. He was well aware that none but God could forgive sin, and therefore only the most decided evidence could have convinced him that this power resided in Jesus of Nazareth. Some "exceptional facts," there must have been in connection with the life of Christ which warranted Paul in setting aside Moses to believe in Jesus. What these facts were it is not difficult to determine. The Apostle gloried in the cross of Christ. But why? Why has the symbol of shame become the symbol of glory? The only possible explanation is the one which the Apostle himself gives. Jesus was set forth to be the propitiation for our sins. He was made sin for us who knew no sin! This explains Paul's determination to know nothing among the Corinthians save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. But Paul could have had but little confidence in a Redeemer who was still in the bonds of death. We are safe in saying that he could not have renounced Judaism unless he had believed in the Resurrection. So he declares that Christ was not only "delivered for our offences," but "raised again for our justification." And he assures the Corinthians that if Christ be not risen, their "faith was vain, and his preaching also vain." The ascension and second coming of Christ have a very important place in Paul's creed. "Every line he ever wrote bore witness to his habitual consciousness of Christ above him as the author of all grace and the supreme dispenser of all power." He, at least, was "always confident, knowing that while he was at home in the body he was absent from the Lord." He, for one, "labored" always, that, whether present or absent, he might be accepted of him, knowing that "we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ."

"Here, then, at least, we find woven into the very thread and substance of Paul's undisputed writings the essential frame-work and tissue of the Christian creed. We had his testimony, given in a way which it is not possible to accept

his authority and reject *it*, to the life, the death, the resurrection, the ascension of, and the future judgment by, the Lord Jesus Christ."

But are we to accept his authority? In what light are we to regard his testimony? Was he a deliberate impostor? Impossible. Breaking family ties, disowning the religion of his fathers, preaching a transcendent morality, living an upright life, inculcating an unpopular doctrine, running risks of life and limb in the discharge of a mission which offered no worldly inducements—this is strange business for an impostor. We should expect that his *courage* would break down if his career had been a cheat. But what are the facts? Writing to the Corinthians, who, whether Jews or Pagans, would hardly look with favor on the doctrine of salvation through a crucified Galilean, he flung down the challenge, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation into every one that believeth." Paul's life was a commentary on this courageous utterance. It is monstrous, then, for to suppose that he lent himself to the work of imposture. But perhaps he perverted the teaching of his Master? Has he not grafted upon the simple doctrine of Christ a set of dogmas which are to be put to the credit of his own genius? In reply, it is enough to say with Mr. Leathes, that Paul's appeal to a "contemporary verdict" must be considered decisive. He said, "If we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other doctrine, let him be accursed." Paul would not have thrown down the gauntlet at the feet of those who had been with Jesus, if he had gone before the world with a perverted gospel. It would have been a dangerous thing to preach as Christianity what was only a perversion of Christianity. And the amazing thing is, that if Paul's doctrine was not in accordance with the teaching of Christ, it gained such root in the minds of the early Christians as completely to supplant the teachings of Jesus, supposing them to have been different, and to have become recognized as representative of the gospel. How was it that the peculiar doctrines of Paul—doctrines which modern critics are so anxious to dispose of; doctrines, therefore, which we may suppose were always unpalatable to the unregenerate heart; doctrines which, from their mysterious nature as well as from

the humbling views of human power which they suggest, we may suppose no man seeking popularity would venture to propound—how is it that these doctrines gained such currency that Paul could throw down the challenge before the Christian world and say: "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached, let him be accursed?"

But if Paul did not deliberately invent or pervert Christianity, was he the victim of deception himself? Was he under the control of some hallucination when he said, "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel!" Was he the subject of religious insanity that he exhibited such perseverance in publishing what he called the glad tidings? Was he led astray by some ignis-fatuus that he was "in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of his own countrymen, in perils of the heathen, in perils of the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren, in weariness, in painfulness, in watchings often, in cold and nakedness?"

Now there was no room for deception with regard to the facts to which Paul appealed, provided he could trust his own eyes and ears. A sane man could not be mistaken. The simple question then is, whether Paul was crazy, or in his right mind. Are Rationalists prepared to say that his career, from beginning to end, is one of insanity? And if they are, can they explain how it was that it escaped detection? Was a delusion so easily propagated that all the churches between Jerusalem and Rome were carried away by it? Were Sergius Paulus, and the chamberlain at Corinth, and the saints in Cesar's palace the dupes of a religious enthusiast? Rationalists must have a prompt affirmative ready in reply to these questions if they wish to set aside Paul's testimony.

After discussing in successive lectures the early life of Paul, his conversion, faith, and courage, Mr. Leathes, under the head of "The Influence of Paul," treats of the miraculous gifts which the early Christians exercised.

That they possessed these gifts we can hardly doubt if we attach any importance to Paul's testimony. And even if we should be slow to call them miraculous, it is at least clear

that certain events were of frequent occurrence among the Christians which were so strange that the heathen looked upon them as indications of supernatural interference. It enhances the value of the testimony to know that these gifts were not possessed by all; they were of so exceptional a character that they cannot be imputed to any collusion among the early Christians. The Apostle himself alludes to them incidentally, and in no labored, apologetic manner. He wrote to correct the abuses which had attended the exercise of gifts, and, so far from magnifying the importance of miraculous powers, is careful to subordinate them to the grace of charity. "It is no less certain that many Christians at Corinth spoke with tongues, and prophesied, possessed gifts of healing, and wrought miracles, and that some abused these gifts, than that in the same church the Eucharistic feast was profaned by drunkenness, unseemly conduct, and excess. No one would deny the latter, but the former is equally undeniable." "No one writing a letter to a number of persons deeply attached to him, and to whom likewise he was deeply attached, could possibly think of rebuking them for errors of which they were guiltless; of charging them with offences they had not committed. The idea is preposterous. The Corinthian church was guilty, on the one hand, of incest, and, on the other, of gross profanation of spiritual gifts."

Now we must remember that the position of the early Christians was very different from that of mediæval ecclesiastics. There was no church authority to back a pious fraud. Every thing was against them; Christianity was fighting its way, inch by inch, against the combined prejudice of Jew and Pagan; chicanery would have killed it. Shrewd Turks and Jews were in no danger of mistaking an ordinary recovery for a miraculous cure.

We cannot take ground against New Testament miracles without asserting either that the early Christians, the Apostle Paul included, were a set of cheats, or that they were the victims of deception.

Now, the moral character of the system which they professed is against the first supposition. Both in theory and in practice, in precept and in life, Christianity was in advance

of any thing in the world. To suppose that such a system was born in sin, that a religion of such transcendent excellence was rocked in its cradle by a set of liars, that a faith which made men love what is honest, and lovely, and of good report, was propagated by jugglery; to suppose that a man of Paul's moral stature would go before the world with a lie in his right hand, is a moral impossibility.

And if we take the latter supposition, we do but little credit to the intelligence of one people among whom the most subtle philosophy was born; we under-estimate the shrewdness of another people who, in all matters of worldly gain, are known in history as a keen-eyed race, if we believe that among those who witnessed the so-called miracles there were none who could see through the delusion and expose it.

These miracles, however (since we are shut up to the admission of them), no less than Paul's conversion, witness to the resurrection of Christ and the cardinal facts of the gospel. For "their bestowal was the exclusive dowry of a particular confession of faith—of faith, that is, in a person, marked by a particular history, and exercising at the time particular functions." The Christians claimed to perform the miracles in Christ's name and in confirmation of Christian doctrine. If God allowed them to control the powers of nature for the purpose of corroborating the doctrines which they preached, it is equivalent to an indorsement, on God's part, of the doctrines themselves.

"The Mission of Paul" is the title of the seventh lecture. In the opening verse of the Epistle to the Galatians, Paul declares that he is "an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father who raised him from the dead." The Galatians, we may gather from this epistle, were disposed to admit his claims; nay, we are told they "received him as an angel of God, even as Jesus Christ." The question which Mr. Leathes discusses in this lecture are, "why did *they* so receive him?—and, how did *he* know that he had a divine message?"

Why did the Galatians receive him as a messenger of God? In the first place, his conversion must have been a powerful

argument. Here was a man preaching "the faith which he once destroyed."

Then, as the Apostle could show, he was "in good repute among the brethren who were in Christ before him." Then the effect of the gospel upon themselves sustained the Apostle's claim. Whereas they had been blind, now they could see. And if faith were yet lacking, the miracles which they had witnessed would more than convince them. But, more than all, they had the witness in themselves. "Paul had done something more than impose upon the senses. He had led captive the heart, and had convinced the reason. He had wrought miracles, not only before their eyes, but in themselves. If he had made them conscious of the living power of the living Jesus, there was a third witness independent of themselves and independent of him." God had sent forth the spirit of his Son into their hearts, crying, Abba, Father. "In one word, the Apostle proved his divine mission by its divine results."

To say *divine* results, however, is to overleap the objections of Rationalism. Yet, if not divine, what were they?

What are the facts? The Apostle marvels that the Galatians are "so soon removed from him that called them into the grace of Christ, unto another gospel." He calls them "foolish Galatians," and wonders who had "bewitched" them that they "should not obey the truth." He reminds them of a time when they "knew not God," and did "service to them who are no gods." He urges them to "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free."

These expressions all imply that the preaching of the gospel had been attended with certain good results, which, however, were only of too short duration. Were these results only imaginary, or were they only what we might naturally look for under the circumstances? They were not imaginary; for then the defection would be only imaginary, and the Apostle would be charging them with an offence which they had never committed; and the epistle, as the result of whim, would carry on its face its own condemnation.

Nor can these results be credited to nature. "If the results were natural, then it has still to be shown how it was they

were so much opposed to nature; how, in the midst of heathenism and a profligate and depraved idolatry, there sprung up suddenly a pure and elevated morality, a conception of the divine nature, unequalled by the loftiest flights of philosophy; a consciousness of divine mysteries and divine realities till then unthought of; a recognized standard or ideal of human action till then unheard of and unattained; a sensitiveness of the moral nature which can never be surpassed, and which till then had never been imagined." .... "*The production of that epistle* (to the Galatians) *as a mere literary effort was a phenomenon not to be accounted for on merely natural principles.* The tone of it was out of harmony with the voices of the world. The stream and current of it ran counter to that of the course of this world."

If it be asked how Paul knew that he had received a divine message, it will not be difficult to point to certain facts in his experience which must have set the matter beyond a doubt. He could not help seeing that his own life contrasted with the lives of both Jews and Pagans; nay, that the contrast was so strong that, turn whither he would, he encountered enmity. And he well knew that the reason of the contrast was his doctrine of Christ Jesus, and him crucified. He found himself "the depositary of a gospel in direct contradiction to the whole world." How was he to explain his singular position?

Then the strangest contrast separated the life of Saul of Tarsus from that of Paul the Apostle. He became a "new creature" the moment he became a Christian. His own mind must have sought an explanation of this; and surely we are not at liberty to reject rashly his own account of the matter: "I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man. For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it but by the revelation of Jesus Christ."

He was not indebted to anybody for what he knew of the gospel. He "conferred not with flesh and blood!" "It grew up in his mind spontaneously, and yet wholly in opposition to his own will, and in defiance of his natural bias, and the prejudices of his education."

Can we find any other explanation of this than that it 'pleased God to reveal his Son in him?" His theology was

not a matter which he had thought out for himself. It shows no signs of growth. It was the same at the close that it was at the beginning of his ministry. Where did he get it? He says it was revealed. Do not all the circumstances favor this view? His consciousness testified that he had been a recipient of divine revelation. We surely should not be required to go back of that. No stronger guaranty could have been given him than that. Taking every thing into account—Paul's early hatred of the Christians—his wonderful conversion—his implicit faith in Christ—his courageous loyalty to him—his sterling character—his heroic endurance of persecution, and withal, the miracles which corroborated his claims—it is only the most perverse scepticism which will put the question, whether it is possible that, after all, Paul was mistaken? "Assuredly here, if anywhere, there can be no mistake; for here," as Mr. Leathes finely remarks, "we are on the very confines of the supernatural, within ear-shot of the voice of God."

It can be seen from the hasty survey we have given of Mr. Leathes' argument how decided the witness is which Paul bears to Christ. In fact, if the Acts of the Apostles and the four undisputed epistles of Paul were all that were left of the New Testament, we should be able from them to construct the system of evangelical theology.

Not only do these writings represent Paul as the voluntary preacher of a faith which he had embraced on the very best of evidence, but they substantiate his claims to be an accredited ambassador of Christ.

This feature in his character gives the stamp of *finality* to Christian doctrine, and effectually removes it from the category of things liable to change or open to improvement. We might, indeed, have inferred as much, had Paul not been charged with official authority. For if he had reason to give up a religion of confessedly divine origin, and put his trust in Jesus, we may reasonably infer that we ought to do likewise. If Paul became a missionary of the Christian faith, and if his preaching was confirmed by miracles, then those miracles are no less confirmatory of our faith, though we never witnessed them.

But when, in addition to all this, we are assured that the Apostle spoke as God's ambassador; delivered a message which had been revealed to him; pronounced anathemas on all who preached another gospel; it amounts to demonstration, that the gospel as Paul preached it, was meant to be final, and that no one can neglect it or pervert it without running the most fearful risk.

Leaving the question of inspiration altogether out of sight, setting aside all the other parts of the Bible, these epistles make known that an "unalterable deposit had been given to the world." What this deposit is, what Paul considers it to be, we cannot doubt. A crucified Christ—a risen Christ—a coming Christ—these are the cardinal doctrines of the gospel. To deny them is to part with the gospel. To pervert their meaning is to preach another gospel. If it was ever true that Christ died for our sins, then the doctrine can never be superannuated. The epistles of Paul veto the doctrine of development. To the Romanist, who says the Bible teaches too little, and to the infidel, who says it teaches too much, to him who supplements it with human corruptions, and to him who weeds out of it all that displeases him, to Dr. Newman, and to Matthew Arnold—the words of the Apostle have equal reference, "though he, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed."

In the foregoing remarks it has been our object to make our readers acquainted with the drift of the author under review, rather than to express any opinion respecting the merits of the book.

We will say, however, that we have derived profit from the study of the volume. The author is a scholar in the strict sense of the word, and his book is written in an attractive style.

To be sure, in several points regarding the evidential value of Paul's conversion and subsequent career he crosses the track of previous writers on the subject. A superficial reader might, on that account, think that the book contained nothing new. The thing which we particularly admire in these lectures is the skill with which the author anticipates every conceivable

rationalistic hypothesis, thus narrowing the discussion to the alternative of receiving Christianity or doing violence to history.

The appendix to the lectures is exceedingly valuable, consisting of an exhaustive defence of the credibility of the book of Acts against the onslaughts of Dr. Davidson.

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Art. VI.—*Tithes and Offerings: A Treatise on the Principles, Practice, and Benefits of devoting Portions of our Substance to the Service of God.* By C. W. Boase. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1865.

The church is ever being called upon, by the providence of God in the progress of his kingdom in the world, to meet new practical issues and to take new and higher positions in view of them. From time to time the old order of things practical is outgrown, and old platforms must be left behind, just as the successive stages of the scaffold used in the erection of some cathedral are one by one left behind by the workmen as the building rises toward completion. And as the wise builder is always found building upon the latest staging erected, so the church, in its work on the great spiritual temple, should always be found building from the highest and latest platform to which God has called her. We carry the figure further, and affirm it equally true of the earthly and the heavenly temple, that the work wrought from a lower level than that already attained by the summit of the walls does nothing in lifting them toward the capstone, and can have at best but a secondary value, if any at all. There are abundant indications on every hand that the providential demand for pecuniary means to be used in the evangelizing of the world is slowly waking the church of the present day to the necessity of taking a great step forward in the matter of Christian giving. From these indications we single out the formation of national organizations for the promotion of enlarged beneficence, as

illustrating the general tendency of the times. The British Systematic Beneficence Society was established April 29, 1860. It has for its object, as we learn from its official organ, the *Benefactor*, "to promote, by the Press, the Platform, and the Pulpit, a sound and scriptural public opinion in favor of, 1st, Conscientious giving to God, Prov. iii. 9, 10, etc.; 2dly, Proportionate giving to God, Gen. xxviii. 20, 22, etc.; 3dly, Systematic giving to God, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, etc." It numbers among its members some of the leading men of the British islands. The Systematic Beneficence Society formed at New Haven, January 19, 1869, was also designed to be a national organization. Its idea originated at the meeting of the American Board at Norwich, Conn., in the autumn of 1868. The Constitution declares that, "its object shall be to promote the practice, among Christians and others, of giving a certain per cent. of their yearly income to charitable objects, having regard to the Divine rule, 'as God hath prospered them.'" Its president is Hon. H. P. Haven, of Norwich; its treasurer, Moses H. Sargent, Esq., of Boston, and among its supporters are to be found Rev. Prof. George E. Day, of Yale Theological Seminary, President Cummings, of the Wesleyan University, Rev. Dr. Tyng, of New York, and Rev. Albert Barnes, of Philadelphia. But the stately octavo volume of Mr. Boase, issued by the great Scottish religious publishing house of T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, is perhaps one of the best indications of the importance which this subject is assuming in the mind of the Christian public. It contains, under a peculiarly Jewish title, an elaborate discussion of the subject of Beneficence in most of its bearings, ancient and modern. The author we take to be a Church of England Scotchman. His book exhibits the churchliness of the one and the metaphysical proclivities of the other. The *Scotchman* in him we credit with the thorough scriptural grounding of some portions of the book, and the hosts of inferences often so incomprehensible to any one but a metaphysician after the well-known definition of the old Scotch woman. In truth, in undertaking to read his book, it may as well be understood at the outset, that with much reverence for the Scriptures, Mr. B. combines the ability to see as much of the invisible and to gain positive knowledge

of as much of the unknowable as almost any man who can be imagined. The *Churchman* in him we credit with the peculiar backward drift of the teachings of the book, setting toward the tithe system and Judaism. It is freely admitted, however, that, notwithstanding these damaging peculiarities which render it impossible to accept its teachings as a whole, or to follow the line of discussion in any of its parts, we still regard it as a valuable contribution to this branch of our religious literature, grounding some fundamental propositions most thoroughly, leaving scarcely an important practical question untouched, presenting a condensed view of the literature and bibliography of the subject of tithes, everywhere eminently suggestive,—and accordingly fitted to benefit the thoughtful and discriminating reader.

Three elements must necessarily be taken into account in any adequate discussion of the subject of the Christian giving for the times,—God, the church, and the world: the world, with its hundreds of millions under the influence of deadly error hastening to eternal perdition; God in his infinite grace having purposed to save it, having provided salvation through his only begotten Son, and having made ready for its application to the lost by the Holy Spirit; the church, God's authorized agent, commissioned to bear the knowledge of this salvation to the lost world. We take for granted, as universally admitted, the two facts of a perishing world needing salvation, and God's abundant provision for its salvation. The only questions which can in any sense be considered open are those which arise in connection with the agency of the church and in her present relations to the world and to God. It will be seen that our outlook is predominantly from the mission-point of view. For justification in this, our appeal must be to the pre-eminent grandeur of the mission work; to the fact that in its broadest and most scriptural sense it takes in all the other work; and to the necessity imposed by narrow limits of adhering mainly to a single line of thought.

It is evident that the work which is to be done cannot be done without the requisite pecuniary means. A first question is, has the Head of the church the right to demand that she furnish these means? If he has not, then the call so often

reiterated is unreasonable and arbitrary; if he has, then nothing can absolve her from the duty of responding to the call.

There are three possible modes of acquiring property in any thing: by production, by purchase, and by gift. God claims absolute title to the church in all its membership and in all its possessions by every one of these rights and in the highest possible sense. In creation he is the absolute producer of the church and all it holds; in redemption, the absolute purchaser of all; and in the covenant, the one to whom every saved sinner makes absolute surrender of himself and all his. His absolute ownership by the right of production, God has placed at the foundation of every covenant with man and the church. The covenants with Adam before and after the fall, with Noah, with Abraham, and with the Israelites; and the whole tenor of the New Testament legislation bear testimony to this. Take away the underlying claim of the right of the Divine Author to do what he will with his creation, and the substance is gone from them all, and there is scarcely a shadow left. The idea of man's voluntary surrender to God and the claim founded upon it, are likewise embodied in all these covenants. In the new and better covenant the Divine claim founded upon the price paid in redemption is superadded to the others. Its language is, "Ye are not your own; ye are bought with a price."

This absolute ownership of the church, with all her possessions of intellect, of power, and of wealth, originally vests in God as the Trinity. In the scheme of redemption it is given to the Second Person of the Trinity incarnate, as mediator. Upon this transfer Christ rests his claim as the head of the church. Because of this he claims power to save: "All things *are delivered unto me* of my Father," therefore, the invitation and promise to the lost, "Come *unto me* all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest." Because of this he claims the right to send forth the church with the great commission for the evangelizing of the world: "*All authority* is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, *therefore*, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teach-

ing them to observe *all things whatsoever I have commanded you.*"

The claim of Christ, as the head of the church, is, therefore, based upon the highest conceivable grounds, scriptural and rational. The obligation imposed upon the church by it belongs to the class of complete obligations. Whether the demand be made to furnish the means for carrying out the commission now, or in the indefinite future, whenever it is once clearly made, there is no possible absolution from the duty.

1. With this necessarily meagre exhibition of the rights of the Head of the church we pass to a more extended and detailed consideration of *the special demand made*, in virtue of these rights, *upon the present generation of Christians.*

There may exist the admission on the part of the church of her obligation to furnish, *in the course of her history*, the pecuniary means requisite to bring about the great ends of redemption purposed by God, and yet that admission be unaccompanied by any clear and adequate sense of *present duty.* This would seem to be the position of a large portion of the church of this day; they admit that they are to furnish what Christ calls for, some time in the next ten or twenty generations, more or less. We hope contrary to this, from *word of God*, in which alone is laid down the Divine law binding upon the church of every age, in connection with *the indications of Providence*, or the signs of the times, in which alone is to be ascertained the peculiar Divine demand made under that law upon the present times,—to show conclusively that Christ calls *upon the Evangelical Church of this day for all the means requisite for carrying out the great commission.*

*a.* The consideration of *the teachings of the Scriptures* upon this subject necessarily comes first. Only in the light of them can the signs of the times be clearly read and adequately understood. The law of the agency of the church in using her wealth in fulfilling her mission is to be found partly in the Old Testament and partly in the New. As both these are parts of one great system, progressing in regulations and motives toward perfection and universality, and in which the basis of all is in the Mosaic legislation, a knowledge of the teachings of

the earlier revelation is evidently necessary to a correct understanding of the later. We therefore begin with the requirements made through the Hebrew lawgiver, purposing to present the matter in plainest modern phrase.

According to the Mosaic code, *what proportion of his income was the Jew required to devote to the cause of his religion?*

The general notion seems to be that he gave *a tenth.* It is clearly a mistaken one, as will be seen from an examination of the Scriptures. The law, in its first enactment on the subject, required the Jew to give *one-tenth* of all the produce of the flocks and herds and fields *to the Levite.* If he paid it in kind, well; if not, one-fifth was added. The Levite was to give one-tenth of this tenth to the Lord for the support of the high-priest. This enactment is found in Leviticus xxvii. 30–33, and is repeated and enlarged upon in Numbers xviii. This was one-tenth for the support of the priesthood, or of that part of the religious system. Secondly, the law required that he should devote *a second tenth to the yearly religious festivals.* He was to take this tenth to the place appointed by the Lord for his worship, and there devote it to the uses specified. This enactment is found in Deuteronomy xiv., beginning with verse 22. Thus far there are *two essentially different tithes* each year. Thirdly, the law required that *every third year* the Jew should bring *a tenth* of all and share it with the Levite, with the poor, and with the stranger, in festival rejoicing with them. This enactment is found in Deuteronomy xiv., and is renewed in Deuteronomy xxvi. Independently of all testimony on the subject other than that of the Scriptures themselves, it might perhaps be said that there is a *possibility*, although as far as may be from a probability, that the tithe of the third year might have been the same as that previously mentioned. If we have read its provisions correctly, the Mosaic law demanded of the Jew *two-tenths every year, and each third year three-tenths*, or an average of two and one-third tenths yearly.

But may we not have read the record incorrectly? Certainly no argument against the result arrived at, based upon *the greatness of the requirement*, can for a moment stand; for, by accurate calculation, *almost one-half the time* of the Jew was required in God's service. It was evidently the Divine

purpose to require great things of the chosen people. Indeed, it is necessary to go further, and to take into account the fact that these tithes were *only a part* of the gifts of the Jew,—the ordered and measured part.—before we can appreciate the full extent of the means which he devoted to God's service. The other part consisted of *free-will offerings*, the largeness and frequency of which were left to the promptings of the individual heart, but which might, in some instances, exceed even the tithes. Moreover, it was the *gross income* or product of his industry that was tithed, before any thing had been used for his own purposes. But we are rescued from all need of dependence upon probabilities, by finding, just at hand, reliable witnesses to the correctness of the above reading of the Mosaic law. Josephus,* who lived at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, says distinctly that *one-tenth* was to be given yearly to the Levites, *one-tenth* was to be applied to the festivals at Jerusalem, and *one-tenth* was to be given every third year to the poor. Tobit,† who probably wrote some 400 B. C., and Jerome,‡ who wrote about 400 A. D., tell us the same thing. Now these are all credible and competent witnesses to the Jewish understanding of the law in their day, and they all confirm our reading of the rule which was to govern the benevolence of the Jews.

But does this enactment of the Jewish lawgiver belong to that part of his code which, as is the case with the Decalogue, is of perpetual obligation, and, therefore, necessarily binding upon the Christian church? Or, if not, what is the present rule which is to govern the church in its Christian giving? This involves the inquiry, How did *Christ and his Apostles* treat the tithe system? What rule did they acknowledge or lay down?

How did *Christ*, the greater lawgiver than Moses, treat the tithe system? We learn from the Gospels that he ratified it, at least *for the Jew*. He did this when he reproved the Pharisees for their neglect of the weightier matters of the law. "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and have omitted the

* *Antiquities*, iv. 8, §§ 8 and 22. † Tobit i. 7, 8.

‡ See citations in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, Article, *Tithes*.

weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith: *these* ought ye to have done, and *not to leave the other undone.*" This ratification is recorded in Matthew xxiii. 23, and in Luke xi. 42. But was this ratification for any one besides the Jew? The considerations in favor of a negative answer appear to be conclusive. *For the Jew*, clearly, since the Jew was still under the law of Moses, and this was but an affirmation of that fact; *for none besides the Jew*, since Jesus was himself a minister of the circumcision, or of the old dispensation (see Romans xv. 8), and, as such, enforcing the law of Moses. The new dispensation could not have its full beginning until its foundation had been laid in his death. Taking into account the teachings of the Apostles along with those of our Lord himself, there is nowhere any clear and sufficient evidence that he made the old Jewish law of tithes the law of that dispensation; there is nowhere even the shadow of evidence that he did.

If he *did* reaffirm the law, then the requirement would be that the church should yearly devote at least *seven-thirtieths* of its income to the objects of Christian benevolence; and this, too, in addition to all the *free-will offerings* for which the special favors of God give ten thousand occasions. If he *did not* reaffirm it, then *more*, rather than less, in some form, must be required of Christians as a body. If a reason be asked, it may be answered, that since the times of the Mosaic law, the grand truth of God's ownership of all things has given place to that of *Christ's* ownership of all things; that the motive has risen all the way up from law to love, and that the mission of the people in covenant with God has enlarged from the reception and conservation of the Divine revelation in the little Jewish state, to the propagation of the Gospel throughout the whole world. To the Christian the Head of the church can say, Give as *bought by my blood*, as *recreated by my Spirit*, as *you love me*, as a *perishing world needs.*

But assuming that *Christ did not* make the Mosaic system binding under the new dispensation, *did the Apostles*, on whom devolved the work of organizing the primitive church, do any such thing? The answer must be an emphatic negative. The substantive expression for "tithe," and the twofold ver-

bal expression for "giving" and "receiving tithes," occur in the apostolic writings from the Acts to Revelation only seven times, never out of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and there always in such a connection that nothing short of Mr. Boase's churchly Scotch metaphysics could possibly find in them any thing on which to base an argument in favor of the re-enactment of the tithe law for the New Testament Church. We do not see how any one can avoid coming to the same conclusion with regard to the whole tithe system which Blackstone reached with regard to the tithes of the clergy, and that in spite of his noted and almost slavish adherence to past usages, and which he expressed when he wrote in his Commentaries, "I will not put the title of the clergy to tithes upon any Divine right; though such a right certainly commenced, and *I believe as certainly ceased, with the Jewish Theocracy.*"*

What then is the *scriptural and apostolical rule* laid down to govern Christian giving? It would be easy to bring forward many passages bearing upon the objects of benevolence and the dispensers of it, the frequency of giving and the times for it, the extent of the demand made upon the income of the primitive Christians and their response to it,—but a single apostolic expression of the rule of beneficence, and a single instance of Christian conduct illustrative of it must suffice for present purposes. The *rule* is the comprehensive one laid down by Paul for the Christians at Corinth, in 1 Corinthians xvi. 2: "Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him." It is a simple rule, suited to the needs of that single poor church, and yet expansive enough to leave room for a growth of liberality that should take in all the world; and Christians in this day seem to be generally turning toward it as a Divine direction quite abreast with the progress of the most advanced school of modern benevolence. It decides *who shall give:* "Every one of you," rich and poor. It tells *when and how the consecration shall be made:* "Upon the first day of the week let every one of you store up by him." Upon the Christian Sabbath the laying aside was to be done, that out of it the Sabbath offering, which, as will be seen further on, was an

* *Commentaries*, Book ii., c. 3.

essential part of the Christian worship, might be made. It directs *how much to give.* "As God hath prospered him," or as God has made him able to give. The rule is altogether a plain one to the man in whose heart the love of Christ reigns supreme. There is need of no more specific legislation even touching the amount to be given. Shall the Christian give *a tenth?* Is that all that the Head of the church in giving him his measure of prosperity has made him *able* to give? Shall he give *a fifth?* Is he willing in his liberality to fall behind *the Jew* who lived in the comparative darkness of thirty-five hundred years ago? Shall he in these days of large demands give *one-half? Nine-tenths?* Is that *all* God has made him able to give? The apostolic rule evidently knows no measure short of the steward's utmost ability when wholly under control of love to Christ and a lost world. *The single illustration from Christian conduct* to which we refer is that furnished by the mother church of all, at Jerusalem, and recorded in the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. Living in that first great crisis in the spread of the Gospel, than which no greater has been known till that of the present day, they read with all clearness the demand of their ascended Lord in his words and the signs of the times, and catching the spirit of their mission, devoted *themselves and all their possessions* to his cause.

*b.* With this review of the teachings of the Scriptures we come to the consideration of *the special Divine demand made upon the church of this day in present providences.*

The Divine law laid down in the Word is evidently one which binds the Christian from generation to generation, and from age to age. At the same time, it may be taken for granted that the Word of God supposes that a work of so vast moment as that of bearing the Gospel to a lost world is to be done as soon as possible. If, in any particular age or generation, the church is able to give a valid reason for not furnishing the entire pecuniary means requisite, and finishing the appointed work, well. The past has been able to give at least a partial reason for failure in its mission, and beyond that has suffered even to judgment where the failure has been without adequate reason.

By certain marked, nay, wholly unprecedented, features in the condition and relations of the world and the church, by which the great Head and Lord makes known his will concerning a perishing world, and Christian duty toward it, he has made it abundantly clear that *he calls upon the church of the present day to furnish the entire pecuniary means requisite for the complete and immediate fulfilment of the great commission.* And by the church, be it understood, we mean the church of Protestant Christendom, which alone can give mankind a pure gospel. In that wonderful twelfth lecture in Guyot's "Earth and Man," * in which the author delineates the progress of human civilization until it becomes the Christian civilization of the Great Britain and America of this age, the church is brought face to face with this duty to the rest of the world. The voices of all the ages are made to enforce the duty. We wish it could be read just here, to prepare the better for the considerations about to be urged. It is twenty-one years since that lecture was delivered in Lowell Institute. The unprecedented features in the present condition and relations of the Protestant Church and the world, to which attention is to be called, are mainly the results of the revolutions, intellectual, moral, and social, which have occurred in those twenty-one years.

In specifying these peculiarities of the times, it may be affirmed, first in order, that we find one evidence that Christ has made this great demand upon the church of this generation, in his *opening the whole world in this quarter-century to the Gospel as in the hands of Protestant Christendom.*

It is now twenty-eight years since Dr. John Harris wrote the prize essay entitled, "The Great Commission,"† the most eloquent and stirring appeal that has been made to the modern church in behalf of missions, in which, with almost prophetic foresight, he proclaimed the dawning of a new era, and, with almost apostolic fervor, summoned God's people to the rescue of the world. At that time the more earnest

* *The Earth and Man: Lectures on Comparative Physical Geography in its Relations to the History of Mankind.* By Arnold Guyot. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

† *The Great Commission; or, the Christian Church constituted and charged to convey the Gospel to the World.* By the Rev. John Harris, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

Christians were gathering from month to month to pray in concert for the breaking down of the barriers interposed by the governments of the nations, Roman Catholic and heathen, to the spread of a pure gospel. These nations were then everywhere substantially closed against our Christianity, the whole force of the governments being arrayed against it, and on the side of error. The governmental obstacles interposed by the *heathen nations* have successively been removed, partly by internal revolution, and partly by external pressure; partly by the peaceful advances of commerce, and the quiet working of thought, and partly by mighty throes that have shaken the world, until the masses of Asia and Africa and the Isles of the Sea are almost as open to Protestant missionaries as the non-church-going multitudes in these so-called Christian lands. In the *Papal world*, on the Western Continent, from Mexico to Patagonia, and on the Eastern Continent, in Italy, Spain, Austria, and the other leading Roman Catholic nations, the religious changes which have taken place in the same period, and which have been even more marvellous than those on heathen grounds, have made them all open and inviting mission fields to Protestant Christians. No thinking man can help inquiring, what does this almost miraculous revolution in the relation of the entire world to Protestant Christendom mean? What, when viewed in connection with the united prayers of Protestant Christians all over the world directed to this very end? What, when looked upon as all compressed within the life-time of the present generation? The only answer that can be returned is, that it means that to the Protestant Church of this generation belongs the work of giving the entire world the Gospel. The work is Christ's. He has a right to call upon his own at any time for the requisite pecuniary means. *By opening the world now*, he calls upon his followers *to furnish the means now.* They are bound to respond, and fill the treasury of their Lord *now*, unless they can give a *valid reason* for delay.

But Christ has just as evidently made this great demand upon his church of this generation, *by creating and giving into her peculiar control the facilities for the speedy proclamation of the Gospel to all this open world.*

Dr. John Todd, in his sermon at the opening of the Annual Meeting of the American Board for 1869, called this the *propagating age* of the church. First came the age for settling the Christian faith; then followed the age of union of church and state, ending with the Reformation. "To undo the past, to cut free from the state, to reform the church, to educate the human mind to think, to discover the power of the press, to create the free school and the free church—to discover and invent all the instrumentalities needed, and to find the way to every part of the globe, has been a great part of the work which has since been done." Accepting this characterization of the age as so far correct, we would fix the attention upon the fact that every one of these forward movements has reached its culmination *within the present quarter-century.* This is, accordingly, the day in which *God has first freed a mighty host from the daily toil for bread and raiment*, that they may be his messengers to the world. The almost universal application of machinery driven by natural forces to all the varied industry of Christendom, has multiplied many fold the quantity of labor, so that if need be a considerable proportion of this population can be spared without detriment to the industrial interests of society. This is the age of *the universal diffusion of education in the leading Protestant nations*—Prussia, Great Britain, and the United States. The common people have now come to furnish a great portion of the vigorous thinkers and workers in all departments of human effort and enterprise—the Hugh Millers and Faradays and Henrys, the Clays and Websters and Lincolns, the Milnes and Judsons and Spurgeons. Now for the first in modern history, most homes are no longer unfitted by want of intelligence to furnish a messenger of the cross from among their inmates. This is the age in which the church is *able to make the Gospel understood in all the world.* The philosophy of human speech had its origin but yesterday. The men who began the work of collection, comparison, and classification of languages have just passed away; the men to whom is intrusted the perfecting of it are now at work. The mysteries of the difficult tongues are now, for the first, easily made plain to even the ordinary intellect. This is the age of *abounding energy and enterprise*

—qualities requisite for the speedy evangelizing of the world. To-day Protestanism is at the lead in all the world's work of improvement and progress, and no task is, humanly speaking, too great for it to undertake and complete. For this age to rise up, and designate, and train, and send forth the messengers to all the world, would be but a little thing in comparison with the immense material and secular work it is accomplishing. This is the age of *a remarkable spirit of unity in the church at large*. Large numbers who, thirty years ago, belonged, in a peculiar sense, to the *church militant*, are now ready to work together in peace, on the broad platform of the essential doctrines of God's word, for the world's redemption. Above all, this is the age in which, for the first time in the providence of God, *the representative Protestant nations stand at all the open doors of all of the world of heathenism and Roman Catholicism*. In a striking manner the way is thus made ready for them to fill the nations with missionaries. On the Western Continent, all the states from Mexico to Chili, in swinging away from Papal Europe by which they were once enslaved, gravitated toward Protestant United States, by whose example they have been led to secure civil and religious freedom. Upon Great Britain, with her position established on the west, south, and east of Africa, and her explorers traversing its vast centre, and with her lines of influence and political ascendency reaching along by India and Oceanica far out beyond Australia,—must depend the future religious destiny of these vast regions. To Protestant Christendom of this day confessedly belongs the dominion of the sea. By the recent completion of the Pacific Railway and the Suez Canal, in connection with the Indian and Pacific steamship lines and the ocean telegraph now being laid by the Great Eastern by the way of the Red Sea and Bombay to China, a new thoroughfare of traffic and thought, *predominantly Protestant*, girds the globe in such a way as to bring our Christianity into immediate and daily contact with all the representative *Papal nations*, Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Austria; with all the representative *Mohammedan nations*, the Barbary States, the two Turkeys, Egypt, Nubia, Arabia, Persia; and with all the representative *Pagan nations*, Afghanistan, Beloochistan, Hindostan, Farther

India, China, Japan, and the inhabitants of the almost innumerable islands of the Pacific Ocean. Every one will be ready to admit that this new route has vast significance for the commerce of the future, but the Christian cannot help seeing that it cannot have less for the church in its work; for the very steamships which must soon bear the traffic of the world along the Mediterranean, up the Nile, the Euphrates, the Indus, the Ganges, the Brahmapootra, the Irrawaddy, the Cambodia, the Yang-tse-Kiang, and the Hoang-Ho, into the very heart, nay, to the remotest bounds of all these great nations, will be ready to bear the missionaries of the church to the same regions. The man of most exalted imagination can have but an inadequate view of the vast import to the cause of Christ of this new step in the onward march of Providence. And viewed in its relation to the population of the globe, its bearings appear no less striking and important than when viewed in its relations to the nationalities. A Berlin professor estimates the total population of the globe at 1,283,000,000. Of these more than 900,000,000 are found along this great thoroughfare of the world! Of the remaining 350,000,000, more than 200,000,000, along Northern Europe and Asia, are under the control of the Protestant and Greek churches. The less than 150,000,000 remaining inhabit the portions of America and Africa peculiarly under the moral influence of the United States and Great Britain. Let the fact be emphasized that the Protestant Church, with all its new facilities for giving the world the Gospel, now for the first stands foremost at every one of the open doors of the world. A single month will soon suffice to place a band of missionaries within the bounds of the most remote of these nations. The inquiry forces itself upon every one who gives this subject a moment's thought: What does it all mean? This almost incomprehensible increase in the facilities for propagating the Gospel among the unevangelized races and the giving of them all into the hands of the leading Protestant states—do not these providences point Protestant Christians to their duty? The creation of these facilities within the memory of men still living—does it not point to *present duty?* Can any one who owes allegiance to the Head of the church escape the conclusion that this lavish furnishing of facilities

for reaching the world falls in very strangely with the Divine purpose in opening it to Protestant Christian effort; and that this twofold movement of Providence binds the church to respond to the Divine call by filling the treasury of the Lord to overflowing *now;* unless she can give a *valid reason* for delaying?

But Christ has made his providential demand for the means requisite for the spread of the Gospel as clear and as binding as possible upon the church of the present day, *by suddenly furnishing her with all the wealth needed.*

These remarkable revolutions of the past thirty years have been so numerous and so silent that even the best ecclesiastical statisticians and financiers scarcely understand the full meaning of the *rich church* with its vast income which so often enters into their calculations. De Quincey, in some curious investigations in his "Biographical Essays" has shown that the dowry which Mary Arden, the mother of Shakespeare, brought to his father, John Shakespeare, the estate amounting at the lowest calculation to £100 and at the highest to £224, and the rent amounting at the lowest to £8 and at the highest to £14,—was really a very respectable fortune. In these days, and that even after taking into account the difference in values so greatly in favor of three centuries ago, such an income would be considered but a beggarly one for the most unskilful boot-black. Only fifty years ago, when Coleridge refused a half-share in *The Morning Post & Courier*, with the emphatic declaration, that he would not give up his country life with the lazy reading of old folios for two thousand times the income it offered; he added, "In short, beyond £350 a year I regard money as a real evil." Yet this would barely meet the wants of some first-class mechanics of the present day. Manifold causes have been at work in producing an almost fabulous increase in the wealth of the Protestant nations in the present quarter-century. One of these is found in the fact that fire furnishes the nervous power, and iron and steel the muscles, of our modern civilization. The industrial arts have thus been revolutionized. In Great Britain alone the working power of the machinery already employed five years ago was estimated to be equiv-

alent to 400,000,000 men,* or to twice that of the adult working population of the globe. In the United States the working power created in the same manner cannot be much, if any, less. This increase of productive power is the source of an immense revenue. Another cause may be found in the commerce which has increased so immensely in consequence of this enlarged productive power, and which has made the world largely tributary to the leading Protestant nationalities. A third cause is to be found in those striking providences which seem to indicate the purpose of God to give the world to Protestant Christendom; among which may be enumerated those which in a century have increased the subjects of the British empire from 13,000,000 to 200,000,000, raised Prussia from the position of an insignificant state to a first place on the map of Europe, and established on these western shores our great republic with its 40,000,000 of free people, mostly Christian and Protestant; and those which have given into the hands of the leading Protestant nations the great gold fields of the world, California and Australia, which had been kept concealed from all men until God's chosen instruments for his work had been prepared and his time for its accomplishment had fully come. The increase of wealth resulting from these and other causes has almost outrun accurate statistics, and even imagination. So far as we have been able to ascertain by somewhat careful inquiry, an income of half a million dollars is more common on this side of the ocean now than was an income of fifty thousand thirty years ago. Three centuries ago, the ransom of the Inca, Atahuallpa, paid to that Spanish robber and butcher, Pizarro, turned the brain of all Europe by its magnitude; yet it was less than the annual income which has been returned to the revenue officers by some of our merchant princes of New York as the reward of legitimate business. The increase of national wealth in the aggregate has kept pace with that of individual wealth. The sum of values in the nation in 1850 was $7,000,000,000; in 1860, $16,000,000,000; at the present time, according to the estimate of Special Commissioner

* See *Tithes and Offerings*, page 345. The figures are taken by Mr. B. from *The Benefactor*, the organ of the British Systematic Beneficence Society.

Wells,* $23,000,000,000, and, according to that of Judge Kelly, member of Congress from Pennsylvania, $43,000,000,000. The increase in twenty years, during five of which there was expended in civil war at least $10,000,000,000, has therefore been somewhere from three to six fold. The gross product of the industry of the country for 1869, which may represent its gross annual income, apart from the annual increase of aggregate values just referred to, Mr. Wells estimates at $6,825,000,000. He proceeds, however, at once to show that this "is an under rather than an over estimate;" and in doing this gives data drawn from the wages of the lowest of the working classes, which indicate that $8,000,000,000 would be a very moderate estimate. These statistics show that the product of the industry of the nation last year equalled or surpassed the entire value of all its property nineteen years before. A like marvellous increase has taken place in the wealth of Great Britain, as might readily be shown by statistics.

Now, after making all proper deductions from these figures on account of the greater plenty and diminished value of gold, the great depreciation of our currency below the gold standard (the whole reducing a dollar to about half its former value), and not overlooking the doubling of our population meanwhile, nor the increasing tendency of surplus wealth to become concentrated in immense masses and in few hands, the question arises with overwhelming force, Why has God so flooded the Protestant nations with wealth, and done it in these same twenty-five years in which he has been making openings for the Gospel into all nations and bringing Protestant Christendom to stand foremost at all these openings? It cannot be claimed with a shadow of justice or even a show of plausibility that this vastly enlarged income is required for increased expenses of living. Nor can it be claimed with any greater show of justice that either the Scriptures or human experience warrants the hoarding up of these vast sums in private coffers. Mr. Lewis Tappan, well known once as a Christian merchant, and later as secretary of one of the benevolent societies of the

* For the estimates of Mr. Wells, see *Reports of the Special Commissioner of the Revenue*, for 1868 and 1869.

country, in his little tract, "Is it Right to be Rich?"* gives a forcible exhibition of the teachings of the Scriptures on this subject, in connection with many striking corroborative facts, drawn from his extended observation and experience. We commend the tract to every reader, not, of course, indorsing all its statements. Yet how dangerous this unscriptural hoarding of millions is to the possessors of great wealth and to their families any one may learn by observation. In short, nothing can be clearer than that the Head of the church has not placed this vast wealth, just at this juncture, in the hands of Christians as his stewards, for the purpose of allowing them to indulge in enervating luxuries without stint, or for the purpose of giving them opportunity to pamper their families through their millions of stored and rusting treasure. If there is any meaning in this wondrous chain of providences, taken together and in connection with the truths of God's absolute ownership of every thing and the Christian's stewardship, that meaning must be *this*, that *Christ does not purpose that the thousands of millions of the race for whom his blood has been shed shall perish without the Gospel*, and that, moreover, he has rolled upon the church of this very time the responsibility of furnishing *the entire pecuniary means* requisite for the work in its completeness at home and abroad, the world over. He who has the authority given him by the Father to call for the gold at any time, calls *now*. Can the church, and especially its opulent members, give a *valid reason* for not furnishing the Lord's treasury with all that is needed *now?*

The Word of God and the signs of the times manifestly discountenance the so-prevalent mission creed of the church, that the world's conversion is a work belonging to the indefinite future. The Word shows us that even the law laid down for the Jew, if enforced upon Christians, would call forth from the burglar-proof and benevolence-proof safes all the needed treasures for carrying out the Great Commission now; making it thereby doubly clear that with the application of the higher law and motives of the new dispensation there could be no lack of means for the immediate completion of the work for the

* *Is it Right to be Rich?* By Lewis Tappan. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1869.

world. The Signs of the Times leave no open question as to present duty; since they make the present call of Christ as clear as the facts of the existence of a lost world and of the church as his agent to bear to it the Gospel. Now what have Christians to offer as against this Divine claim? Absolutely nothing but the insane rage for *laying up treasure upon earth*, upon which Christ set the mark of reprobation in laying down the very constitution of his kingdom! For, what is this remorseless devotion of body and soul and life to money-getting and money-hoarding, whether in the church or out of it, but that *worship of Mammon* which Christ taught his disciples could not coexist with the service of God? No such plea will stand the test of the judgment. Taking the whole Protestant Church; or simply that portion limited by the English-speaking peoples; or even coming down to the church of the United States, we believe there is the requisite treasure in her possession to-day for carrying forward the great work to its completion. Salvation is ready, the world is ready, Christ is calling, and only the church waits; and waits without a shadow of justification for such a course before God or man!

2. Assuming as proved the authority of the Head of the church, and the fact of his present great demand upon his people, *the duty of the church in enforcing his call upon those in her communion* next requires our consideration.

Christ has the authority and makes the demand; it belongs to his church to interpret the Divine word and providence, and in her teachers and authorities to press his claims upon her communion. The problem, when all the elements, divine and human, spiritual and material, are taken into account, becomes as truly one of *supply and demand*, as any of those furnished by our earthly political economy. In other words, the supply of pecuniary means must, under God, depend upon the quantity and quality of the enforcement by the proper agent of present duty, as shown by the present Divine demand; so that any defect in the enforcement will not fail to result in a corresponding deficiency in the supply.

The church of this day is making her presentation of God's claims upon those in her communion. If the results thus far reached in this discussion are in accordance with truth and

fact, it must be affirmed of her presentation that it is utterly inadequate. We must go still farther and affirm it fundamentally wrong *in not starting out with God's full claim.* The action of the General Assembly for 1869, found on pages 931–3 of the Minutes, illustrates this point. It confesses to the too patent fact of the failure of past plans, and the imperative necessity laid upon it "to arouse the whole church to a higher standard of Christian liberality, and to put in force some method by which liberal gifts shall be made to flow in from every part of the field;" but, nevertheless, it has no whisper of any indication of a Divine call for more than a *moderate advance* in the supply of pecuniary means for the cause of Christ; in fine, it scarcely ventures to hope for the increase demanded to maintain the present position of the work of the Boards. The *method* devised by the Assembly's committee (in accordance with the expressed need in the Minutes), for making the liberality at once more free and more general, involved the apportionment of the sum estimated to be required for all the work of the Boards of the church for the current year among the various Synods, and, through these and the Presbyteries, among the churches. The whole sum apportioned, as expected to be raised, to the rich Synod of New York, with its 168 churches, its 23,000 communicants, and its untold millions of wealth, is $196,082. Is any thing more needed to show how far short the church comes of making God's full demand upon those in her communion, than the fact that this is the presentation of the Divine claim for the world's needs made by that branch of the church which in its liberality *falls behind no other branch*—which, in fact, may be shown by statistics of unquestioned fairness to be *the leader* in the generosity of its contributions for the foreign work?

What, then, is the response of the current year to this utterly inadequate presentation of God's demand for a lost world? What as compared with that of the past year? Once more by a single branch of the church may be illustrated the condition of the whole. From two appeals sent out to the membership through the religious journals, and coming from the two principal Boards, may be learned something of the present financial condition of what was the Old School branch

of the Presbyterian Church. The first appeal is from *the Board of Foreign Missions*, and comes from the pen of the worthy treasurer, Mr. Rankin. It runs thus:—

"February 1, 1870—Total receipts from May 1.....$142,556
" .1869— " " " " ..... 153,401

Less receipts this year..... $10,845

February 1, 1870—*Cash* payments to date (9 months).....$231,210
" 1869— " " " " ..... 229,096

Increased payments this year..... $2,114

Which would have been $9,000 larger if the average premium for gold had remained as during the preceding year.

The total receipts from churches, Sabbath-schools, legacies, and 'miscellaneous' for the year ending April 30, 1869, were.....$300,492
Deducting nine months' receipts as above, to February 1, 1870..... 142,556

Leaves.....$157,936

required to make the receipts of this year equal to those of the last.

"It is not likely that this amount will be realized between this and the 1st of May. But the nearer it is approached, the less will be the legacy of debt transmitted by the existing Board of Foreign Missions to its successor.

"Mission House, New York, *Feb.* 7, 1870."

The other bears date January 6, 1870, and is signed by Dr. Musgrave, Secretary of the *Board of Domestic Missions*. We extract the following paragraphs:—

"The receipts during the first ten months of the present fiscal year, viz.,—from March 1, 1869, to January 1, 1870,—as compared with the corresponding period of the preceding year, were *less by twenty-eight thousand four hundred and thirty-five dollars and thirty-four cents!*

"This is not all. Encouraged by the action of the General Assembly, Synods, and Presbyteries, and the assurance of many pastors that the churches would contribute more liberally than heretofore, the Board enlarged its operations and increased its liabilities. During the present year the appropriations to the first of January *exceeded* those of the corresponding period of the year preceding *twenty-three thousand and eighty-four dollars*. This increase in the liabilities of the Board, and diminution in its receipts, make an *adverse* difference in the present financial condition of the Board of *fifty-one thousand five hundred and nineteen dollars and thirty-four cents!*"

Let each judge of the prospects for himself. Altogether the worst feature in the case is *the universality of this state of things*. It is a fact that the supply of means is as deficient in measure as the enforcement of the demands of Christ is in-

adequate. Each year calls for a louder cry over impending bankruptcy, in order to the annual extrication from financial difficulties.

Before taking leave of a theme of such profound practical importance, we pause to enumerate a few of *the requisites to any right and adequate enforcement* of the present pecuniary demand of God's cause, without due regard to which the supply can never, with reason, be expected to approximate to that demand.

The first and fundamental requisite to the full enforcement of the Divine claim is a more complete, general, constant, and forcible exhibition of the scriptural doctrine of *the stewardship of the church under Christ, the absolute owner of all things.* In the full and correct conception and reception of this truth is laid that solid foundation of principle in its application to the use of property, without which there may indeed be impulsive, spasmodic distribution, but never the intelligent, systematic, liberal, dutiful *Christian giving* which the word of God evidently contemplates. Having to do in this day with such grand and awful issues, the lesson of Christian beneficence deserves a place next to those first words in the home which bear to the tender conscience and the retentive memory of the little ones of the household the dawning knowledge of salvation by the crucified Jesus; claims a place only second to that of the way of life in the more elaborate unfoldings of the Scriptures, doctrinal and practical, in the Sabbath-school and Bible class; and in the exhibitions of truth and duty from the pulpit demands for itself a place no less important than that which God has given to love to our neighbor in the Decalogue. The obligation to respond in full to every call of the Head of the church must somehow be made plain beyond possible misunderstanding, and that speedily. It must be acknowledged that there are times when the professed people of God have need of the sweet and encouraging words of warning to the angel of the church at Philadelphia, but the present is rather a time when many of them need to have thundered in their ears the awful message to the angel of the church at Laodicea. Giving to God's cause has long enough been regarded as something Christians

might neglect or not according to inclination; God's right and his claim ought now to be enforced, and enforced with increasing point and power till the truth shall become a fire in every covetous man's bones. Said Christ when upon earth, "*How hardly* shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of heaven." There is to-day a large and increasing class who need something more than honeyed or even plain words if they are ever to be reached by the truth and saved from their idolatry. There died recently in New York city, according to one of our prominent religious journals, a man who had amassed a fortune of $11,000,000. He was a church member in excellent standing, but died the awful death of an Altamont, reproaching his minister who was present, not only with having failed to warn him against his sin of covetousness, but even with having encouraged him in it. We hope there is some mistake about this,—but it is high time that such men, who hold GOD'S MONEY, should, for their own good as well as for the good of the world, be made to understand that fact and the infinite peril of practically denying it, if there is any language that can make them understand it and impress upon them their peril. In short, we cannot but feel that the church is called upon to bring to bear without delay her united wisdom, under the teaching of the Holy Ghost, upon the solution of the pressing problems as to method and means furnished by the necessity for the widest, most complete, and most forcible presentation possible of the true relation of the Christian and his property to Christ the Lord of all.

The second requisite to the full enforcement of God's claim, is *that the church be aroused to an adequate sense of her duty to the world.* After the inward principle of beneficence must come the outward call for its exercise in deeds of practical Christian giving. The divine agency for such awakening of the people of God is to be found, according to our Presbyterian theory, *in the ministry*, to whom the great commission was pre-eminently addressed, and *in the entire ministry.* The infinite importance of the work of giving the Gospel to all the lost world, the imperative divine demand to fill the treasury for this purpose without delay, the awful responsibility of having the conduct of all the Christian stewardship and the sal-

vation of a thousand million souls resting, under God, upon their interpretation and enforcement of the Divine word and ways, must first be impressed upon that ministry, and so impressed that, with the weeping prophet, they shall be ready to exclaim, in view of the message intrusted to them, "His word was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay." Our reading is a mistaken one, if the signs of the times do not demand that *all the ministry*, under most solemn sense of this absolutely overwhelming weight of responsibility, should give *a very large proportion of their time* to the work of making clear to the people who hold Christ's treasures, this *present pressing call from God* for the immediate evangelization of the world at home and abroad. By aid of maps of the world the abodes of these dying myriads must be made as familiar to every church-goer as is the dining-room or the dormitory in his home; by help of missionaries, and all accessary agencies for communicating mission intelligence, the Sabbath pulpit must make every adherent of a pure Christianity as familiar with the progress of the work at home and abroad, and the present needs of the Lord's treasury, as he is with the prospects and requirements of his own daily business; and by every consideration of humanity and religion to be brought from God's word and his world, and that can rouse the intellect, the conscience, the heart, the imagination of man, the whole soul of every Christian must be so roused that there shall be no possibility, either in the perplexing and absorbing anxieties of business or in the luxurious ease of the fashionable home, of getting for an instant beyond the reach of the awful wail of that thousand millions of souls perpetually hanging over the bottomless pit!

A third requisite to the enforcement of the full Divine claim, and the last we mention, is that *appropriate channels be furnished for regular and frequent response to the call of God's word and providence.* The order is, first the principle fixed in the heart, next the call for its exercise made imperative, and then the opportunity furnished at the right moment and in the right way for its proper exercise. Here is found the place for all the machinery of systematic Christian giving.

We are of those who believe that the only true basis for any

scriptural and permanently effective scheme, is to be laid in the recognition of the truth that Christian giving is the worship rendered to God of our substance, and therefore must be an essential part of a complete Sabbath worship. In accordance with this view, the Directory for Worship, ch. vi., provides for a "collection for the poor, and other purposes of the church," with every Sabbath service; the General Assembly, in the report of its first "Committee on Systematic Benevolence," in 1855, declares that "giving, in the Scriptures, is put upon substantially the same basis as prayer—the one is the sacrifice of the lips, and the other of the substance;" the Scriptures associate κοινωνία as the "communication of benefits, beneficence, liberality," with teaching, prayers, and the eucharist, as making up with them the complete Christian worship of apostolic times; and the *collection* was uniformly a part of the religious worship in the primitive church. The wisdom of such an alliance between our Christian giving and our regular Sabbath service with its prayer and praise, may be seen from the fact that, while the prayer and praise are needed to cultivate one set of graces—reverence for God, joy in God and his salvation, dependence upon God, in short, all forms of regard for his infinite worthiness,—the offering of our substance as God has prospered us is just as much needed to cultivate another set of graces—the sense of stewardship and accountability, love for the needy and perishing, readiness to *communicate*. System implies regularity; and here we have the *divinely ordained regularity* which is essential to that true *system of beneficence* after which the Christian heart of this age is reaching out.

It is in connection with this as the basis, that the need arises for plans; in order that none of the interests of the vast field of effort may be overlooked, while to each is consigned its due relative place. From among the almost innumerable working plans offered in this season of planning, we single out that embodied in the "Report of the Committee on Systematic Beneficence" of the Presbytery of North River, as on the whole the most comprehensive of any we have examined, and the best adapted to the necessities of the Presbyterian Church at large. The arrangement for contributions is as follows:—

"First Sabbath in each month—Foreign Missions.

"Second Sabbath—Domestic Missions, with its affiliated Boards, Church Extension, and the Committee on Freedmen: the distribution to be made by the donor, or, if not so done, by the church session according to some rule announced beforehand.

"Third Sabbath—The other Boards of our church, viz.: Education, Board of Publication, and Disabled Ministers' Fund. Distribution as before.

"Fourth Sabbath—Presbyterial Mission work, *i. e.*, the supplementing of salaries of feeble churches within our bounds, or direct mission work under the care of Presbytery.

"Fifth Sabbaths—Whenever they occur, to the Bible or other societies, or to any special fund required by the church.

"For Sabbath School collections the same general order might be preserved, with such modifications as would adapt it to the interest and capacities of children."

It commends itself as being scriptural, simple, and flexible; while calling upon all who frequent the house of God to worship him in their property, furnishing constant occasion to the ministry for pressing upon Christian stewards their obligation, urging upon them the call of Providence for the world, and giving abundant opportunity for training both young and old into the habit of giving from principle. But while putting forward this plan as meeting our views more nearly than any other we have examined, it is freely admitted that changes in circumstances call for various and, in some cases, perhaps, constantly varying plans, embracing even a wider range than that indicated by the excellent Digest sent out to the churches by the last General Assembly's Committee.

It was said, at the opening page of this essay, that the church of God is slowly being aroused to see the necessity of taking a great step forward in this all-important matter of Christian giving. If her complete awakening is to be hastened, as God in his providence indicates that it should be, the three requirements just indicated must be met, and fully met, by the divinely-appointed leaders in Zion. We must have a clearer, stronger presentation of God's truth,—a more vivid and forcible exhibition of the lost world's needs, and better, more wisely-adapted, and more scriptural plans for replenishing the treasuries of the Lord from the enlarging liberality of Christian hearts,—and we must have these in all

the congregations. Without these it is vain to expect the actual standard of liberality among Christians to approximate to that true and divine standard to which Christ is at this day summoning Protestant Christendom to advance.

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## Art. VII.—*Brief Suggestions on Presbyterian Reconstruction and Unification.*

Most of the matters connected with the practical completion of the re-union of the two great branches of the Presbyterian Church were so arranged in the "concurrent resolutions," that they will probably work themselves through to a satisfactory solution, in accordance therewith, without serious friction. So far as now appears, the "imperfectly organized churches" will become perfectly organized in five years at the longest. The Missionary Boards of both bodies will become consolidated. Corporate rights, records, etc., are to be adjusted and combined. We presume this will be done in a manner acceptable to all parties. Three subjects only just now appear to require the light of further discussion, in order to reach safe practical conclusions:—

### 1. *The Basis and Ratio of Representation in the General Assembly.*

The committee having this subject in charge have rightly judged that the present ratio of representation should be greatly reduced. This is a matter of overbearing necessity. The present Assemblies are each too large for the convenient dispatch of business and the hospitality of any but the largest cities. United, they would tend to become a huge crowd, rather than a grave, well-organized, deliberative assembly. About this there can be no doubt. The only question is as to the best method of reducing the ratio of representation, in order sufficiently to reduce the number of the body. The Reconstruction Committee have recommended the substitution of synodical for presbyterial representation. This has much to recommend

it. It will surely accomplish the object. It is making constituencies of existing ecclesiastical bodies or church-courts known to our system, instead of erecting new districts for the purpose. On the other hand, it is open to very grave objections.

The Synods generally meet but once a year. They cover large districts of country. Their members, to a great extent, are little known to each other. The candidates to be voted for will mostly be strangers to those who vote for them. On account of the distance and expense of travel, they are often attended by minorities only of their members. These circumstances furnish capital opportunities for men of a little activity and forwardness to electioneer, and plan, and get their favorite candidates ahead of others who would more fairly represent the mind of the Synod; and would be its choice if there were a fair opportunity to exercise such choice. We regard this as a very formidable objection. It becomes serious just in proportion to the numbers and geographical extent of the Synod, both which conditions are unfavorable to a full attendance, and to any effectual counteraction of the movements of cliques and ecclesiastical aspirants and politicians.

Again, all the habits of our people, the whole historical life and development of our church, are in the line of presbyterial representation. They feel that in this way they know who they are voting for, and cannot often be outgeneraled by petty cliques or aspirants. Ordinarily, the active and effective ecclesiastical supervision of our churches; the knowledge of their ministers, officers, members; and of the interests and wants of our congregations, is through our Presbyteries. These bodies will be reluctant to part with a prerogative to which they have always been accustomed, which invests them with much of their importance, and which they think more safely lodged with themselves than with Synods. The question then arises, is there no way of effecting the reduction of representation which all admit to be necessary, and still retaining it in the hands of the Presbyteries?

We throw out the following plans for consideration; recognizing it as quite likely that thorough discussion may show unforeseen difficulties to be involved in them:—

Let every Presbytery numbering twenty-four ministers or less, be entitled to send one, and but one, commissioner, either elder or minister, as it may see cause. Let every Presbytery numbering over twenty-four and not more than forty-eight, be entitled to two commissioners, of whom one must be a minister and the other an elder; when over forty-eight and not over seventy-two, let it have three delegates, of whom one at least must be an elder and one a minister; when over ninety-six, four delegates, one-half ministers and one-half elders. This allows one delegate for every twenty-four ministers and every fraction of that number. By thus doubling the unit of constituency, the number of commissioners will be reduced considerably more than one-half. This will be effected by the union of many of the smaller Presbyteries of the two branches on the same territory. We think exact figuring would show that the Assembly thus constituted, would not, after the re-union, much outnumber three-fourths of our last Assembly. However this may be, it will be easy to bring it to the exact size desired by adjusting the unit of constituency to it, making it—instead of twenty-four—twenty, thirty, thirty-five, or forty, and their respective fractions, as may be deemed best.

Special provisoes might be made, if deemed desirable, to guard against any undue preponderance of clerical or lay representation in the Presbyteries entitled to delegates in odd numbers. It might be ordered that the odd commissioner should be alternately minister and elder, or that, whether minister or elder, he should have the major vote of the elders separately, and the ministry separately. Doubtless other devices and arrangements might be made to meet all reasonable objections.

The great objection to this is that it would aggravate our present inequality of representation—giving to twenty-three ministers who together constitute five Presbyteries five times as many representatives as twenty-four ministers composing one Presbytery.

To obviate this and other difficulties we look with favor upon the following plan which has been laid before us: Assuming that the ministers in the united body number not far from 4,000, let the church be divided into districts comprising

single or conterminous Presbyteries, which districts shall be so adjusted, as to contain as nearly as possible, fifty ministers each, or multiples of fifty. For every such fifty ministers (or as near fifty as practicable) let two commissioners to the Assembly, one a minister, the other an elder, be allowed. Let each Presbytery be required to nominate at least one minister and one elder for commissioners to the next Assembly, and more in proportion to its numbers, at its first stated meeting after the adjournment of the previous Assembly, said nominees to be from any Presbytery or Presbyteries within the district, as may be preferred. Let the election from these nominees take place at the first stated meetings of the Presbyteries concerned, after the nomination, and before the meeting of the Assembly. This would give an Assembly of not far from 160 members. In size it could not be better. It would give equal and just representation to all parts of the church. It would give direct representation to the Presbyteries. It would prevent all sudden springing and rushing of elections by surprise or artifice. It would fairly represent the deliberate mind of the church. It seems to us to obviate most of the difficulties and to combine most of the advantages of the various other plans proposed.

### 2. *The Board of Publication.*

The concurrent resolutions declare that "The publications of the Board of Publication and of the Publication Committee should continue to be issued as at present, leaving it to the Board of Publication of the united church to revise these issues and perfect a catalogue for the united church, so as to exclude invidious references to past controversies."

How shall this purgation be effected? Who shall judge and determine what books, and what passages, contain these "invidious references"? The few books that are mainly polemical, and replete with reproaches, accusations, and innuendoes from one side against the other, might be dropped without serious trouble. Occasional books and pamphlets on either side, mainly designed to put the other in the wrong with respect to the division in 1837 may be of this character. But the difficulty respects books of another kind. They are

valuable contributions to theology, doctrinal, practical, experimental, casuistical, to the cause of our common Presbyterianism and Christianity. Yet they may contain passages here and there tinged by the controversies of the time when they were written, and which are decidedly offensive and seem "invidious" to the parties against whom they are aimed, or on whom they reflect. What shall be done with such passages? Shall they receive the *imprimatur* of the new Board of Publication, especially, if any earnestly object? But if not, who shall decide which passages ought to be weeded out, and who will undertake the work of revision and elimination? We do not envy the makers of that *Index Expurgatorius*, whoever they may be. Besides, the authors of most of these books are in their graves. Have we a right to make such alterations without the author's consent, whether he be dead or living? If not, shall their works be suppressed—and shall the church melt the stereotype plates containing so precious a portion of her literature?

It seems to us there is one and but one way out of these difficulties. That is plain and simple. Let all issues of the Board of Publication and Publication Committee respectively prior to the time of consolidation, be published afterward, as heretofore, with the imprint of the Board or Committee which originally published them. Let all subsequent issues be published with the imprint of the new Board. Then the new Board will be responsible only for what it expressly sanctions. The previous issues will simply bear the sanction of the bodies which published them. If they contain any thing objectionable to either side, they will pass for what they are worth, and will show who have been their real indorsers. The few books and tracts which, as a whole, are objurgatory and acrimonious, can be dropped entirely as respects future publication. Catalogues can be constructed accordingly, crediting to the several Boards and Committees, past and future, the works respectively issued by each.

Thus every good end will be answered, which the offensive and "invidious" work of clearing books of "invidious references to past controversies" will be avoided.

### 3. *Theological Seminaries.*

There is no doubt that one of the chief sources of the repugnance to re-union which remained to the last, if it does not still linger, in some parts of the church, is to be found in the attitude in which it places the theological seminaries of the respective branches of the church. The fact that it invests the branch lately New School with a full share in the legal control of the seminaries of the other branch, because these are all by their charters placed under Assembly supervision, while it leaves those of the other body entirely independent of the Assembly, and of all supervision by any portion of the late O. S. church, except such as they may please to elect into their Boards of direction, involves an inequality which has been more deeply felt than expressed, especially by some of the principal donors to the funds of Princeton and other Old School seminaries. This is so serious a matter, that the importance of some provision to meet it has been felt by right-minded men on all sides. It has found utterance in the following among the "concurrent declarations" adopted, with nearly complete unanimity, by both branches of the church.

"ART. 9. In order to a uniform system of ecclesiastical supervision, those theological seminaries that are now under Assembly control may, if their Boards of direction so elect, be transferred to the watch and care of one or more of the adjacent Synods; and the other seminaries are advised to introduce, as far as may be, into their constitutions, the principle of synodical or assembly supervision; in which case they shall be entitled to an official recognition or approbation on the part of the General Assembly."

This contemplates a "uniform system of ecclesiastical supervision" of our theological seminaries as desirable, and what we ought to seek, and it indicates the way to its attainment. In this we cordially agree. We think this unification can and ought to be accomplished. The process seems to us very simple—substantially as follows:—

Let the Assembly confide the supervision and control of the seminaries now under its control to their respective Boards of direction, as now, with simply these alterations: 1. That these Boards shall nominate persons to fill their own vacancies to the Assembly for confirmation; 2. That they shall arrange the professorships, and appoint the professors, subject to rati-

fication by the Assembly. Thus this body by its veto power, will retain control sufficiently to keep out all unsound and unsuitable persons from these important posts, while the active duty of finding suitable nominees will devolve on the body most conversant with their wants—a body far better qualified for the task, we hazard nothing in saying, than a large assembly, gathered for a few days from the "whole boundless continent," can be. We prefer this to mere synodical supervision, 1. Because a considerable portion of the funds of Princeton Seminary are vested legally in the Assembly, and might be imperilled if this should give up all supervision and control. 2. For the purpose of uniformity, the Assembly is more adequate than Synods. The Synods may happen to be larger or smaller, of greater or less weight and fitness for such a trust; more or less narrow and provincial, or broad and catholic, in their sympathies with the whole church. One Synod may be poor. Another may mass in itself much of the surplus wealth of the church, which ought to help nourish and endow all her seminaries, instead of being the *peculium* of any one. 3. It being only in case of manifest unfitness that the veto power of the church should interfere, and candidates being liable to be found in all parts of the church, the Assembly is the best body for that sort of supervision. This would suffice for unification so far as the seminaries heretofore of the Old School branch are concerned.

It seems to us that it cannot be difficult for the seminaries of the other branch to reach substantially the same platform. They, of course, can report annually to the Assemblies. Without knowing all the details of their present charters, we presume there is no insuperable obstacle to their making the simple by-law that all their elections to fill vacancies in the Board or Boards of oversight and direction, also of professors, shall be submitted to the Assembly for approval before they are finally ratified. If the charters now forbid such an arrangement, doubtless alterations could easily be obtained which would admit of it, or something equivalent.

This, of course, must rest with the managers of these seminaries themselves. They have full legal power to prevent it, if they please. We have no doubt they can substantially

accompl ish it, if they please. And they will, of course, act their own pleasure. But from their known fairness of character, the prominent part they have taken in promoting reunion upon the avowed basis of perfect equality on both sides, the vast importance of the complete unification of the church in this great department of ministerial training, second in moment to no other; its bearing on the promotion of complete mutual confidence, the suppression of jealousies and fears of undue advantage given to or taken by one side as against another, we cannot but think those who have the power and responsibility will be ready to do their utmost "in order to a uniform system of ecclesiastical supervision" of these institutions. If we have not indicated the best way, they will be quick to find and adopt a "more excellent way." Sure we are, that they will not set up any mere legal technicality as a barrier to so momentous a result. We cannot doubt their will to put all the seminaries on a substantial equality in the premises. And doubtless the result will prove, that "where there is a will there is a way," and that thus all our seminaries "shall be entitled to an official recognition or approbation on the part of the General Assembly."

Auburn Seminary is now under the supervision of several adjacent Synods, and of course falls within this class, so "entitled to official recognition or approbation." We presume that if all the other seminaries shall come upon one and the same footing, her guardians will cheerfully consider the question whether any further steps are necessary on their part "in order to a uniform system of ecclesiastical supervision."

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ART. VIII.—*Recent Publications on the School Question.*

1. *History of the Public School Society of the City of New York, with Portraits of the Presidents of the Society.* By WM. OLAND BOURNE, A. M. New York: Wm. Wood & Co., 61 Walker Street.

2. *The Relation of the State to Religious Education; John D. Minor et al. versus the Board of Education of the City of Cincinnati et al.; Argument for the Defence.* By Stanley Matthews. Cincinnati: Robert Clark & Co. 1870.
3. *The School Question*, from the *Christian World* for February, 1870.
4. *Bible Gems; or, Manual of Scripture Lessons, specially designed for Public Schools, but equally adapted to Sunday Schools and Families.* By R. E. Kremer. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1870.

These are a portion of the contributions to the Public School controversy with which the press now teems, and which show how profoundly it agitates the public mind. The first is a heavy octavo of nearly 800 pages, compactly printed. It recites the history of the Public School Society of New York City during the whole of its beneficent career, from its first attempt to do well and thoroughly what the religious charity schools had before done partially, until its functions were assumed by the State Board of supervision. It is a volume of great value. It is, in fact, a thesaurus of the literature, the arguments, the controversies in reference to the organization, basis, and conduct of common schools in the metropolis of the country. Here, where the Romanists came first, at least in the Northern States, into a position to display their attitude and claims in respect to common schools and the public school moneys, they have shown what their precise demands, arguments, and pretensions are. This volume contains the grand arguments of the Romanists, as exhibited in their public documents, the great speeches of Bishop Hughes, the debates before the Common Council, between him and the distinguished representatives of the Public School Society. Any careful examination of it will show, beyond the shadow of a doubt, what they insist on, and what alone will satisfy them.

The second of these publications is the great argument of Judge Matthews, a leading Ohio lawyer, and Presbyterian elder, in defence of the recent action of the School Board of Education of Cincinnati, prohibiting the reading of the Bible in public schools. It, in substance, maintains that the Protestant version of the Bible is a "sectarian book," and thus far agrees

with Bishop Hughes and the Romanists, as well as indifferentists, sceptics, and non-religionists generally, including some Protestant Christians, who, like the judge himself, are coming to the same ground. We are very far from agreeing with him in some of his main positions. But his argument is exceedingly able, adroit, and learned. What he has left unsaid on that side is hardly worth saying.

The third is a pamphlet reprint of an article in the February number of the *Christian World*, showing, by a copious collection and comparison of the declarations (mostly recent) of Romanists, different classes of Protestants, and various secular journals and persons, the grounds now taken by the chief parties involved, with regard to the preservation of our common schools, and the moral and religious teaching to be maintained in them. It is quite timely and helpful to those seeking light on the question.

The fourth is a little manual prepared by an experienced and successful teacher, for the purpose of aiding the giving of really biblical and really unsectarian instruction in the public as well as other schools, and in families. It is in the form of question and answer. It gives only unquestioned statements and facts of Scripture. It collides with no denomination or denominational scruples, but presents only what is gladly accepted by all denominations. It has already received warm encomiums from leading clergymen of several principal Christian bodies. It has also received the cordial approval of the heads of the public school department of Pennsylvania. If the school controversy could be settled by the introduction of such a manual as this for study in our common schools, we should rejoice in the consummation.

We have been looking into this contest over common schools, and the Bible in schools, which has been looming up so largely of late, and find ourselves surcharged with interest enough to write, off-hand, scores of pages, instead of the few left at our command. We are persuaded that the parties are forming and marshalling for a contest on this subject, which for depth and earnestness has seldom been paralleled in the history of the nation.

The Romanists insist on the appropriation of the public

moneys to support the Romish schools in which their religion is taught, and in proportion to the number of children so taught. They utterly scout the public schools, and withdraw their children from them wherever they are strong enough to set up their own, no matter what these schools may do to satisfy them. If the schools teach the elements of morality and religion, even by reading the Douay Bible, without note or comment, they stigmatize it as unsafe and hurtful to their children. If no Bible is read, no religion taught, no prayers offered, they denounce these schools as giving a Christless and godless education. They ask nothing, and will accept nothing less than the appropriation of the public money to support their own church schools. This appears from all their outgivings on the subject, by their priests, prelates, and periodical organs. This we are satisfied the American people will not grant for two principal reasons :—

1. They are unwilling, on conscientious grounds, to be taxed to pay for teaching children the Romish religion, with its known contempt and hatred of all other systems of faith and bodies of Christians. While willing to tolerate them in such teaching at their own expense, the mass of Protestants are not willing to pay for it.

2. To concede this demand, in the present circumstances of the nation, is to break up the whole system of common schools. For if it is allowed to the Romanists, it cannot be withheld from Christians of other denominations, from Jews and people of other religious and irreligious persuasions. This at once substitutes sectarian schools, supported by the State, for common schools. But, unless in large cities and towns, such schools are impracticable in this country, because too few of any one denomination live near together to sustain a school, much less a good one. The result would be smaller and inferior schools, or no schools, with no provision for the children of that large outlying population not connected with any church. For the education of this class our people will insist on keeping up common schools ; not only so, but the magnitude, the unity, the system, the classification attainable in our public schools, give them an incomparable advantage over any possible system of denominational schools in this country. Were our

people compactly settled, and homogeneous in their religion, as in Scotland, or formerly in some New England States, the case would be altered. But as the concrete case is, and whatever be the abstract merits of the question, our people, except the comparatively late importation of Romanists, are unalterably opposed to the abandonment of their common schools. Here and there some may set up their own church schools, and for the best of reasons. But they will not appropriate the public money to them, or often ask it, or for a moment abandon their common-school system.

Assuming, then, that common schools must and will be maintained, having the support of all classes of our population but Romanists, the only remaining question is, how far morals and religion shall be taught and have place in them? Particularly, shall the Bible, or any portion of it, in any version, be read there? May the Lord's Prayer, or any prayer, be publicly offered? Shall those Christian truths that are accepted alike by Protestant and Romish churches as undisputed, be allowed to be taught? Or shall the word of God, and all religious exercises of every kind, be banished from these great training schools for our American youth? To this question, which is beginning to stir the American mind as nothing else has since the bombardment of Sumter, various answers are given. Infidels, sceptics, and indifferentists, for the most part, of course say, Out with every vestige of religion and Christianity. It infringes the rights of conscience. The state discriminates against certain views of religion, or patronizes some religious opinions at the expense of others. It is, in short, church and state, contrary to the fundamental principles of our republican institutions, which forbid all patronage of any religious opinions or dogmas by the state. The Romanists join hands with them here, because they maintain that every form of religious teaching not Romish, including the reading of their own version of the Scriptures without comment, is sectarian, heretical, and pernicious.

A considerable class of Protestants, including some ministers and laymen of eminence, favor or consent to the removal of the Bible, and all religious exercises and teaching, from the common schools on some or all of the following grounds:—

*First.*—That the state has nothing to do with religious education; that its only and proper sphere is to give a secular education to qualify its citizens for the ordinary duties of life. If we let the state teach religion, we must take such as it sees fit to give us.

*Secondly.*—That the Bible, or at least the Protestant version of it, is a sectarian book, and that the reading of it in the public schools infringes upon the rights of the Roman Catholics who contribute, through the taxes they pay, to the support of these schools.

*Thirdly.*—That our government is based upon the principle of universal freedom, and that by insisting upon having the Bible read in our schools we violate the consciences of the Roman Catholic population, who are, with all others, entitled to the benefits of this freedom.

*Fourthly.*—That the reading of the Bible, as now practised in the schools, is a mere perfunctory service, of too little effect and value to justify its maintenance in the face of the existing peril to the school system.

These are the great points in Judge Matthews' argument. Others still fear that unless the sceptical and irreligious part of community be conciliated, by withdrawing the Bible and all religion from common schools, they will conspire with the Romanists for their overthrow. Thus their very existence will be endangered. The Romanists will carry their point. We shall be thrown back upon merely denominational schools, weak and inadequate as they will be without aid from the public treasury. Vast masses of our children will be wholly uneducated and unfitted for their duties as citizens. Most of the residue will be poorly educated. They will grow up in isolation from each other, with blind and intense sectarian antipathies, such as would melt away if they were educated together in the public schools, where they would grow up with that sense of unity and brotherhood which would fit them for a common citizenship of our great republic. For these reasons, although they would deplore the withdrawal of the Bible and religion from common schools, they would think it a less evil than to lose them, or to drive the Roman Catholic or Jewish children from them. We confess that this reasoning is plausi-

ble, and impressed us sufficiently to lead us to re-examine the whole subject. As the result of this investigation, we have been led ourselves, and we believe, that the Christian, or, at all events, the Protestant mind of the country, is working its way, with more or less clearness and decision, to the following positions:—

1. That our government is bound to protect all in the free and full enjoyment of their religious principles, until this conflicts with the just and equal rights of others, or with the peace and order of society. But while it is, to this extent, equally bound to protect all sects and persuasions, it is no less bound not to espouse or support any of them with positive pecuniary or other special privileges.

2. This principle, however, ought not to be carried so far that the state will ignore or disown the moral and religious nature of its subjects, or its supreme importance, or its own subjection to moral law, and its obligation to and dependence upon the Supreme Ruler and Sovereign Lord of all. This were to sink its subjects into mere animals, and itself into a mere unprincipled, immoral, atheistic, or materialistic organization. Nor can a government, the great majority of whose people are Christians, ignore their sacred convictions, or that the morality which governs them is a Christian morality. There are issues and occasions in states in which not to be moral is to be immoral; not to be religious is to be irreligious; not to be Christian is to be anti-Christian; not to be for Christ is to be against him. Not to be governed by the fundamental principles of Christian morality, or to honor the Sabbath because some have scruples to the contrary, is to violate the conscientious convictions of nineteen out of every twenty of the people in order to please the twentieth part of them.

3. The whole history of our nation, in all its governmental procedures, State and National, confirms this view. It is proved to be the true meaning of their fundamental constitutions, as understood by their framers, by the whole course of concurrent legislative and judicial action, and by all public practice under them from the first. We are quite in sympathy with our friends who desire, and have organized to promote, the express recognition in our national constitution, of

some belief in God and Christianity. But we do not admit for one moment that, because not expressly mentioned, it is not in effect and substance the supreme element of the national life, lying deeper than constitutions, and conditioning their practical interpretation and working, through Congress, legislatures, courts, and public institutions. All our governments, State and National, recognize the Christian's God in the oath, in stopping and outlawing business on the Lord's day, opening their sessions with prayer, in their annual calls upon the people for thanksgiving, and their frequent proclamations inviting the people to public prayer and fasting. Not only so, but by furnishing chaplains for the army and navy, for military and naval schools, our government has shown its conviction that men cannot be fitly educated for high responsibilities and commands, without duly educating their moral and religious nature; also that it will not subject the Christian people of the land to the cruel necessity of shutting out their sons from these spheres of occupation and preferment. The same is true of State governments. Almost without exception, they enact Sunday laws, require oaths, supply Christian chaplains to their prisons, their reform schools, and institutions for deaf, dumb, and blind. They dare not bring these children of their care down to the standards of atheism, or refuse to provide for the due training of their immortal nature. It is past all doubt, therefore, that the unsectarian character of our civil constitutions does not mean atheism or infidelity, or the disowning of our common Christianity.

4. The State provides common-school education for all her children whose parents will permit them to accept it, in order to make them good citizens. This end cannot be accomplished unless they become upright and virtuous. Such only can preserve a democratic government from corruption and ruin. But all sound morality must have its roots in religion, and the only religion which the mass of our American States know, or can know, is the religion of the Bible. The very object which the State aims at, therefore, in its common schools is defeated by the extrusion of religion and Christianity. Is it said that religion can be taught in the family, in the church, and the Sabbath-school? But how does this reach the case of

the vast number whose parents are indisposed or incompetent to give them moral and religious teaching, and who are not reached by other agencies? And however well-taught at home, how is it to keep the tender and sensitive minds of children closed against all religious or moral ideas in their reading, their study of history and geography, without leaving them profoundly ignorant of what is most essential in these studies,—what exhibits man in all that most exalts him above the brute, the phenomena of his moral and religious nature. Further still, the intellectual is so implicated with the emotive, the moral, and religious nature, that the development of the former is dependent on the latter; to starve the one is to dwarf the other. It is religious and moral truths, ideas of the infinite and perfect, God and eternity, that most quicken, expand, and sublime the human, and especially the youthful, intellect. Education, therefore, divorced from morality and religion, becomes shrunken, distorted, and monstrous.

5. Still, this teaching must be unsectarian. Is it not so, in every fair sense, if the Bible, or selections from the Bible, are read without note or comment, and in such translation thereof, as the parent may signify, that he prefers? May it not speak its own meaning and leave its own impression without injustice to the claims of any sect? This is precisely what is done in the schools of Cincinnati, the prohibition of which by the School Board of that city has been set aside by the courts, as contrary to public policy and the clause of the State constitution which, after forbidding religious tests, etc., declares, "Religion, morality, and knowledge, however, being essential to good government, it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to pass suitable laws to protect every religious denomination in the peaceable enjoyment of its own mode of public worship, and to encourage schools and the means of instruction." Is not the pretence that the recognition and teaching of principles recognized by all bodies of Christians, and disputed by none, are sectarian, unreasonable and unworthy of regard? Do the Romanists who make it aim thereby to render our common schools acceptable and worthy of public favor, or do they not aim thereby to render them so utterly godless as to deprive them

of the confidence of the whole Christian community, and thus effect their ruin? We shall see.

6. But it is said, we shall thus offend and wrong the atheistic, infidel, and sceptical part of the people who are unwilling that any religious, if not even moral dogmas, shall be taught in our public schools, and that they will thus be led to join the crusade of Papists against the common schools. The answer is: 1. We must take a stand somewhere, unless we turn these schools into herds of human animals, without heart or soul, conscience or morality. Are we to have, to recognize, to presume upon no moral standards in our dealings with, in the mutual relations of, the hundreds of children often gathered in our public schools, that are contrary to the creed of Confucius, of Brigham Young, of polygamists, adulterers, idolaters, libertines, and blasphemers? The thing is simply as impossible as monstrous. We cannot live together, or permit our children to live and be educated together, on such a basis. We cannot de-humanize; therefore we cannot demoralize; therefore we cannot de-religionize; therefore we cannot de-christianize them. Not to give us any religion, or morality radicated in religious sanctions, is to give us immorality and irreligion. Here neutrality is impossible. So, these schools must observe the Christian, and not the Jewish Sabbath. We must have some standards. The attempt to please Mormons, Chinese, Jews, idolaters, atheists, and infidels, is out of the question. It would, and ought to destroy the schools. Christians could have nothing to do with them.

And this in effect settles the question of the expediency of abstracting all religious exercises, or reading of the Scriptures, from the public schools for the purpose of conciliating the sceptical part of people, and detaching them from the Romanists to re-enforce us in this contest. Our impression is, that the irreligious element is small who will join the Romanists in destroying our common schools, when once the object of the latter is understood to be their destruction. However this may be, it is unquestionable, that the project to de-religionize and de-christianize our common schools would alienate ten of our Christian people from their support, where it would gain to it one of the contrary sort. Not only so, but it would arm

the Papists with weapons of tenfold power, to compass their destruction, and deprive them of the support of multitudes of Christian people. The following, quoted in the *Christian World* from the *Western Watchman* of St. Louis, a Romish paper, shows sufficiently to what purpose the Romanists will turn any exclusion of the Bible from public schools in accommodation to their consciences :—

"The much vexed question of Bible-reading in the public schools of Cincinnati is at length settled. * * * The resolution of the Board is sweeping; and not only is the Bible excluded, but all hymns, prayers, and whatever else savors of religion. Books, too, in which Christianity is taught, must be replaced, or expurgated, and no vestige of religious truth can be allowed to disgrace the hallowed precincts of the school-room. Protestants are found for the first time in the history of our State school system, who teach that no religion, not even that weak dilution of it, which we call Puritanism, is compatible with the well being of their much extolled institution. Our school instruction must be purely materialistic. If the name of the Author of Christianity is mentioned at all, he must be spoken of as one of the men who figured prominently in history, as we would speak of Mohammed, Julius Cæsar, or Napoleon. Under no circumstances may we hint to the child that the great preacher and teacher was God. We may not even tell him that he has a soul, or that there is any code of morality outside the statutes of the city, and the records of the police courts. There must be nothing in the character or surroundings of our schools which might offend a Jew, a Mohammedan, a disciple of Confucius, or a common infidel. Our State has no religion, and our schools can have none."

The writer in the *Christian World* justly adds :—

"This logical and practical issue of the proposed withdrawal of the Bible we commend to consenting Protestants, as coming from the very men on account of whose consciences it is proposed. Coming from such a source, and in such a connection, surely the mere ideal conception of so fearful a result in the establishment of a godless State, must have a weighty argumentative force to every honest, thoughtful Christian mind."

7. The plea that the reading of the Bible in public schools is a perfunctory exercise, and that all moral and religious teaching in them must be feeble, does not answer its purpose. Prayers in colleges, high schools, the army and the navy, in Congress and in legislatures,—nay, we might even add, sometimes in our Sabbath assemblies, are not always attended with becoming reverence. They are quite too much attended in a perfunctory manner. This is to be deplored. But then, do they not constantly and publicly recognize the right, the true, the good, the divine, the infinite and eternal, and in most

cases, the Incarnation, Redemption, Salvation, Eternal Judgment? However heedlessly attended, do they not exercise a constant educating, moral, and religious power, which would be lost in their absence? So, in regard to the reading of the Bible and offering the Lord's Prayer in public schools. These exercises may be attended in a more perfunctory manner than is for edification. And yet the child that knows the first verse of the Bible, knows more than all heathen philosophers. And what is impressed upon the most careless mind by the story of the birth, life, miracles, parables, humiliation, death, burial, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, is a "truth-power" in the soul infinitely greater than the highest classic or scientific culture without it. Moreover, the continuance or exclusion of the Bible and all religion in the public schools, not merely involves the more or less actual religious teaching; it has a symbolic significance. It is a proclamation to the world of the place which the Bible and Christianity have in the public mind. To withdraw them is to lower the flag of Christianity in the face of our children, and of all mankind. It declares, so far forth, the decline of its ascendency over the public mind. This is just what its foes, infidel and Papal, want, and strive for. It is what the Protestant religious mind of our country will resist.

We do not insist on any particular method of recognizing and asserting morality and Christianity in our public schools. It may vary according to circumstances. It may, where communities are sufficiently united, be more minute; in others where greater divisions exist, less so. In no case is the state to compel the attendance of any child upon religious exercises against the conscientious preference of the parent properly expressed. If parents express the wish, their children may read the Bible in the Douay version, or they may be allowed to keep their children away from the opening religious exercises; or some hour in the week may be specially set apart for the purpose, when parents may or may not send their children, or may commit them to their own chosen religious teachers if convenient, as they may judge right. But what we insist on first and last is, that the Bible, the Lord's Prayer, the recognition and assertion of fundamental moral and religious truth

shall not be *prohibited* in our public schools on any pretext whatsoever. It is unnecessary to become sponsors for the following extract from a recent defence of Christian education and the Bible in common schools, by the Rev. Dr. Bellows. But when Unitarian preachers write in this way, we think that all concerned may see evidence of the deep earnestness of the Protestant mind of the country, which is sure to be roused, but cannot be trifled with, in this great agitation. We quote it as a sign of the times, not because we adopt all its expressions:—

"We cannot concede the equal rights of Catholics with Protestants to regulate our educational system any more than we could allow monarchists to become senators and representatives. They must swear allegiance to the unmonarchal principle of the Constitution to be eligible to office. But the Catholics are denying and seeking to overthrow the political supremacy of the Protestant ideas originally imbedded in our public law. They are contending against the original recognition of the Bible—on which every President and every high officer swears his official oath of allegiance to the Constitution—to be a national book, and at the bottom of our system. And it is a weak and illogical hesitation to refuse to hold the true historic ground and to maintain the original supremacy of the Protestant idea, which is now weakening and imperilling the national fidelity to its public school system, and the national claim that the Bible is the fundamental stone in the temple of American liberty.

"If the Roman Catholics are not content with perfect toleration; if they look for the countenance and support of the American people as having an equal claim with the Protestant founders of our institutions to regulate its fundamental methods of public education, they are reckoning without their host, and will surely come to grief. They are arousing an opposition, such as American slavery in another form, aroused only after thirty years of smouldering indignation and wrath, but which finally broke out into overwhelming ruin for its insidious and fatal system. We warn our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens of what is in store for them if they continue to press their claim to break up our national system of public schools. They will sooner or later bring on a civil war, in which they and their churches will be swept, as by a whirlwind, from the land. All the liberty they can rightfully ask, they enjoy. But they ask, in another form, the liberty which Utah claims—she wishes to enjoy polygamy, and to have the right to teach it under the American flag. We deny the right; and shall extinguish it in her ruins, if she raises a finger to maintain it."

# Art. IX.—NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

*Manual of Historico-Critical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament.* By Karl Friedrich Keil. Translated from the Second Edition, with supplementary notes from Bleek and others, by George C. M. Douglass, B. A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow. 1869. Vol. I., 8vo, pp. 529. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Co.

An Introduction to the Old Testament of the proper character has been greatly needed both for private use and as a manual for theological instruction. And it is surprising that the lack has been so long left unsupplied. Horne, which for a generation maintained its place as the standard, and in fact the only book in English of any value upon this subject, does not represent the present advanced state of biblical learning. The reader will turn in vain to its pages for a solution of critical inquiries with which the theological world has been ringing, or for a statement and refutation of those arguments by which the veracity and authenticity of certain parts of Scripture have been so ingeniously and pertinaciously assailed, or for an exhibition of those impregnable defences which learning and piety have constructed from the materials furnished by the most recent researches. The writings of Davidson, with his importations of foreign neology, enlarged in each successive publication, are still less satisfactory. In this dearth of native works of the right sort, Messrs. T. & T. Clark have laid the theological public under great obligations by the translation and publication of Keil's Introduction to the Old Testament, which of all those that have appeared in Germany is best suited to the wants of English readers.

With no affectation of novelty and little pretension to originality, it presents, for the most part clearly and in brief compass, the principal facts and opinions which bear upon the criticism and literary history of the Old Testament as a whole, or any of its parts. Keil is a sturdy defender of old and well-established views, though candid in stating and honest in refuting opposing arguments. This treatise moreover has the advantage of being done into English by an orthodox Scotch professor, who takes occasion to correct any unguarded expressions which might be to the prejudice of sound opinions (as on p. 435), or to enter his caveat in any case of departure from received views, as where Keil, following the lead of Hengstenberg, gives up the Solomonic authorship of Ecclesiastes, and assigns it to the period following the exile. The second volume, which completes the work, is promised shortly, and is perhaps already through the press.

*An Introduction to the New Testament.* By Friedrich Bleek. Edited by Johannes Friedrich Bleek, Pastor. Translated from the German of the Second Edition by the Rev. William Urwick, M. A. 1869. Vol. I., 8vo, pp. 448. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Co.

The eminent learning and distinguished abilities of Prof. Bleek make this a work of rare value. And the more so as this was his favorite branch, to which he devoted "many years of faithful toil." According to the statement of his son, by whom this posthumous publication was edited from his father's notes, "he first lectured upon this subject from four to six hours weekly during the winter of 1822; and he revised and repeated his course of lectures four and twenty times down to the winter of 1858," in which he died. Unfortunately his views of inspiration are not of the strictest sort, so that he can speak of it as "unhistorical and irrational" to "identify God's word and Holy Scripture," though regarding it as his "main task to discern the word of God in Holy Scripture," and approaching this task with devout reverence. Accordingly he does not hesitate to admit that one Evangelist may contradict another in minor and unessential points. But he has no sympathy with the destructive criticism of Strauss or Baur, whom he earnestly opposes. He would not even go as far in his damaging concessions as Neander. He is too serious a seeker after truth to be guilty of flippant trifling with the sacred record, or to pervert it for the sake of aggravating difficulties or multiplying seeming discrepancies. But he has the German vice of preferring the subjective to the objective, and overlooking the distinction between a plausible theory and well-attested facts.

He regards the gospel of John as undoubtedly the production of the beloved Apostle, and accordingly as presenting "a true and historical account of the Lord's life, an account exactly corresponding with the course of events. When therefore, we would draw up a consecutive and chronological exposition of our Lord's history during his public ministry, we cannot hesitate to make St. John's gospel the basis of our plan, even in those points wherein there is a seeming discrepancy between it and the Synoptics, and though the Synoptics all three coincide in their narration." Mark and Luke are also admitted to have been the authors of the second and third gospels; but he decides against Matthew as the author of the first, though the testimony in his favor is equally ancient and unvarying. He says, p. 308, "It takes its stand, so to speak, a stage lower than St. John, but it still ranks side by side with St. Luke; and it still remains a trustworthy and most valuable spring from which Christian faith may draw, and by which it may be strengthened and confirmed. And though we have not the immediate testimony of an Apostle for those facts and aspects of gospel history which are taught us in the Synoptics only, we have for the most of them the concurrent yet individual testimony of three evangelists who all belonged to the apostolic age: and we must thankfully regard this as a special providence of God, while for that portion and aspect of gospel history which are presented to us in St. John, we do not need any further witness than the direct testimony of this Apostle."

But though some of Bleek's conclusions cannot be accepted, and some of the speculations in which he indulges are more than doubtful, the whole discussion is exceedingly instructive, and throws a most welcome light upon the structure, relations, and characteristics of the several gospels. The laborious research of the author, his vast stores of learning and complete mastery of his subject, coupled with good sense, penetration, and discriminating judgment, make it both profitable and delightful to prosecute these studies with such assistance. But the reader must be careful to preserve his own independence of thought, and to scrutinize results before accepting them, mindful of the apostolic maxim: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good."

*Practical Expositions of the whole books of Ruth and Esther: with three sermons on the duties of parents to their children.* By George Lawson, D.D., Minister of the Associate Congregation, Selkirk, and Professor of Theology of the Associate Synod of Scotland. With a Memoir of his Life and Writings. 1870. 8vo, pp. 400. Philadelphia: William S. Rentoul.

Dr. Lawson was one of the Scotch divines of the last century, who was especially mighty in the Scriptures. It is related of him, as of John Brown, of Haddington, whom he succeeded in the chair of theology, that he could repeat the entire Bible from memory, with the exception of certain passages containing merely proper names. It is said to have been his daily habit to commit a portion of the Scriptures in the original. He also lectured through the Bible from beginning to end, in the course of his ministry. The lectures contained in this volume are plain, practical, and judicious, with no parade of learning or attempt at profundity. They are good specimens of that expository style of preaching once so familiar to the Scottish pulpit, which more than any other trains the people to an accurate acquaintance with the word of God.

*A German Course, adapted to use in Colleges, High Schools, and Academies.* By George F. Comfort, A. M., Professor of Modern Languages and Æsthetics in Alleghany College, Meadville, Pa. 1870. 12mo, pp. 498. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This course consists of four parts. The first contains practical lessons for learning to read, write, and speak the German language. The second contains familiar conversations in German and English, models of letters, and forms of business, and selections from German literature. The third consists of a compend of German Grammar, preceded by a brief discussion of the history, characteristics, and dialects of the language. The fourth contains vocabularies and several valuable tables. The whole has been prepared with great care and evident skill by an accomplished scholar who has enjoyed abundant opportunities both for gaining a thorough knowledge of the language and for becoming acquainted with the best methods of teaching. We learn that it has already been adopted in several institutions, and have no doubt that it will commend itself to general favor.

*Classical Study: its Value illustrated by extracts from the writings of eminent scholars.* Edited, with an Introduction, by Samuel H. Taylor, LL. D. Pp. xxxv., 381, 12mo. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1870.

If there is any people on the face of the earth likely to be prejudiced against Classical Study, it is the busy, impatient American people. Nowhere else is there such a field for the busy, "practical" activities of men; nowhere else the temptation so great to strive for the quick, even if precarious, attainment of the prizes for which men struggle; nowhere else is the popular sympathy so quickly enlisted in behalf of native vigor, boldness, with a dash of unscrupulousness, and without a dash of delicacy or refinement; nowhere else have "self-made" men grasped the highest honors of social and public life. And it is our prerogative to be an original people, forsaking beaten paths, repudiating ancient or common methods, creating new types of culture, and reading and illustrating them in our own way.

If even in England and on the Continent of Europe the friends of the old "humanities" have been put on the defensive, much more must friends of the Classics here expect to encounter all manner, both of legitimate and illegitimate attack. Few men in the land are better prepared by experience and wide observation as educators, to estimate the relative value of different studies than the honored Principal at Andover. In this volume he sets before us a very valuable array of testimonies in behalf of classical culture. His own personal contribution to the volume, while occupying but little space, will be estimated by no means through a mere mechanical counting of pages. The judicious selection and effective grouping of the selections which make up the mass of the volume, is an important part of the obligation under which he lays us. These extracts from Principal Jones, Thiersch, Whewell, Mill, Joseph Payne; Professors Conington, Pillans, Sellar, Masson, Thompson, Goldwin Smith, Campbell, Edwards, Porter, and Sanborn; Presidents McCosh, Felton, and Brown; Hons. H. S. Legaré, G. B. Loring, and P. H. Sears, and W. N. Gardiner, present, with great fulness and variety and richness of illustration, the argument which justify to the friends of the old paths the "practical" wisdom of their choice. And we are glad to see signs about us that we shall still have a goodly following among the most thoughtful and discriminating of our young men. We heartily thank the editor for bringing within our reach and that of the public, so timely and valuable a discussion.

*Families of Speech.* By Rev. F. W. Farrar, M. A., F. R. S. London: Longman, Green & Co. 1870.

This little volume, consisting of four lectures delivered before the Royal Institution of Great Britain, gives a very compact and useful exhibition, first, of the Growth of Comparative Philology, and then of the speech of the Aryan, Semitic, and Allophyllian races. It is an attractive and useful little volume.

*History of American Socialisms.* By John Humphrey Noyes. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1870.

We have looked over this History of American Social*isms* with unusual but melancholy interest, partly arising from the nature of the subject, partly personal, because we knew the author when the first germs of the principles, whose ultimate development we find here, were forming in his mind. As fellow-students in the same theological seminary, we were in frequent contact, and had much animated discussion over the first beginning and original genesis of the ultraisms which at last flowered out into that system of sanctimonious licentiousness unblushingly avowed and defended in this volume, in the following terms:

"We affirm that there is no intrinsic difference between property in persons and property in things; and that the same spirit which abolished exclusiveness in regard to money, would abolish, if circumstances allowed full scope to it, exclusiveness with regard to women and children. Paul expressly places property in women and property in goods in the same category, and speaks of them together as ready to be abolished by the advent of the kingdom of Heaven."—P. 625.

"The abolishment of social restrictions is involved in the anti-legality of the gospel. It is incompatible with the state of perfected freedom toward which Paul's gospel of 'grace without law' leads, that man should be allowed and required to love in all directions, and yet to express that love in but one direc-

tion. In fact Paul says, with direct reference to sexual intercourse—'All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient; all things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any.'" This is using gospel liberty as a cloak of licentiousness, and turning the grace of God into lasciviousness.

We recollect when what the author calls "the Revival afflatus soon landed him in a new experience and new views of the way of salvation, which took the name of Perfectionism. This was in February, 1834." He was equally addicted to most of the *isms* of that period so fermenting, and so prolific of this sort of progeny. He had more than average intellectual activity and acuteness, but wanted breadth and solidity. He had a great proclivity for working and heating his mind on single points, until it was inflamed into those fanatic ultraisms which find their legitimate issue in unsettling all moral standards, and inaugurating the sway of Antinomian licentiousness. He sets up to be a teacher and guide of men. He can be such only as he is a beacon to warn them.

Nevertheless, his book has value. It is a complete account of all the social abnormities of this country which have tried to substitute some form of communism for family life, and for the constitution established by God in nature and revelation. All the "socialisms" set on foot in the land by the disciples of Owen, Fourier, the Spiritualists, Shakers, and others, are faithfully portrayed. To the student of sociology who would learn the morbid anatomy and pathology of the subject, we commend this large and beautifully printed volume.

*The Pope and the Council.* By Janus. Authorized translation from the German. Second edition. London: Rivingtons. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1869.

A very cursory survey of this volume confirms the high estimate which has been put upon it throughout Protestant, and the more liberal part of the Romish church. It is a protest from within the bosom of this church against the animus which has convoked, and the purposes of the Pope, cardinals, and prelates who essay to control, the great ecumenical council, which seems rapidly to fade into insignificance before the march of the civilization it has assembled to arrest, and with about as much effect as a dam of pasteboard to keep back a tide, or a bull infuriated to attack a locomotive.

This book is learned, logical, and powerful in its exposure of the ultramontanism which is reasserting its pretensions with such pomp and audacity. It exposes the programme of the Jesuits and the syllabus of dogmas for which they invoke the authoritative support of the present council. It especially exposes to shame the dogma of Papal infallibility, blazoning the undeniable errors, inconsistencies, and contradictions in Papal decrees, bulls, and anathemas. The dogma of Papal infallibility is sharply contrasted with the very different doctrine of such infallibility in the church, as a whole, as ever does and ever must preserve it from fatal error. It exposes the advancing mariolatry of the ultramontanes, and is altogether one of the high books of our day.

*Principles of a System of Philosophy, in accordance with which it is sought to reconcile the most difficult questions of Metaphysics and Religion with themselves, and with the Sciences, and Common Sense.* By Austin Bierbower, A. M. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. San Francisco: E. Thomas. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1870.

The way in which the promise of this imposing title-page is fulfilled may be judged from the following and other like passages. "It is not certain at all that God foreknows every thing, at least with any thing more than a probable knowledge. There is no reason for believing that he should foreknow any thing except the necessary laws." We think, if the difficulties in philosophy can only be solved by denying the foreknowledge and omniscience of God, they must go unsolved. Poor as it is, however, this solution is nothing new, but threadbare and hackneyed. The author's analysis of the correlate doctrines of Providence and Predestination, moral agency and accountability, are about what this would lead us to expect.

*Studies in Church History. The Rise of the Temporal Power—Benefit of Clergy—Excommunication.* By Henry C. Lea. Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea. New York: Charles Scribner. London: Sampson Low, Son & Marston.

When the Church of Rome is so strenuously laboring to recover lost ground, it is well-timed to thoroughly sift the nature of her claim to it. Agitation of the Pope's infallibility naturally leads to scrutiny of the whole system at the head of which he stands. The object of this volume is to unfold the rise, growth, and abuse of three elements of mediæval church government and discipline. In recounting that series of events, whereby the Papal system climbed to its pretensions to supreme temporal authority over all the powers of earth, to immunity of its clergy from civil jurisdiction, and to the construction and wielding of a penalty, which laid nations and sovereigns prostrate at its feet, the author expounds the vital principles of that mystery of iniquity. This material, drawn from original sources, he sets in striking contrast with the fabrications by which Rome, for centuries, bolstered up her claims.

*Ante-Nicene Christian Library: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers, down to* A. D. 325. Edited by the Rev. Alexander Roberts, D. D., and James Donaldson, LL. D. Vol. XIII., The writings of Cyprian, vol. II.; Vol. XIV., The writings of Methodius, &c. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co.

In church history much importance attaches to the Christian writers of the period preceding the Council of Nice. It was a happy thought which led to the enterprise of transferring them bodily to the English language, that every man of our independently thinking people may have access to them, and be able to estimate for himself what their testimony amounts to.

The series has now reached the fourteenth volume, and contains much valuable matter which has never been published in English before, except in as far as embodied in history or twisted to one side or another in controversy. The thirteenth volume contains the remainder of the works of Cyprian, together with those of Novatian, the Octavius of Minutius Felix, the anonymous account of the martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas, and other remains of about the same date. In the fourteenth we have all that time has spared of the writings of Methodius, the celebrated opponent of Origen. But among them are not his controversial treatises. They have gone where most controversies ought to go. His dialogue on the subject of celibacy, in the manner of Plato,

called the "Banquet of the Ten Virgins," and other smaller pieces, filling only two hundred and thirty pages, make up the sum of his remains. The rest of the volume is occupied with the fragments of various other writers who flourished in the middle and latter part of the third century.

These volumes maintain the high reputation earned by their predecessors for careful rendering, clear expression, and the pleasing style in which they are got up. Without cumbering the work with critical discussions the editors contrive to give in brief historical notices, all the information really needed for intelligent perusal of the several treatises.

*The Student's Manual of Oriental History: a Manual of the Ancient History of the East to the Commencement of the Median Wars.* By François Lenormant, sub-librarian of the Imperial Institute of France, and E. Chevallier, member of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. I. Comprising the History of the Israelites, Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. London: Asher & Co. New York: Scribner & Co.

Recent antiquarian research, in the hands of a greatly expanded scholarship, has completely revolutionized ancient Oriental history. The last fifty years have been prolific of discoveries going to enlarge our knowledge of the pre-Hellenic world. First came the original memoirs of the discoverers and decipherers; then great works combining their fruits into connected history and rehandling the old narratives in their light; and now we are having all that condensed and separated from critical apparatus, and presented in forms for popular reading and instruction. Among works of the latter class this of Lenormant is positively the best we have yet seen. Its clear and brief narrative contains the latest results of the most advanced Orientalists, in their respective fields, and the whole is woven together by a scholar whose own life has been devoted successfully to the same round of subjects.

The work was produced in French and published in Paris. Its great success gave occasion to its being translated into English, and at the same time greatly enlarged and improved by the author. Accordingly, this English version is more valuable than the first edition of the original.

Standing as he does, in the van of discovery, the author frankly professes his Christian faith. "I am," says he, "a Christian; but my faith fears none of the discoveries of criticism when they are true. A son of the church, submissive in all things necessary, I, for that very reason, claim from her, with even greater ardor, the rights of scientific liberty. And it is just because I am a Christian that I regard myself as being more in accord with the true meaning and spirit of science than are those who have the misfortune to be without faith."—"For me, as for every Christian, all ancient history is the preparation for,—modern history the consequence of,—the Divine sacrifice of Calvary."

*Fables of Infidelity and Facts of Faith; a Series of Tracts on the Absurdity of Atheism, Pantheism, and Rationalism.* By Robert Patterson. Cincinnati: Western Tract and Book Society. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Without vouching for all of Dr. Patterson's criticisms of the positions of modern scientists, and all his modes of terminating the portentous antagonisms

which they claim to raise against the Bible, we nevertheless think he has done great service in exposing the contradictions, incongruities, and absurdities which disfigure the writings of those boastful sciolists who array their crude and erratic hypotheses as of infallible truth and paramount authority against God's infallible word. If he at times goes too far, and brings down his sledge-hammer upon what is, or is not unlikely to be proved to be, some solid scientific or philosophical truth, he has demolished many of the pretentious and blatant "oppositions" of science falsely so called, and pierced many glittering bubbles blown up by philosophy and vain deceit against Divine revelation and redemption.

This volume is copious and vigorous in its exposure of the fallacies of different forms of scepticism, and of those specious reasonings of Atheism, Pantheism, and Rationalism which would deceive, if possible, the very elect. His style is bold and blunt, and if he does not always stand for all the refinements of diction, he doubtless thus opens his way more fully to the popular mind and heart.

*The Inspiration of the Scriptures.* By the Rev. Francis L. Patton. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication.

This little volume gives an able and discriminating discussion of the subject of inspiration, by one of the most promising young writers of our church. The different views of Lee and Bannerman exhibited and discussed by Mr. Patton, as to the breadth of the word "revelation," do not affect the grand conclusion, that however the sacred writers used each his own style and idioms, yet they all spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and indubitably uttered the mind of God.

*Immortality. Four Sermons, preached before the University of Cambridge, being the Hulsean Lectures for* 1868. By J. J. Stewart Perowne, B. D., Vice-Principal and Professor of Hebrew in St. David's College, etc., etc. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1870.

These sermons contain an able and learned discussion of Immortality as related to the later forms of Materialism, Pantheism, and Spiritualism. In the preface the author pays his respects to Herbert Spencer, Huxley, and other materializing philosophers—particularly that paper of Huxley in the *Fortnightly Review*, on Protoplasm, which has been twice republished in New Haven, and in thousands of copies spread broadcast through our country. He also notices the assaults of Renan and others. The great superiority of the Christian's hope is portrayed with beauty and power. The volume is a valuable though fragmentary contribution to apologetic literature.

*Pater Mundi; or, Modern Science testifying to the Heavenly Father, being in substance Lectures delivered to Senior Classes in Amherst College.* By Rev. E. F. Burr, D. D., author of "Ecce Cœlum." In two volumes. Vol. I. Boston: Nichols & Noyes. 1870.

Dr. Burr, known to us in his youth as a modest but studious lad, and since as the faithful and unpretending pastor of a rural Connecticut congregation, has suddenly burst upon our vision as an author of the first mark in the highest realms of thought, and as a leading defender of precious truth against assaults of scientific pretenders and pretentious sciolists. He calls to mind the days when the great New England divines, the Edwardses, Bellamy, Backus, West

Burton, Smalley, Emmons, were pastors of agricultural country congregations. The universal approbation of this and his previous volume, by the press and by Christian thinkers of the highest reputation, we find borne out by the actual inspection of it. Real science is proved to be the handmaid of true religion, in a series of discussions which evince a masterly comprehension of the issues involved—a thorough acquaintance with modern science, and its relations to religion—the whole in a style clear and simple, vivid and graphic. We think the quiet of a rural charge more propitious to thorough study and deep thinking than the din and whirl of metropolitan excitements.

*The Wonders of Pompeii.* By Max Meunier. Translated from the original French. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870.

Another volume of that "Library of Wonders," which Scribner & Co. are publishing, so replete with matter to charm and instruct the young, and persons of every age. The "Wonders of Pompeii" are here exhumed and distinctly set before the inquisitive and admiring reader.

*The History of Rome.* By Theodor Mommsen. Translated with the author's sanction, and additions, by the Rev. William P. Dickson, D. D., Regius Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Glasgow, late Classical Examiner in the University of St. Andrews, with a Preface by Dr. Leonard Schmitz. New edition, in four volumes. Vol. II. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870.

We are glad to see another volume of this great work, which fully vindicates the estimate we formed of it from looking at the first volume, and which we expressed in a short notice of it in our January number. It is impossible to look at any page that may turn up, *ad aperturam libri*, without detecting the hand of a master alike in the facts and the philosophy of history. We regret Mommsen's rationalism. It seldom, however, crops out in a way to impair the impartiality or the value of his history.

*A Dictionary and Concordance of the Names of Persons and Places, and of some of the more remarkable terms which occur in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.* Compiled by William Henderson, D. D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

We can only repeat and refer to the high estimate of this work (again sent to us), which we expressed in our last number.

The same house have also brought out a new edition of *Essays on the Supernatural in Christianity, with Special Reference to the Theories of Renan, Strauss, and the Tubingen School*, by Dr. George P. Fisher, Professor of Church History in Yale College. We pointed out the high value of this work, when it first appeared, in our April number, 1866, p. 314.

*Ecce Femina. An Attempt to solve the Woman Question.* By Carlos White. Published by the author: Hanover, N. H.

This book is by a young man who was two years since an undergraduate in Dartmouth College. Its point of attack is John Stuart Mills' "Subjection of Woman," and the miscellaneous arguments of the "Innovators," as the writer styles the advocates of Woman's Rights. He attacks them all, from highest to lowest

with much boldness and shrewdness. He has given the question earnest and thorough study, and in a clear and forcible style unfolds the principles and the practical difficulties involved in it. The successive chapters are entitled "The Sexes Compared," "The Family," "Popular Suffrage," "The Teachings of the Bible," "Woman's Sphere." The book will instruct and influence wisely the popular mind.

*The Presbyterian Historical Almanac and Annual Remembrancer of the Church for* 1868. By Joseph M. Wilson. Vol. X. Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 123 South Fourth Street. 1868.

The character of this work as a repository of the chief facts and doings in the Presbyterian bodies of our land is too well known and appreciated to require special delineation here. We take pleasure in bringing it to the attention of our readers, and hope that the indefatigable author will be rewarded for his labor.

*The Northmen in Maine. A Critical Examination of Views expressed in connection with the Subject, by Dr. J. H. Khol, in Vol. I. of the New Series of the Maine Historical Society. To which are added Criticisms on other Portions of the Work, and a Chapter on the Discovery of the Massachusetts Bay.* By the Rev. B. F. De Costa, author of the Pre-Columbian Discovery of America by the Northmen, etc., etc. Albany: Joel Munsell. 1870.

This is a very learned and finished monogram, on a subject of deep interest, which has been generally supposed to be so much a region of myths and fables, as to afford little material for veritable history. It was originally designed for insertion in a Quarterly, as a simple review of Dr. Khol's work on the subject. The author, however, has chosen to present it to the public in a separate volume, which is a model of exquisite paper and typography.

*The Cross. A Poem.* By Robert Wharton Landis, Professor in Danville Theological Seminary. New York and Cincinnati: C. F. Vent. Chicago: J. S. Goodman & Co. 1870.

We detect considerable Calvinism but no poetry in this volume. We confess that we have never suspected Satan as capable of poetizing in the manner attributed to him in Book IX., of which the following is a random sample:—

> "A little more respectable, indeed;
> With ears, however, rather long for devils.
> Some I perceive of you, (and of the tribes
> Not yet encharged,) are learning dandyish airs
> From human dandies. Well; I will assign
> To you a proper charge; for you will meet
> Congenial souls on earth, whom you'll induce
> To ridicule all sacred things, whate'er
> Their shallow pates may fail to comprehend
> Within the Word of God. Make them denounce
> The doctrines which therein his mercy show—
> Predestination, Perseverance, Grace,
> Especial Grace, Election, the Spirit's power
> Converting and renewing ruined souls;
> And make them say, that if Election's true,
> Nine-tenths have been created to be damned.
> Assail awakened souls with doubts and fears,

And lead them to despair of pardoning grace,
Till they—*cheraw; tississe, tiss; hiss! hiss!*
Ev'n as he speaks his utterance thus is staid
By that recurring doom earned long before—
*Upon thy belly as a reptile thou*
*Shalt henceforth go, and dust shall be thy food;*
A doom which he biennially endures
With the copartners of his cruel fraud
For weeks thrice four continuous; nor can
Anticipate the hour."

*Froude's History of England—Popular Edition.* Vols. V.–VIII. New York: Chas. Scribner & Co.

The popular edition of this admirable work is all that could be desired, and we welcome these additional volumes with the same pleasure with which we received the earlier ones. They differ in no respect from the Library Edition except in paper and in price. Since Macaulay published his fragment and left us to mourn our great loss, nothing so able and so thorough as this work has appeared upon any portion of English history. Macaulay gave us a series of portraits, admirable for their force and color, but the personality of the artist was sometimes too strongly manifest in his handiwork. Froude writes with the same earnestness; and his graphic power and studious conscientiousness have produced a work which must ever remain an authority in English history and an enduring monument of the great ability of it author.

*The Earlier Years of our Lord's Life on Earth.* By the Rev. William Hanna, D.D., LL.D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

Dr. Hanna is well known as the son-in-law and biographer of Dr. Chalmers, and author of some religious works. He is a highly cultured, graceful, and graphic writer. These qualities appear in these volumes (I. and II.), which sketch the life of our Lord from the Annunciation to the Transfiguration, in a continuous narration, fascinating in their style, their express teachings, and their suggestive implications.

*The Life of David.* By John M. Lowrie, D. D. Author of "A Week with Jesus," etc. Presbyterian Board of Publication.

We are not alone in placing a high estimate upon the volumes from Dr. Lowrie's pen heretofore published by the Board. We regard them as among the most standard issues of the religious press for ordinary devotional reading. This volume is posthumous, and although designed by the author for publication, he was prevented from fully preparing it by his untimely death. Filial affection has supplied the defect, and put the church in possession of a treasure of which she would not willingly remain bereft.

*Words in Season. A Manual of Instruction, Comfort, and Devotion, for Family Reading and Private Use.* By Henry B. Browning, M. A., Rector of St. George with St. Paul, Stamford, England. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1870.

An excellent manual of devout, evangelical, experimental instruction, clear, sound, and well adapted to its purpose.

*The Spirit of Life; or, Scripture Testimony to the Divine Person and Work of the Holy Ghost.* By E. H. Bickersteth, author of "Yesterday, To-day, and Forever." New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

This is a compact, lucid, convincing, yet popular (if this term can be applied to an exposition and demonstration of high and holy doctrine) setting forth of the witness of the Scriptures to the Being, Distinct Personality, and Eternal Godhead of the Holy Ghost, his anointing of Christ and his people; inspiring the Scriptures; striving with the world; regenerating the soul; sanctifying the believer, and perfecting him in eternal glory. We think a thorough study of one such book as this worth more to any soul than the reading of fifty of the religious novels with which the press now teems.

*Words of Comfort for Parents bereaved of Little Children.* Edited by William Logan. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

This is a collection of extracts and monograms from a large number of the best authors, in regard to infant salvation, made by one who had himself lost a beloved little daughter. It has had a wide sale in Great Britain, and can hardly fail to be precious to vast numbers similarly afflicted in this and other lands.

*Light and Truth; or, Bible Thoughts and Themes. The Acts and Larger Epistles.* By Horatius Bonar, D. D. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

These "Bible Thoughts and Themes" are in the usual style of Dr. Bonar, fresh, felicitous, vivid, all aglow with scriptural light and evangelical unction. Like the Bible they explain and apply, they are "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness." We would place it alongside of the work of Mr. Bickersteth noticed above, in comparison with the tales and stories now forming so much of the pabulum of the Christian mind.

*Manual of the German Language.* By W. Grauert. 12mo. First Part, pp. 96; Second Part, pp. 113. New York: E. Steiger. 1869.

*Ahn's German Handwriting, being a Companion to every German Grammar and Reader, with notes.* By W. Grauert. 12mo, pp. 62. New York: E. Steiger. 1869.

The former of these publications contains a series of exercises in reading and writing German, in which the author has, as he states, "endeavored to avoid the defects of both the synthetic and the purely analytic methods by an organic development of the forms of words and sentences." The latter consists of thirty-six different pieces printed in the native script, and will prove an admirable introduction to the reading of German writing.

*Mrs. Jerningham's Journal.* New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

A poem which pleases by its naturalness and its simple graceful style.

The following books for children and youth have been received from the Presbyterian Board of Publication: —

*The Prisoners.* By the Rev. W. P. Breed, D. D., author of "Lessons in Flying," "Grapes from the Great Vine," "The Little Priest," etc.

*The Bitter Dose, and other Stories.*

*The Little Street-Sweeper.*

*The Silversmith of Jerusalem.* By the author of "Asa and his Family," and "Ellen and her Cousins."

*Edith's Two Account Books.* By the author of "Annie Lincoln's Lesson," "The Little Watchman," etc., etc.

*Margaret Lawrence, and other Stories.*

*Footsteps in the Light.*

*Tell the Truth, and other Stories.*

*Echo to Happy Voices.* Published by the American Tract Society, 150 Nassau St., New York.

At the moment of going to press, and too late for further notice, the Carters send us the following excellent books:—

*The Life of James Hamilton, D. D., F. L. S.* By William Arnot. Edinburgh. Second Edition.

*Memoir of the Rev. Wm. C. Burns, M. A., Missionary to China from the English Presbyterian Church.* By the Rev. Islay Burns, D. D., Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Glasgow.

*Expository Thoughts on the Gospels, for Family and Private Use, with the Text Complete.* By the Rev. J. C. Ryle, B. A., St. John. Vol. II.

*Removing Mountains. Life Lessons from the Gospels.* By John S. Hart.

## PAMPHLETS AND PERIODICALS.

*Index Volume of the Princeton Review.* Peter Walker, 821 Chestnut St., Philadelphia. Sold by Charles Scribner & Co., New York.

Mr. Walker, former publisher of the *Princeton Review* has undertaken the highly important enterprise of publishing an index volume for the first forty volumes, and up to the time when he ceased to be its publisher. It consists of three parts—1. Historical analysis of the origin, aims, and course of the Review by the senior editor. This is the only part for which either of the editors are responsible. 2. The authors of the articles, with biographical sketches of them. 3. The index proper. The great value of this index must be obvious to all. Those who have sets of the work complete, or partially so, will of course procure it, while it will be eagerly sought by many others as a standard addition to our religious and theological literature. We notice that the words on the cover "January, 1870," and "Published Quarterly, Price $3 per annum," might possibly mislead the incautious to confound it with the regular issue of the *Review* for the current year by its present publishers, Messrs. Scribner & Co. Of course nothing of this sort was intended. On account of our personal relations to the *Review* we prefer copying the only notice of the religious press which has met our eyes, to any characterization of it by ourselves. The following is from the *New York Observer* of March 10:—

"One of the most fascinating books for a religious scholar, that we have seen, is the first part, just issued, of the 'Index Volume of the Princeton Review.' It gives a history of that great Quarterly, unquestionably the ablest Calvinistic

Review ever published, and then commences a biographical sketch of each author who has at any time contributed to its pages. It reaches only to the letter E, yet in these few letters are included the Alexanders, two Dods, Carnahan, Cox, and an array of 'lights in the world' whose names we cannot enumerate. The sketches are written with spirit, and the volume will prove a literary treasure to every well-read man."

*The Interior:* Thursday, March 17, 1870.

This is the first number of the new Presbyterian weekly, established at Chicago, which, as requested, we shall gladly add to the list of our exchanges. We are gratified with its tone, temper, ability, and promise. If it shall develop in accordance with this promise, it may do a great work for our ecclesiastical interior and for our common Christianity. We are happy to notice a general improvement in the Presbyterian weeklies since the Re-union.

*American Sunday-School Worker.*

The second number of this magazine, published by J. W. McIntyre, St. Louis, at $1,50 a year (four months on trial for 50 cents), is received. We are glad to see so able a journal as this issued in the very centre of our continent, and with contributors of known ability from the different evangelical churches.

It contains articles on the "Supply of Teachers," by E. D. Jones. "The Bible in our Common Schools." "The proper manner of conducting a Sunday School," by Bishop E. M. Marvin. "Infant School Lesson," by Prof. E E. Edwards. "Expository Preaching." "How are Children Saved," by Rev. Jas. H. Brookes, D.D. Besides Blackboard Lessons, Notes and Queries, Book Notices, Music, and Prepared Lessons for each Sabbath, with expositions, questions, etc.

*The European Mail.* 44 Cannon Street, London.

Contains much valuable literary and scientific intelligence, and judicious criticism, besides a full and complete summary of home and foreign news for the United States, Canadian Dominion, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Bermuda, Cuba, Honduras, British Columbia, Vancouver Island, and the Sandwich Islands.

*The Technologist.* Vol. I., No. 1, February, 1870.

This is a new periodical, so far as we are able to judge, of very high character. If the editors keep their pledge that "no descriptive puffs of worthless inventions shall be inserted in its columns under any circumstances whatever," they will do a grand thing for the industrial journalism of the country. We find that the number before us consists of forty-four large pages, and it is printed on very superior paper, and in the best style of the typographic art. Altogether, it is the finest-looking journal of practical science now before the public. The articles, too, are of unusual excellence, and contain matter calculated to instruct and interest all classes. The titles of a few of the subjects discussed are,—Technological Education, Tempering Steel, Trial of Steam-Engines, Improvement in Distillation, Sunless and Airless Dwellings, the Measurement of Electrical Resistance, Vision and the Stereoscope, the Walks of New York Central Park, East River Bridge Caissons, the Microscope, Lessons on Drawing, Relation of Technology to Insurance, etc., etc.

*City Mission Year Book.* 30 Bible House, New York.

A most valuable summary of facts pertaining to the religious condition of New York city, being the 43d annual report of the New York City Mission and Tract Society, with brief notices of the operations of other societies, Church Directory, list of Benevolent Societies, and statistics of population, etc.

*Our Monthly. A Religious and Literary Magazine for the Family.* Cincinnati: Sutton & Scott.

This new periodical is designed to meet the demand for a Monthly suited to the wants of religious, and especially Presbyterian, families. The numbers thus far issued justify the great success it has achieved.

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## ART. X.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

### ENGLAND.

THE winter months have naturally brought out a large proportion of the year's publications, and although the list may not include many works that will win for themselves a permanent place in literature, there are not a few that are for the present both interesting and valuable.

Messrs. T. & T. Clark have brought out two new volumes in their Foreign Theological Library,—Vol. I. of Keil's "Introduction to the Old Testament," and Vol. I. of Bleek's "Introduction to the New Testament;" and two in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, "Cyprian, etc." Vol. II., and "Methodius, etc." The Rivingtons have projected a "Summary of Theology and Ecclesiastical History," to be comprised in eight volumes, of which Part 1 has just appeared, in Part 1 (first half) of "A Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology," edited by Rev. J. H. Blunt. The Clarendon Press has brought out Dindorf's "Clemens Alexandrinus" (4 vols).

The literature of ecclesiastical controversy grows as on the Continent. Some of the latest additions are the Earl of Crawford's (late Lord Lindsay) "Œcumenicity in relation to the Church of England;" Hon. Colin Lindsay's "Evidence for the Papacy;" Part 3 of Dr. Pusey's "Eirenicon—Is healthful reunion impossible?" Dr. Selwyn's "Letter to Pio IX. on the Council at Rome;" Dr. Rule's "Councils Ancient and Modern;" Sweet's "Memoir of Henry Hoare" (including narratives of important recent church developments); Renouf's "Case of Pope Honorius reconsidered;" Shipley's "Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola;" "John Wesley in company with High Churchmen;" Burgess' "Reformed Church of England in its Principles and their Legitimate Development;" Ffoulkes' "Roman Index and its late Proceedings;" Jeanjacquot's "Explanations concerning the

co-operation of the Most Holy Virgin in the work of Redemption, and concerning her quality of Mother of Christians;" Archbishop Manning's "Pastoral Letters on the Council and Infallibility;" Garibaldi's "Rule of the Monk;" and Hobart Seymour's "Confessional."

In theology we have a new and carefully revised and admirably illustrated edition of Buckland's Bridgewater Treatise, "On the Theistic Argument supplied by Geology and Mineralogy;" R. T. Smith's "Church Membership on Church Principles;" Walters' "Harmony of Prophecies;" R. Martineau's "Roots of Christianity in Mosaism," and "The True Pronunciation of the Divine Name, Jahveh, Jehovah;" Biddle's "Spirit Controversy;" Gen. Goodwyn's "Whole Armor of God;" Hannah's "Hollowness, Narrowness, and Fear,—Warnings from the Jewish Church;" Kennion's "Sermons on the Lord's Supper;" Adamson's "Analogy of Faith;" an anonymous work entitled, "Belief, what is it?" Blenkinsopp's "Doctrine of Development in the Bible and in the Church;" Cochrane's "Resurrection of the Dead,—its Design, Manner, and Results;" Cox's "Essays on the Resurrection" (the last two works being expository of 1 Cor. xv.); Dale's "Christ, and the Spirit of Christ;" Bickersteth's "Spirit of Life;" Voysey's "Defence on the Charge of Heresy;" a translation from the French entitled, "The Bible in India: Hindoo Origin of Hebrew and Christian Revelation;" Vol. III. of Bunsen's "God in History" (Miss Winkworth's translation); Gasparini's "Attributes of Christ;" and Molloy's "Geology and Revelation."

In the department of exegesis, formal or popular and practical, we find a "Commentary on Mark," by Prof. Godwin of New College; one on "Joel," by J. Hughes; Canon Norris's "Key to the Narrative of the Four Gospels;" Forrest's "Faithful Witness, an Exposition of the Epistles to the Seven Churches;" Parker's "Homiletic Analysis of the New Testament, Vol. I., on Matthew;" Ryle's "Expository Thoughts, etc., Gospel of John, Part 2;" Saphir's "Lectures on the Lord's Prayer;" Thomas's "Homiletic Commentary on Acts;" new editions of Wardlaw on Proverbs, Zechariah, Romans, and James; Binnie's "Psalms, their History, Teachings, and Use;" Kelly's "Lectures Introductory to the Study of the Acts;" a new edition of Leighton's "Commentary on 1st Peter," edited by W. West (being Vols. 3 and 4 of the Whole Works); and a new instalment of "The Book and its Story," viz., "Fresh Leaves in the Old Testament Part."

In ecclesiastical history and literature we have Pennington's "God in the History of the Reformation in Germany and England;" Margoliouth's "Vestiges of the Historic Anglo-Hebrews in East Anglia;" Demaus's "Biography of Latimer;" Rev. Josiah Bull's "Letters of Newton;" Melia's "Origin, Persecutions, and Doctrines of the Waldenses;" Rev. W. Ellis's "Martyr Church, Christianity in Madagascar;" Gill's "Gems from the Coral Islands;" "Memoir of the Missionary Rev. W. C. Burns;" Marsh's "Memoirs of Archbishop Juxon and his Times;" and Dr. Van Lennep's "Asia Minor."

To the essay literature of theology two volumes have been added which will draw attention. One is from Nonconformist sources, and bears the title of "Ecclesia, or Church Problems Considered, etc.," the contributors being Rev. Drs. Stoughton, Reynolds, Mullens, Rev. Messrs. Baldwin Brown, Dale, Allon, and others. The other comes from a churchly section of the Church of England and has the title "The Church and the Age," and contains essays from Bishop Ellicott, Dean Hook, Dr. Irons, the Bampton Lecturer for 1870, Prof. Montagu Burrows, Revs. A. W. Haddan, M. F. Sadler, and others. Bishop Moberly's

"Brightstone Sermons," the Oxford Lenten Sermons for 1868 on "The Personal Responsibility of Man," those for 1869 on "The Prophets of the Lord," and Newman Hall's "Homeward Bound," are the most noteworthy of their class among the quarter's publications.

To philosophical literature little has been added. Our list includes Galton's "Hereditary Genius;" Barratt's "Physical Ethics;" S. H. Hodgson's "Time and Space;" Alfred Day's "Summary and Analysis of the Dialogues of Plato;" Williams's "Translation of Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics;" and Killick's "Student's Hand-book, Synoptical and Explanatory of Mill's Logic."

The history of India is illustrated by Vol. II. of Sir H. M. Elliot's "History of India, from the Native Historians;" Sewell's "Analytical History of India, to 1858;" Pritchard's "Administration of India from 1859 to 1868;" Beames's new edition of "Elliott's Memoirs on the History, Folklore, etc., of India;" and Mrs. Manning's "Ancient and Mediæval India." From other departments of history we have Vol. III. of Long's "Roman Republic;" Pearson's "Historical Maps of England;" E. A. Freeman's "Old English History for Children;" Gaskin's "Varieties of Irish History;" Baker's "History of St. John's College at Cambridge;" Bonwick's "Last of the Tasmanians;" A. B. Cochrane's "Francis I., and other Studies;" Mrs. Oliphant's "Historical Sketches of the Reign of George II.;" and Rawlinson's "Manual of Ancient History."

Biographies are numerous, and some of them quite attractive. Among them are Mrs. Gordon's "Home Life of Sir David Brewster" (her father); Hosack's "Mary, Queen of Scots;" "The Life of Mary Russell Mitford;" "Memoirs of Jane Austen;" Brisbane's "Early Years of Alexander Smith;" Woolrych's "Lives of Eminent Sergeants-at-Law;" Hesekiel's "Life of Bismarck" (translated by Mackenzie); Liddon's "Sketch of Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury;" Adlard's "Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leycester;" Cowden Clarke's edition of "George Herbert," with Nichol's Memoir; and Rossetti's edition of Shelley, with memoir.

Of the recent works in geography, travel, etc., we mention Eckardt's "Modern Russia;" Kennedy's "Four Years in Queensland;" Colonel Wilkins' "Reconnoitring in Abyssinia;" Taylor's "Ancient Topography of the Eastern Counties of Britain;" Tristram's "Scenes in the East;" Newman Hall's "From Liverpool to St. Louis;" Hunt's "Peeps at Brittany," and Pallisser's "Brittany and its Byways;" and Mrs. Grey's "Visit to Egypt, Constantinople, etc. (with the Prince and Princess of Wales)."

Philological literature has been enriched by a new and greatly improved edition of Liddell and Scott's "Greek Lexicon;" Dr. Wm. Smith and T. D. Hall's "English-Latin Dictionary;" Vol. II. of Norris' "Assyrian Dictionary;" the completion of Dr. R. G. Latham's "English Dictionary;" Sharpe's "Decree of Canopus;" Part II. of A. J. Ellis on "Early English Pronunciation;" Peile's "Introduction to Greek and Latin Etymology;" Edmunds' "Traces of History in the Names of Places;" Lechler's edition of the "Trialogus of Wiclif;" and Farrar's "Families of Speech."

Playfair's "Primary and Technical Education" (two lectures); "Earl Russell's Speeches and Dispatches;" Sir Alexander Grant's "Recess Studies;" Godkin's "Land War in Ireland;" and Dodd's "Epigrammatists (Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern)," must close our list.

## FRANCE.

The interest taken in France in the Ecumenical Council at Rome did not at all abate as the time for its assembling drew near. In our last number we noted a few of the publications of the early months of autumn. The last quarter of the year brought out from both sections of the Catholic Church some of the clearest and strongest of their utterances. To those weeks just preceding the 8th of December belong such books as Dupanloup's "Lettre au Clergé de son Diocèse relativement à la définition de l'Infallibilité;" Maret's "Le Pape et les Evéques;" Maupied's "Le futur Concile selon la divine Constitution de l'Eglise;" Charaux' "La Philosophie et le Concile;" Abbé Chauvierre's "Histoire des Conciles œcuméniques;" Franco's "Catéchisme raisonné sur les Conciles;" Jacques' "Du Pape et du Concile;" Canon Loyseaux' "Traité pratique et canonique du Jubilé;" Burnier's "Rome, la France et le Concile;" Deroux' "Histoire des Conciles œcuméniques;" Montrond's "Les Conciles œcuméniques: tableau historique;" Guyot's "La Somme des Conciles, généraux et particuliers," and Bungener's "Pape et Concile au XIXme Siècle."

The general works in theological and ecclesiastical literature are of no unusual significance. Here again we put the name of the able Archbishop of Orleans at the head. We find accredited to his pen a "Histoire de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ," and a smaller treatise "De la vie commune et des associations sacerdotales." To these we add Chéry's "Théologie du Saint Rosaire;" Abbé Craisson's "Les Communautés religieuses;" Vol. I. of Abbé Dardenne's "L'Enseignement théologique en France;" Marchési's "La Liturgie gallicane dans les huit premiers Siècles de l'Eglise," translated by Bishop Gallot; Gentili's "L'Athéisme réfuté par la Science;" Rougemont's "Il faut choisir. Conférences contre le Déisme et contre le Matérialisme;" Vol. I. of Laurent's "Le Catholicisme et la Religion de l'Avenir;" Autran's "Paroles de Salomon;" Havet's "Le Christianisme et ses Origines;" Vol. I. of Guettée's "Histoire de l'Eglise;" and De Pressensé's "Histoire du Dogme." The contributions to philosophy, general and special, are few, such as Gratacap's "Essai sur l'Induction;" Janet's "Eléments de Morale;" Montée's "La Philosophie de Socrate;" Rezan's "La Bonté;" Leroy's "Philosophie Chrétienne de l'Histoire;" Jules Simon's "La Peine de Mort;" and Thonissen's "Etudes sur l'histoire du droit criminel des peuples anciens."

In history and the kindred departments we find a larger array, from which we select Daumas' "La vie arabe et la société musulmane;" Drapeyron's "L'Empereur Héraclius et l'Empire Byzantin au VIIme siècle;" Dufour's "Troplong, son œuvre et sa méthode;" Dussieux' "Généalogie de la Maison de Bourbon de 1256 à 1869;" Abbé Duclos' "Madame de la Vallière et Marie Thérèse d'Autriche;" Champagny's "Les Césars du IIIme Siècle;" Deltuf's "Théodoric, roi des Ostrogoths et d'Italie;" Gobineau's "Histoire des Perses;" Victor Guérin's "Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine" (3 vols, large 8vo.); Humbert's "Le Japon illustré" (a work exhibiting the result of the author's careful observations and unusual opportunities while Minister of Switzerland at Jeddo); Vol. VI. of Lacroix' "Histoire de la vie et du règne de Nicolas I., empereur de Russie;" Le Hardy's "Histoire du Protestantisme en Normandie;" Melun's "La Marquise de Barol;" Ratsch's (a trans-

lation from the Russian) "La Russie lithuanienne jusqu'à la chute de la Pologne," and the same author's "L'Autriche et le Polonisme;" Saint Albin's "Histoire de Pie IX et son Pontificat;" Saint Genis' "Histoire de Savoie;" Vol. II. of Schmidt's "Tableaux de la Révolution française," and Vol. IX. of Garnier Pagès' "Histoire de la Révolution du 1848."

Of a more miscellaneous character are Laboulaye's "Discours populaires; suivis d'une Rhétorique populaire;" Roux's "Histoire de la Littérature italienne contemporaine;" De Paravey's "Illustrations de l'Astronomie hiéroglyphique, et des planisphères et zodiaques, etc.;" Perny's "Proverbes chinois;" Chodzko's "Grammaire paléoslave;" a second considerably enlarged edition of Oppert's "Eléments de la Grammaire assyrienne," and from the same source a "Mémoire sur les rapports de l'Egypte et de l'Assyrie dans l'Antiquité;" and Daremberg's "Etat de la Médecine entre Homère et Hippocrate."

## GERMANY.

The controversy which is rife in the Catholic Church has called forth in Germany much spirited discussion, while adding but little to the permanent literature of theology. Protestants watch the debate, now and then throwing in a word or two—but for the most part wait to see where the Catholic Church, now in the view of all the world, chooses to plant itself. The powers and prerogatives which the Pontiff successfully claims, and the Church of Rome concedes, will shape this part of polemic theology for all coming generations. The list of the last quarter hardly claims a recapitulation.

In theology the list is meagre and of little permanent worth. Perthes, of Gotha, publishes Part I. of Berger's "Evangelical Faith, Romish Error, and Worldly Unbelief," and Part I. of Kahle's "Bible Eschatology," containing the Eschatology of the Old Testament. We note, besides, Oischinger's "Christian and Scholastic Theology, or the Fundamental Christian Doctrines according to the Symbols, Councils, and Fathers of the Church;" the "Compendium veteris ritualis Constantiensis;" Pfannenschmid's "Holy Water in Heathen and Christian worship;" and Vol. II. of the 3d edition of Heltinger's "Apology for Christianity."

In exegetical literature we find a richer list. Two volumes, the first and fifth, have appeared of Vercellone and Cozza's edition of the "Codex Vaticanus;" also a fourth edition of Tischendorf's "Septuagint;" a new eighth edition, by Prof. Schrader, of De Wette's "Introduction to the Old Testament," increased by the addition of about 200 pages to the seventh edition; Vol. III. of Riehm's revision of "Hupfeld on the Psalms;" Frankel's "Introduction to the Jerusalem Talmud;" Keil's "Commentary on Daniel," from Keil and Delitzsch's "Commentary on the Old Testament;" Zöckler's "Commentary on Daniel," from Lange's "Bibelwerk;" Volkmar's "Gospels; or Mark and the Synopsis of the Canonical and Non-canonical Gospels, according to the Earliest Text;" Klöpper's "Exegetical and Critical Examination of I. Corinthians;" Schmidt's "Pauline Christology;" Küper's "Prophecy in the Old Testament;" and Krenkel's "Paul, the Apostle of the Heathen." An eighth edition of Ewald's "Ausführlichs Lehrbuch" is just out.

In biblical and ecclesiastical history and the cognate literature, we have Hengstenberg's "History of the Kingdom of God under the Old Testament; first

period—from Abraham to Moses;" Vol. II. of Hitzig's "History of Israel from the beginning to A. D. 72;" Laurent's edition of "Clemens Romanus—the Epistle to the Corinthians, and the alleged second Epistle, and the fragments;" Haneberg's "Canons of Hippolytus, in Arabic, from Roman MSS., with a Latin version;" Lipsius' "Chronology of the Bishops of Rome to the middle of the 4th century;" Vol. III. of Heinrichsen's edition of "Eusebius Pamphilus;" Vol. III. of Hergenröther's "Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople;" Tobler's "Palestine in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, from the itineraries;" Möller's "Life and Writings of Osiander," being Part V. of the series, comprising the "Fathers and Founders of the Lutheran Church;" Mörikofer's "Life of Zuingle;" Sickel's "Contributions to the History of the Council of Trent;" Holtzmann's "Monuments of Religious History, within the sphere of Italian art;" Zirngiebl's "Studies concerning the Institution of the Society of Jesus;" and a third edition of Simrock's "Manual of German Mythology."

In secular history and biography we have, among the issues of the quarter, Breysig's "Times of Charles Martel;" Vol. II. of Ihne's "Roman History" (a work already noticed in the *Repertory* on the appearance of Vol. I., and a translation of which is in press in England); Vol. I. of Holm's "Ancient History of Sicily;" Siever's "Studies in the History of the Roman Emperors;" Oberdick's "Movements in the East hostile to the Romans in the last half of the third century of the Christian era;" Vol. III. of Von Cosel's "History of Prussia under the Hohenzollerns;" Braun's "Pictures of the Mohammedan World;" L. von Ranke's "Correspondence of Frederic the Great with William IV., Prince of Orange, and his wife, Anne of England;" Vol. I. of Von Noorden's "European History in the Eighteenth Century—the War of the Spanish Succession;" Ficker's "Researches into the History of Italian Monarchy and Jurisprudence;" and Parts 2 and 3 of Vol. IV. of Droysen's "History of Prussian Politics."

Turning to philosophy, general and special, and its history, we find Vol. I. of a third edition of Zeller's "Philosophy of the Greeks—the pre-Socratic period;" Kalischer's "Comparison and Criticism of Aristotle's Rhetoric and Nicomathean ethics;" Durdik's "Liebnitz and Newton;" Caspari's "Philosophy of Leibnitz;" L. Grote's "Leibnitz and his Times;" Bender's "History of Philosophical and Theological Studies in Ermland;" Von Hartsen's "Inquiries in Logic;" a second and enlarged edition of Schwegler's "History of Philosophy," edited by Köstlin; W. Gass' "Doctrine of Conscience;" Rosenkranz' "Hegel as the National Philosopher of Germany;" Hartenstein's "Historico-philosophical Essays;" Vol. II. of Volkmann's "Life, Writings, and Philosophy of Plutarch of Chæronea;" Ernst von Bunsen's "Unity of Religions," Vol. I.; Dreydorff's "Pascal, his Life and Conflicts;" Delff's "Dante Alighieri and the Divina Comœdia;" and Scartazzini's "Dante, his Times, his Life, and his Works."

In philology and general literature we record the appearance of Vol. II. of the fourth edition of Bähr's "History of Roman Literature;" Part 1 of the fifth edition of Bernhardy's "Roman Literature;" Part 3 of Teuffel's more concise and very excellent manual in the same department; Friedrichsen's translation of "Ussing's System of Training and Instruction among the Greeks and Romans;" two prize essays from the Jablonowski Society at Leipsic—Büchsenschütz on the "Chief Seats of Industrial Art in Antiquity," and Blümner on the "Industrial Activity of the Nations of Classical Antiquity;" La Roche's "Homeric Researches;" Vol. II. of Hübner's "Corpus Inscriptionum latina-

rum;" a third edition of Curtius' "Greek Etymology;" Vol. I. of Pindar's "Epinicia," edited by M. Schmidt of Jena; a second edition of Schleicher's "German Language;" Andresen's "Language of Jacob Grimm;" Part 2 of Merx' "Syriac Grammar" (based on Hoffmann); Bruppacher's "Phonetic System of the Oscan Language;" Lepsius on the "Chronological Value of the Assyrian Eponymes, and some points of contact with Egyptian Chronology;" Hassan's "Concise Grammar of the common Arabic Dialects, especially the Egyptian;" Part 1 of a third revised edition of Diez' "Grammar of the Romance Languages;" a volume of Von Raumer's "Literary Remains;" and Vol. VII. of Klein's "History of the Drama."

## HOLLAND.

From Holland we find a few volumes announced of more than usual interest: Prof. Schaarschmidts' edition, in a Dutch version, of Spinoza's "De deo et homine," valuable especially on account of its critical and philosophical preface; Roorda's "Commentary on Micah;" Part 2 of Pierson's "History of Roman Catholicism to the Council of Trent;" Part 2 of Wolber's "History of Java;" the first issue in a new series of the Teyler Society's publications—Scheffer's "Criticism on F. C. Baur as a Theologian;" Blom's "Epistle of James;" Parts 1 and 2 of Vol. I. of Müller's "Boniface;" Riemen's "First Epistle of John in its relation to the Gospel of John;" Von Toorenenbergen's "Symbolical Literature of the Reformed Church of Netherlands;" Tiele's "Comparative History of Ancient Religions,"—Part 1, "The Egyptian and Mesopotamian Religions;" another instalment (No. 4 of Part 2) of Moll's "Church History of Netherlands before the Reformation;" Part 2 of Doedes' "Doctrine of Blessedness, exhibited according to the Gospel in the Scriptures of the New Testament;" Veen's "Anabaptists in Scotland;" and Johanna's "Life of Thorwaldsen," with portrait and illustrations.

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## Art. I.—*Tholuck's View of the Right Way of Preaching.**

Although it is true that of late the churches are here and there somewhat better filled than formerly, especially where zealous preachers proclaim the Word, yet in many places we find them more and more deserted. The services of Sunday afternoon, and of the week day have been given up for want of hearers. Of entire classes, such as public officers, military and professional men, there is often seen only a single individual, like some relic of antiquity in the old cathedrals.

In numerous cities and villages, church attendance is almost wholly confined to the middle and lower classes. And even among these, many think it sufficient if they do not forbid the attendance of their wives and children. Unless there is a change, it will soon be the case in some sections of the country, that in our places of worship we shall find, as indeed on Sunday afternoons we now frequently do, only women and children, as was the case during the second century in the temples of Rome.

* This article is a translation, by an accomplished American lady, of *Counsels to the modern German Preacher*, being Dr. Tholuck's Preface to his second series of Sermons.

I speak here of what is very common in a great part of Protestant Germany. There are, of course, many cheering exceptions. In whole districts, from long-established custom, church-going is as general now as it was formerly. This is the case in Wurtemberg and in a number of the Saxon provinces. Besides, there are individual preachers who, by their brilliant oratorical gifts, know how to draw together a cultivated audience. There are also those who fill the churches by their bold exhibition of Gospel truths.

Good church-attendance, therefore, is either the continued influence of an earlier and happier period, the effect of distinguished talent in the preacher, or the fruit of a strong and newly awakened faith. But with the greater part of the public, the customs of this former period are becoming more and more obsolete. Teller once preached a sermon to *sixteen* hearers, in which he warned them against the error of considering church-going an essential part of Christianity.

This doctrine, which he and others like him inculcated, has borne its legitimate fruit. Every year in the cities, and from their example in the villages also, the number is continually lessening of those who attend divine service, either from habit or a sense of duty. The magnetic power of brilliant oratory is imparted to but few; and even of these there are many instances where neither this attraction nor that of a heart glowing with faith is sufficiently strong to turn back to the church the better-educated classes who are setting from it in full tide.

The prospect for the future appears still more gloomy. Will those times ever return when, at the sound of the bell, the father, bearing his hymn-book under his arm, hastened with all his family to the house of God? when every pew contained a household? when it was matter of common remark, if, in the seats of the church officers or magistrates, there was a single vacant place? Will those times return, when the faithful pastor shall find, not a scanty representation from different sections of the town, but his whole flock collected as one man before him. Many a preacher now stands in his pulpit who is forced to cry out with Harms, "Ah, Lord, one thing only I ask of thee, that I may not preach to *empty seats.*"

By what means can the educated classes be induced once more to join in public worship? Even at the very time when aversion to this worship arose, such a delusion was prevalent, that Marezoll, a very popular preacher, advised his brethren to present fewer and fewer of those positive truths of Christianity, for which the cultivated cherish unconquerable dislike; thus, in homœopathic fashion, proposing to cure the unbelief of the hearer by the unbelief of the preacher. The time of this delusion has gone by. Many now feel that the preacher, if he would fill the church, must enter it as a man called to unfold the mysteries of God. Faith, however, is not the only thing necessary in order to win back our educated classes to the service of the sanctuary.

We must extend the hand toward the despisers of religion among the learned. One important reason why evangelical preachers often fail to attract this class, is, that they speak *from* the circle of faith to those standing *within* that circle, thus rendering themselves unintelligible to those without it. The power of habit in the form and style of the sermon has an injurious influence. Although Scripture truth presented in this form bore blessed fruits for centuries, yet it was at a period when faith was a vital element in the religion of the people. This period, for the middle and higher classes, is almost entirely past. To them the Bible narratives are a fable-world, illuminated by a magical mingling of light and shade.

In order to make apparent the difference between the past and the present, the past should be recalled. Let the preacher, as was then common, request his people to bring their Bibles with them, in order to satisfy themselves that he declares not the word of man, but that of the eternal God. And to establish the truth on every important point, let him call on them to open at the text he cites. "This is altogether too simple," the cultivated ladies and gentlemen would exclaim.

We ought not, however, to find fault with them on this account, because for many of them there is no longer any word of God. In this circle there is at most only traditional faith enough to allow the minister to open the Bible and read from it a proof-text. And even this many look upon as a stage stroke for effect. The preacher must therefore begin

and build anew. Not that he should come out from the strong, high tower of his faith founded upon revelation, and descend to that wide, treeless desert where one is driven hither and thither by the rising and falling winds of doctrine. But he should turn in a friendly way toward those wandering in the mazes of error, and invitingly point them to the path leading to this tower of faith.

To accomplish this, there is needed a clear and attractive *exposition of Scripture.* George Müller wished he could lose all memory of the Scriptures, so that, studying the classics down to Pliny and Seneca, and coming freshly to the Bible, he could observe how it would then appear to him.

Reverence for the sacred oracles, is connected in numerous minds with hallowed reminiscences of the past. There is many a one who has seen the gray head of his father bowed in family devotion, and upon whom his mother, when he was a child, was wont to lay her hand in prayer—to whom a choral of Bach, or a cathedral like that of Cologne, has given the impression that a religion which calls forth such creations, *must* contain some germ of truth. Let the preacher regard such reminiscences as sacred, and weave them into his discourse.

The wish expressed by George Müller, a truly excellent man, whom a pious mother taught to lisp the name of his heavenly, at the same time with that of his earthly father, has been to many among the learned more or less unconsciously fulfilled. For such ones let the preacher expound the Scriptures, looking for hearts which, rejecting the divine, are open only to what is human. Thus, here and there, Herder has done, except that like Chateaubriand, he has exhibited the beauties of the Christian religion rather than its eternal truth. The same, yet in loftier flights, has been done by Schleiermacher for those still farther estranged. No one of later times has been so much as he the preacher of religion to the learned among its despisers. That there is something more in Christianity than in the beautiful fables of antiquity—that it is a reality enduring beyond all time—for the knowledge of this truth, many are indebted to Schleiermacher, who afterward obtained a deeper experience.

From Schleiermacher, the preacher among the educated can learn much. For the work of the ministry the most liberal culture is essential, as well as the nicest discernment. At a time, when for many, Shakespeare is higher authority than Paul—when a single distich of Goëthe has more weight than the whole Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians; at such a time if a preacher would have influence over his congregation, he should not be unacquainted with their authorities. If anywhere, certainly here may the words of the Apostle be applied: "All things are yours."

An English divine was found one Saturday studying Gibbon. On being questioned concerning this, he replied: "If I belong to Christ, Gibbon is surely mine, and a harvest-field that bears fruit for my master."

On this point the preacher of our times is met by that mode of thinking which can hardly make wide enough the separation between common life and the pulpit. For this reason, preaching appears to educated minds, pedantic, formal, mummy-like. "Even the word Russia has been used in the pulpit," complains a sensitive reviewer.

In opposition to such purists, one might be tempted to exclaim with Harms:—

"6thly. Let the preacher speak negligently and incorrectly." *

I do not, however, here allude merely to the approximation of the *language* of the pulpit to that of common life, though in this respect, too, I am of the opinion of Harms, but also of the *doctrine* of the pulpit, the two being connected. If we would win back our educated men and bring them under the influence of the pulpit we must not avoid there, any more than in every-day conversation, a reference to those scenes among which life is spent. If the homilists complain of and condemn us, Paul, who in Athens quoted Aratus in his discourse, and among the Cretans, Epimenides, will be our protection. One of the advantages thereby gained is an increase of confidence in the preacher. He no longer appears to us a man of the sacred caste, who speaks from the schools, but with us, he has experienced the trials of a difficult and

* *Treatise on Speaking with Tongues*, p. 824.

troublous time. It is not the *preacher*, but the *man*, who speaks to us.

In order to make the understanding of Scripture more easy and attractive for this class—instead of preaching upon single texts, the homily, and still more, the *connected exposition of the sacred books* is desirable. Sermons from individual, isolated texts, have contributed not a little to strengthen the opinion that the Bible is only the magical background, of whose ancient religious gloom the preacher makes use to heighten the effect without ever daring approach it.

And, indeed, would not many a preacher feel himself under constraint if, instead of the single text to which he appends his remarks, it were required of him to present fully and clearly all he knows and believes concerning an extended portion of Scripture. This method of sermonizing, however, would tend to establish a more personal relation between the preacher and his audience. The more particular the exposition, the more will his dependence upon the Bible be manifest, and the more will disappear those miserable common-places and that vague, essay-like style which now make many sermons so tedious.

Let it also be considered what a very great want of knowledge of the Bible there is in the present generation of hearers. Apart from that abundance, nay, that superabundance of catechetical and biblical instruction which we find in the schools of former centuries, how must the mere habit of church-going have extended the knowledge of the Bible!

With this was also connected a far greater use of church history, and a fuller comprehension of the various old ecclesiastical forms which yet exist, but upon which the educated modern looks with smiles of wonder, just as the listener in the English Parliament, in the midst of a crowd among whom is seen nothing but what is new, looks upon the long peruke of the speaker.

With what increased interest will his hearers attend, when the preacher is prepared to make them acquainted with the origin of the present mode of divine worship, to inform them what relation the sermon bears to the edification, and to explain the object of the blessing and the benedic-

tion, to speak of the right kind of church order and church discipline!

One of the most pressing necessities of the times is to prove that *divine service does not consist in the sermon alone.* So long as the Protestant, satisfied with his sermon, undervalues the singing and prayer, as, on the other hand, the Catholic, satisfied with his mass, undervalues the sermon, so long public worship cannot again flourish among us. But the preacher must endeavor, so far as possible, to conform the devotional parts of divine service to the wants of a cultivated taste. Oh, how have the beautiful words, church and congregation, lost their significance among us Protestants! Let us learn once more to comprehend their import—then shall we again feel their power.

So much as to *what* should be said. Let us now consider the *manner* of saying it. On this point, Harms has expressed himself so admirably in his "Treatise on Speaking with Tongues," that I earnestly wish his words might find a loud echo in the hearts of all young preachers. "The source of right preaching," says he, "is the Spirit—the Holy Spirit, and he who preaches by His assistance preaches in the way I mean—preaches, as I call it, with tongues."

That our sermons are *made*, that they do not *grow* out of the fulness of the heart in the presence of God, is the chief reason why they do not hit the mark, why they do not new create. Says Pindar, the Nemean poet, "He who would speak, must first *breathe.*"

But not merely must the *production* of the sermon be inspired by the Holy Spirit—its *delivery* should be so likewise. It is difficult to express the vast difference between the effect of a sermon delivered from memory, excellent as it may be in other respects, and that of one born for the second time in a more living inspiration. Did we Germans, in other religious services besides that of the sanctuary, know more of that power which the Word, directly inspired by the Spirit, exercises upon the hearer, above the word delivered from memory, we should be still less satisfied with the presentation of a lifeless preparation.

The sermon must be a creation of the preacher in his study

and a re-creation in his pulpit; and when he descends, he should feel a *mother's joy*—the joy of one who, under God's blessing, has borne a child. Only when the sermon is thus a double creation of the preacher, will it become a reality in his hearers. The discourses he has heard are way-marks in the life of a hearer, by which he determines how far and in what direction he has travelled.

It were much to be desired that more preachers were able to dispense with a full writing out and committing to memory; yet, it is not always necessary to discard this formal preparation. If the sermon has been born by the Spirit in the study, why should it not, under the breathing of the Spirit, live again in the pulpit? We should, however, preserve so much of our freedom that when we stand in the presence of the devout congregation, borne up by the collected feelings of the assembly, we may not reject what we receive anew from the Lord, but with free power of production, incorporate it with what we have already prepared. Mere extemporizing generally brings no salvation with it, and in our days, least of all to the educated. Even should our whole life and the entire range of our studies bear fruit for the text which we explain to the congregation, yet who can venture to trust so entirely to the spur of the moment as to expect that these resources will always be at his command?

The sermon thus inspired by the Spirit speaks to the whole man; it contains, first of all, a substantial doctrine, with the thoughts and conclusions suggested by it. Upon this point I cannot agree with the man in Kiel, who speaks with tongues, expressing himself slightingly of doctrine and the communication of knowledge from the pulpit. When the Holy Spirit once takes up his abode in the heart of a hearer, every accession of knowledge of the truth and every new application of it to the life will be an inward quickening power.

Well does Harms say of the instruction connected with confirmation—"if it only were what it should be!" If, indeed, it were this, would it not always be the principles of the doctrine of Christ—the foundation upon which perfection should be built? In our time especially, when all hands are stretched out toward the tree of knowledge; when, even in the middle

classes, intelligence is more and more diffused, and the truth needs an attractive mediation—at such a time the continued study of the Scriptures, of theology, of literature, is indispensable in order to teach the principles of Christianity in a thorough manner and to assist the spring of thought to a new outflow. Yet these principles should always be clothed with illustrations and quickened by feeling.

On this point we must explain ourselves farther, as what we demand might appear to contradict that which gives primarily to all Christian development its highest rank, a *holy simplicity*. We have here to do with those in whose eyes perfect intelligibleness and popularity are the highest predicates of a sermon. This may seem a singular demand when the question is proposed how far Scripture satisfactorily meets it. Does then, the predicate of perfect intelligibleness belong, above many other books, to the Gospels of John and the Epistles of Paul?

We are now told by quite a numerous class, that the range of subjects in the New Testament from which a preacher is allowed to select is very limited. The mysteries are stricken from the Word of God, and the *caput mortuum* of the so-called simple religion of Jesus, is delivered over to the preacher for him to hammer out as thin as possible.

"I should like," said one of the dictators, when Christianity was about to be introduced anew into France—"I should like a simple religion, with only a couple of dogmas." The atmosphere where there are no objects is clear, indeed, but at the same time empty and cold. With that illumination which assumes to itself the name of simplicity, we have nothing to do. But in respect to that which the counsel of God has revealed for the salvation of men, the preacher must be silent in nothing. Nor must he speak otherwise of divine things than God himself has spoken of them. If, however, we are careful to introduce Scripture correctly into our sermons, we may be permitted at the same time to drape them with imagination and feeling.

They are strangely mistaken who think that the people prefer from the pulpit the language and style they are accustomed to use in their hours of labor. When they go to church

they put on their Sunday dress; therefore it pleases them that the sermon which they hear should be clad in festal garments, only let the preacher not confound the festal garment with what the Scriptures call high sounding words, where the thirsty hearer is forced to exclaim with Augustine when he was in error: "*Sed quid ad meam sitim pretiosorum poculorum decentissimus ministratur.*"

We do not commend him who walks on stilts. When the tongue goes upon stilts, reason spreads but half her sails. What Denham says of the Thames is applicable to the stream of words:—

> "Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull;
> Strong without rage, without o'erflowing, full."

We ask only for the simplicity of Scripture language;—for the illustrative, the sententious, the enigmatic, which more or less pervade all the books of the Old and New Testaments. This is the language of which it may be said, as a father of the church says of Scripture in general: "It is a stream in which an elephant can swim and a lamb not be drowned." It is this language which is attractive to the educated,—this which belongs to the beauties of the Gospel.

Is the sermon a living reality of the preacher in the pulpit? and has it been a living reality in his study? Then it will not be likely to want imagination and feeling. And if the full tide of words, as in a confidential, heart-to-heart intercourse with the hearer, breaks suddenly into the ordinary language of life, it will take so much the deeper hold.

It is not enough that one says the truth; it is also of essential importance *how* he says it. Can it be the perspicuity of the argument merely which obtains the victory in the English Parliament? The two political parties that oppose each other have, indeed, their clubs where their votes are prepared, yet the power and the gift of eloquence have now, as in the time of Demosthenes, their inalienable rights. "The secret of eloquence," says Pope, "is the right word in the right place."

Let no one think that it is only through the artistical arrangement of its sentences, as in battle array, that the ruling

mind gains the victory. Fox, the greatest of modern orators, conquered by means of *feeling*,—to whose impetuous torrent it was willingly forgiven that all *the waves did not form waving lines*. And if there, where the worldly interests of a commercial people cause the calculating understanding to spread all its sails,—if there the force of eloquence and the power of feeling obtain such conquests, how much greater will be the victory upon an arena where the orator has, in the hearts of his hearers, the Holy Spirit for an ally.

To all this, one thing more has to be added. The sermon should *grow out of the circumstances of the flock*. There are sermons which have their origin *without* the flock, and sermons which spring up within it. The first are those which the preacher forms in accordance with the common maxims of homiletics, and also with the idea of a Christian sermon of ecclesiastical times and seasons. Thus he will continue to do so long as no living reciprocity of relation exists between himself and his people.

It is otherwise when the Sabbath sermon is the echo of experiences which his visitings through the parish during the week have enabled him to gather. The more the sermon is the result of this, the more individual, the more local, the more pertinent will it be. As it has its origin in the life of the flock, it will also serve to increase still more that life. The first consideration I have named should not be excluded from the sermon, but it should embrace this second, or be connected with it. Then will preaching without the pulpit furnish the true enlivening material for preaching *in* the pulpit.

But here rises up again that grim spectre of the general rules of pulpit style and pulpit decorum, which frightens back every particular application springing up in the mind of the pastor. If, however, the preacher only bears the souls of his flock upon his heart,—if he sorrows and rejoices with them, he is in a condition to exclaim with Paul, "Besides those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches. Who is weak and I am not weak? Who is offended and I burn not?" Then the monotonous, essay-like tones, soaring far above the heads and hearts of the people, will disappear; the sermon will cease to be a formal

preparation, and will become the voice of nature, an audible sigh of the warm, throbbing heart.

And oh! if, finally, all other gifts which we have here considered fail, let the sermon only be *natural;* let it be a fresh witness drawn from the life of the flock, and it will not be in vain. And for this, it is astonishing how little is necessary. For example, on certain festive occasions, to awaken emotion, let a mere faithful, unsupported word of truth be uttered; let language be given to those feelings which the hearer has already brought with him. But when, instead of this, you present the formal preparation of the study—the essay, spun out in long-drawn, honeyed accents, like an old-fashioned beauty wrapped in a hundred envelopes, with her fan in her hand,—then, instead of a holy flame enkindled in the breast which needed only a few sparks, a frosty lethargy will chill the whole assembly. O ye full-souled men! Chrysostom and Augustine, Heinrich Müller and Harms, would that your spirit of life might breathe in our sermons!

If now, after this full utterance of the heart, I come to my own sermons, I remark, in the first place, that they are prepared according to the circumstances of the people before whom I preach; and, secondly, that they are prepared for an audience from the higher classes. But it has given me great pleasure that under this very preaching, if the sermons are not merely elaborately wrought as a logical or rhetorical piece of art, other classes need not go away empty. If, however, they do go away unprofited, I then conclude that however good the sermons may be *as sermons*, either they contain not the Gospel, or it has not been evangelically set forth.

I acknowledge, further, that I have by no means satisfactorily met the requisitions here exhibited; I confess that a certain timidity has withheld me, and still withholds me, from proceeding in respect to the whole structure as I might do, and as, under many circumstances, I should consider it more profitable to do. The unconstrained homily, as Chrysostom used it, is the form most suited to my wants as a preacher, and in which, as I think, I could also obtain the best fruits, though I would by no means reject other forms.

In this prefatory discourse, however, I have conformed

myself to the custom which in our days proscribes this kind of homily; yet I go on in the usual course with constraint. I have a special aversion to the violence done to the connection of Scripture in the common treatment of a text. Yet if we take the parts logically derived from its fundamental idea, and then attach to this logical division, in a neat, beautiful, and even rhythmical fashion, the separate parts of the text, such violence will often hardly be avoided. How frequently will it be with the preacher who is frittering away his powers on this artificial structure of the sermon, as with the poet whose rhymes are not at hand; the spirit's bloom is withering. Hence Jean Paul wrote poetry in prose.

In many other respects, also, I have not found it best to make use of the freedom which in the preceding remarks is required for the sermon, and in which I should, under other circumstances, have indulged myself. Since my duties as a preacher are only the smallest part of my calling, I have generally been unable to bestow that labor upon my sermons which he is able to give them whose duties find their central point in his weekly sermon. All this may serve as an apology for the imperfections which exist in them.

In one point only, as I think, have I met the expressed requisitions. They are not formal preparations which I lay before my people, but *spontaneous outgushings*, created in the study and born anew in the pulpit. Nor have they had their origin *without* the flock, but within it. The experiences of the preceding week among the members of the congregation have almost always been the birthplace of the leading idea of the sermon.

This circumstance may be my explanation, and will justify me if the same materials are used more than once. The general rule that there should not be a repetition either in the subject-matter or in the use of set phrases should be applied to sermons with discretion. In the language of books, repetition should be avoided; but in the language of life, the pulsation of love is often revealed by it. "To write the same things to you, to me, indeed, is not grievous; but for you it is safe."

Only let these repetitions not be presentations of different copies of one and the same idea, but continually new produc-

tions occasioned by new experiences;—only let them not be artificial flowers which upon every new festive occasion are brought down again out of their glass-case for exhibition, but repetitions like those of nature, which brings forth anew every spring the same leaves and flowers.

God has given me many proofs that these discourses, when they were spoken, were not spoken to the wind. May he now also accompany the written word with the blessing which he has promised.

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## ART. II.—*Heathen Views on the Golden Age, etc., compared with the Bible.*

THE question as to the primeval state of man has assumed immense importance in our days. Mr. Darwin recognizes, indeed, the divine hand in the primitive creation, but sees no necessity of a divine agency in the subsequent development of the countless kinds of plants and animals from the four or five original forms or types; nor were these subsequent developments potentially inclosed in the original types, as the oak-tree in the acorn, waiting only for the action of certain agencies, as heat, light, moisture, etc., in order to develop from potentiality into reality. All this took place by mere "natural selection." Whether man is also a development from the same source and by the same cause, or not, Mr. Darwin does not say; but many of his followers have thrown off the reserve of their master, denying an original creation altogether, and including man in the same process of development, while others give us to understand, that it is merely by grace that they do not yet hold these same positions, in order to let the Bible and the faith in it live a few years or decades longer. Many learned questions about the origin of life by a *generatio æquivoca*, or whether life is eternal, about the origin of human speech, etc., which the Bible answers as positively as it does rationally, are discussed, as if there were no such thing as the

Bible in existence, or as if it were as mute about these things, as the men of the "bow-wow" theory were for an unknown length of time, or as if its authority had been overthrown long ago, or as if its plain words had a meaning entirely different from what they seem to bear. Instead of listening but distantly to the Bible, infidels and Bible-believers start and advocate the "ding-dong" and "bow-wow" theories, charging their opponents with palpable absurdity, and they evidently succeed remarkably well in making good their charges.

The Bible tells us as a simple fact, not only that God created man, but that man proceeded out of the hands of his Creator, not as an infant, not as a child-man, but as a man in soul and body, who understood the words of the Creator addressed to him, and who could express his own ideas and conceptions in intelligible language before his Creator. This man, the Bible further tells us, sinned, deteriorating his whole being, soul and body, thereby and impeding his progress or improvement. Now if all men are descendants of the first pair of men, as the Bible also affirms, and if the things just stated are true, it is more than probable, that some knowledge of this primeval state of man, in more or less altered forms, was transmitted from parents to their children, and some traces of it must be found among all nations. Whether this *à priori* reasoning is justified by facts, is the object of these pages to examine.

That these traces or traditions actually exist, is well known to and admitted by all; but we are at once told that these traditions, etc., are the productions of idle brains or allegories devoid of all force, and that they found their way into different books of the Bible, according to the different stand-points of their writers. Thus is ascribed to rabbinical fables what Paul says of the groanings "of the whole creation;" to a Stoic origin what Peter teaches about the destruction of the world by fire; what he says about a new heaven and a new earth is represented as nothing else than a dream of the nations about the return of the golden age. But if it should be found that the Bible stories are older, because simpler and purer than all these traditions, and that these traditions were almost universal, the sincere inquirer after truth will know that the ration-

alistic solution does not solve the problem, and that this universality can only be accounted for on the supposition that the Bible is literally true.

What the Bible says about paradise, we find echoed and re-echoed in the tradition of classical antiquity about *the golden age.* What the poets say about it, they want us to understand by no means allegorically or spiritually, but literally. That the body is the prison-house of the soul, as a later philosophy taught, is an idea altogether unknown to the primitive religious consciousness. In the next place, the poets expressly state, that in that age not only moral and spiritual, but also physical evil was altogether non-existent. They represent the latter as a consequence of the former. Physical evil of every form follows sin. The first passage to which we call attention, is Hesiod's Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι, 106–120, which is indisputably a very old composition, even if Hesiod should not be its author. Here we read:—

"First of all, the immortals holding the mansions of Olympus made a golden race of speaking men. And as gods they were wont to live, with a life free from care, apart from and without trouble and labor: nor was wretched old age at all impending, but ever the same in hands and feet, did they delight themselves in festivals out of the reach of all ills: and they died, as if overcome by sleep; all blessings were theirs. Of its own will the fruitful field would bear them fruit, much and ample; and they gladly used to reap the labors of their hands in quietness along with many good things, being rich in flocks, and dear to the blessed gods."

It is worthy of note, that death existed even in this happy state, contrary to the Bible. But death was only a falling asleep, and a passage into a still happier state of existence, as v. 121 says: "By the behests of mighty Jove they are demons, kindly haunting earth, guardians of mortal men."

In the next place, it deserves attention, that in this simple description, not temporal happiness is the main point, but this, that "men lived like gods, and were dear to the blessed gods." Then this generation of men was not a race of savages, living in a wild state of nature, and happy, because unaffected by culture, "but they gladly used to reap the labors of their hands with many good things." Greatly modified, we find the same tradition in the works of the Latin poets, Virgil and Ovid, who, though they make physical happiness the main

point, still represent men as sinless and nature as free from all suffering and evil. *Metam.*, I., 89–93, reads: "First, the golden age was created, which without any judge, freely without (written) laws, kept faith and practised righteousness. Punishment and fear were absent, . . . . they were safe without a revenger."

The same tradition we meet with in the writings of many other writers, poets and philosophers, as Diod. Sic., I., 8; Lucret., V., 923; Plato, *Polit.*, 271c, 278c; *de leg.*, IV., 713c; *de repub.*, III., 415a.

Some philologists deny, indeed, that the tradition in this form was the popular view, maintaining that, according to the latter, the first men lived in a state of animal savageness θηριωδῶς ζῆν; in the pseudo-Homeric hymn in honor of Hephaistos we read (vs. 3 and 4): "He taught men on earth glorious works—before they used to live in caves upon mountains, like beasts." From this savage state man is delivered by the gods who teach him agriculture, handicraft, and arts. Athene, Hephaistos, Prometheus, Demeter, are the merciful gods who rescue man. Afterward the rationalistic notion prevailed, that man was his own deliverer, stimulated by want and pleasure; necessity, and still later, chance contributed also its share.

Now, if we were ready to grant, for argument's sake, that this view had been the popular one (a position, however, that is by no means proved), this much at least is certain, that it is not the older. By the same process, by which nominal Christians have exchanged the Bible teachings for rationalism or any thing else, the older and nobler view gave way to rationalistic corruption—at first it is the gods, then it is man himself, led by *want*, *pleasure*, *necessity*, or *chance*, that rescued the race. But the two views are, after all, not necessarily irreconcilable. In the myths of the golden age we have reflected the universal remembrance of the state in paradise, while we see in the tradition, that men were delivered from a state of original savageness by the gods or by men, the special views of the Hellenistic and Pelasgian tribes, who remembered that they had been delivered from a state of savageness and misery through influences coming from the

East, through immigrants, such as Cadmus, Pelops, Cecrops, etc., who were afterward deified through gratitude.

That the legend of the golden age was the oldest remembrance, appears almost conclusively also from the *Saturnalia*, the Mysteria, and other kindred festivals. The nature of the Saturnalia is well known. They were a beautiful and noble remembrance of that golden age of freedom, when there were neither masters nor servants, when all men were equal and happy. They pointed backward, and, at the same time, prophetically forward, like the Year of Jubilee, with its prescribed manumissions, which pointed, in a brighter light than the festival in honor of Hercules and the Saturnalia, likewise backward to paradise and forward to the times of Him who was to set all the imprisoned free. These heathen festivals, however they may have been corrupted in the course of time, prove conclusively both the reality of the times of paradise, and that the heathen world had a distinct recollection of them, popular festivals being *never* the productions of a dream or of mere fancy. The same is the case with the lamentations about Linos, Mameros in Egypt, Adonis in Phenice and Cyprus, about Hylas in Mysia, Narkissos by the citizens of Thesbiæ on the Helicon, and with the mourning of Demeter for her daughter. The import of all these myths is this: sons of God and their favorites fall victims of death and destruction. The popular celebration of these myths consisted for the most part in this: that, as in the case of Adonis, who even in Hades still loved by Persephone is permitted every spring to return to the light of the sun in order to enjoy the company of Aphrodite, his death was celebrated with dirges, but his return from Hades with songs of joy.

Lasaulx, in his programme, "The Lamentation about Linos," has conclusively shown how probable it is that all these legends and lamentations were but the echo of the sorrow of mankind for the fall of the progenitor of the race, and that by Linos and others of the same class, ultimately no one else than Adam must be understood. Moreover,—and this is the main point,—these lamentations and their celebrations were complaints of nature, and referred to the great catastrophes in nature,—spring, summer, fall, and winter,—in which changes of

nature man saw the image of his own misery and wretchedness. From times immemorial the outward world has been considered the reflex of the inner life of man, and Virgil (*Geor.*, II., 336) compares beautifully spring, the awaking of nature out of death, with the golden age, with which the life of nature from chaos began. These lamentations then, being at the same time complaints of nature, involved the idea that man and nature sustain an intimate relation to each other, and that the fall and death of both have one and the same source. Claims on our attention have likewise the Mysteries, viz., those of Isis in Egypt and those of Ceres in Hellas. They coincide in point of time with the origin and spread of agriculture; but agriculture had, according to universal tradition, a post-Saturnian origin. It is a divine institution and became necessary, because in the post-Saturnian times, after the fall, the creative power of nature declined in intensity, and the gifts of earth were distributed with a less liberal hand.

In the same way do the mysteries, which hide under one image, life and death, the remembrance of the fall and the hope of the resurrection of all nature, and those sacred rites which point, on the one hand, to the loss of a beautiful sacred possession, on the other, to a future happy state of things, confirm the legend of a golden age, the consciousness of the heathen world that all nature had sustained a great loss. In the last place this legend cannot be the expression of a purely ethical or mythical view, because it is an idea common to all nations. But such a universal idea cannot be a mere idea, but must rest on an historical basis.

We cannot, of course, mention here every form under which this legend about paradise appears with the different nations of the earth, and shall, therefore, confine ourselves to some of the most important ones. Among the Persians we meet with the legend of the primitive water which gushes from the throne of Ormuzd; among the Hindoos with that of Mount Mern, the residence of the gods, from which four streams flow in every direction of the globe. The Chinese, Thibetan, Mongolian, Japanese, old Persian, and old Indian traditions all agree in this, that they point to some mountain

or other in Central Asia as the seat of the original glory of the god-descended human family.

In every one of these traditions we meet with four rivers or streams. Of the tree of life we are reminded by the sacred tree of the Hindoos, by the tree of life on the Assyrian monuments, especially by the Thibetan tree of life, which imparted to the first men a divine splendor. The mythos also of the four ages of the world is a tradition common to the eastern and western nations. All these traditions bear an uncommonly strong resemblance to the Bible history, especially among those nations which dwelt next to the cradle of humanity.

In the mythology of the ancient Germans we meet with the same phenomenon. In the Völuspâ, the prophetess Wala gives a charming description of the golden age, before the three virgins from Jötunheim, the Nôtt, the Angobodi, and the Hel, came into the world of the Asen. Baldr—the good, holy, and wise, the favorite of gods and men—is treacherously killed by the wicked Loki. At this murder the gods grieve, and men, animals, plants, and stones weep. From that time matters grew worse and worse upon the earth, murders grew more frequent, in the combats of the giants (the personified powers of ungodly nature) with the gods, Odin and the Asen perished, and after the destruction of the world, the golden age reappeared. The main feature of all these legends is, that the primitive condition of men as well as that of the world, was physically a happy one. *Peace and prosperity rest for the sake of man upon every other creature, and they both disappear and evil and destruction seize upon every thing living, as soon as spiritual ruin breaks in after the fall of man.* The heathen world has most carefully preserved the remembrance of the earthly and bodily side of the narrative and of the original happy state of nature, adorning it with many fanciful traits, and while we have thus in its legends the strongest evidence of the historical basis on which they rested, we see also the wide discrepancy between these traditions and the Bible, which speaks, indeed, also of the original happiness of men and all other creatures, while it lays the main stress on man's normal relation to his Creator

and the inward happiness and peace as flowing from this relation.

The question: "whence are all these traditions?" admits a ready answer from our stand-point. They are no idle tales, called forth by the feeling of present sufferings and miseries, nor the remembrance of a primitive rude state of nature,—for subsequent life was inferior to the primitive state,—nor are they prophetic anticipations of the future glory, but they are remembrances, which all the nations took from their common home, and which they no more could forget, than the prodigal son was able to forget the abundance in his father's house.

As the heathens had a distinct remembrance of a primitive peaceful state of nature, so they had also a keen sense of the fall and groans of the natural world. Of this kind was their intuitive perception of nature's dependence on man, and of the mysterious sympathy between the two. Firmicus Mat., Mathes., III., 1, contains the significant passage: "If man as the last and most finished of all creatures unites in himself all preceding creatures, and is in reality an image of the world, a microcosm, an inference not only from the world as to the nature of man, but also from the nature of man to that of the world is perfectly legitimate, so that from the life of man, the course of nature can be known." In *Prometheus vinctus* (v. 431), this sympathy between man and nature is expressed in these beautiful words:

> "The sea roaring moans in its waves,
> The deep groans, the abyss, the dark
> Abode of Hades, cries aloud,
> The pain of compassion seizes upon the
> Springs of all the sacred rivers."

This passage appears still more significant if we assume, with many learned philologists, that Prometheus here represents the progenitor of the human family suffering for a heinous crime committed against his Creator. Again, Æschylus sees in the *Eumenides* (164–167), not only the central point of the earth, but the earth itself stained by the matricide of Orestes, just as the Bible does by the fratricide of Cain (Gen. iv. 11). In the next place, the ancient legends of the Grecian fleet having been detained in Aulis by adverse winds on

account of the crime of Agamemnon, and of Thebes having been visited with pestilence on account of the incestuous marriage of Œdipus, are, indeed, nothing but legends, but they prove, at the same time, like the divination which pretended to learn the will of the gods from symbols and prodigies, etc., the deeply rooted conviction of the ancient world, that all living creatures sustain a close relation to each other, that there is a close connection between nature and the condition of men, a strong sympathy between earth and heaven. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the heathen world felt the fall of nature deeply. The great serpent of northern mythology is a mythical image of the universal pain of nature and all her creatures, and Ahriman has poisoned with his dews all nature, plants, animals, and men. The phenomenal world does not correspond with Plato's ideal world, hence the philosopher's search for the lost original ideas. Although the popular belief of the heathens looked, on the whole, on the world as divine and eternal, yet their philosophy recognized the existence of evil in nature and traces its origin not to the gods but to matter (*Timæus* of Plato, *βουληθεὶς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθὰ μὲν πάντα, φλαῦρον δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι κατὰ δύναμιν*)—hence their many attempts at a theodicy. The poets are unanimous in their teaching, that with the appearance of sin on the earth, barrenness became the lot of the latter; see Hes., *Ἔργα*, V., 117–118: "Myriad other evils roamed forth among men. For full indeed is earth of woes, and full the sea." Ovid, *Metam.*, I., 113; Virg., *Georg.*, I., 125; *Eclog.*, IV., 39. The ancients spoke of the earth as getting old and weak, of a marasmus of time, yea, even of mournful sounds produced by nature. From all this it is manifest that they had an idea of this great fact, but it was blunted by the constantly advancing deification of nature, and they lacked the knowledge that man's sin presses upon nature. Nor must we omit to mention here that melancholy feeling which pervades all classical antiquity, all legends, all tragedies, and is spread even over their productions of art. Later, Judaism shared the same views. Thus we read in Bereschith rabba: "Rabbi Berachya has said in the name of Rabbi Samuel, although all things were created perfect, yet they were ruined

by the fall of Adam, nor will they be restored until the son of Perez (the Messiah) comes;" and in Berachoth: "If the eye were possessed of the power of seeing all things, no creature would live for fear of the countless numbers of evil spirits."

We pass on now to the traditions and philosophies of the heathens concerning the end, the burning of the world, and the future renovation of all things, which agree so fully even in diction with the Scripture teachings on these points, that attempts have not been wanting to pass off the prophecies of Scripture for idle dreams of mankind. They are interesting in the highest degree, and furnish a wonderful testimony for the foundation of this universal hope of humanity, proclaimed by the Scriptures.

It cannot, of course, likewise be our object to refer to all of them. The prophecies on the end and renovation of the world are generally so closely connected with each other that they cannot easily be separated. This great catastrophe will be brought about by fire. The fears and hopes founded thereon we meet with in the traditions and religions of nearly all nations, especially in the religion of Zoroaster, in the traditions of India, in all the Sibylline oracles, in the songs of the Edda, yea, even in the traditions of the American and Australian tribes, which were separated for centuries from the rest of mankind, thus furnishing conclusive evidence both of the original unity of the race and of the deep impress which had been made upon the human mind prior to the dispersion. In the older Edda we have the following beautiful prophetic description:—

"The sun goes out in darkness, the earth falls into the ocean,
The bright stars fall from heaven;
Glowing eddies encircle the all-nurturing tree of the world,
Red-hot flames are covering the skies,
And the earth is seen to rise again from the waters and to get green.
Untilled the earth will produce again,
Every evil disappears; Baldur returns,
Baldur and Hoedur dwell in the heaven of the god of victory,
The all-wise gods. Do you know what this means?
I saw a hall brighter than the sun
Covered with gold as high as heaven,
Beloved princes will dwell there,
Enjoying honor without end."

When the Germans were subsequently converted to Christianity, heathen and Christian notions about the future conflagration of the world mixed in a strange manner, as we see from the prayer Muspilli. At the approach of the great night of the gods, all the gods and men perish in the fearful struggle which ensues between the gods and the so-far submissive powers of evil, the stars fall from heaven, and Surtur, the ruler of the fire-world, triumphs. Muspelheim appears with his shining army, and from Niflheim rushes to the conflict the race of Loki—all traits such as we meet in the Völuspâ. On the other hand, there are Christian traits not wanting: Elias performs the rôle of Donar, Antichrist that of Surtur—as soon as the blood of Elias drips upon the ground, the great catastrophe commences. According to J. Grimm and K. Simrock, the German legend of the sleeping emperor has likewise reference to the end of all things, and not as is often supposed to a merely political revolution. The points of agreement between these legends and the Bible not to be overlooked are these: The national traditions connect intimately the destruction of the world and the appearance of the great deliverer or renovator, who brings back the original golden age after the universal conflagration, after sin is destroyed from the face of the earth by this conflagration. The difference between the Christian doctrine and the traditions is thus often only this: that, according to the former, Christ appears a second time at, or rather before, the end of the world; while tradition, like the prophecies of the Old Testament, sees all things perspectively together. There is, furthermore, the idea in all traditions, that the end of the world is preceded by a grand and final struggle of the evil principle against the good, and that the latter will triumph. It is especially worthy of note, that according to the traditions all the gods will perish with this world, with the sole exception of Jupiter, as being alone unborn.

In Oriental mythology this old tradition of the destruction of the world passed over into the doctrine of the repetition of worlds, of the great world-periods, the great world-years. This doctrine is found in the books *Vaguavalkya* III., 10, and in the Indian *Puranas*. According to this doctrine the de-

velopment of the world does not end in a perfectly good, God-ordained state of things, as the Bible teaches, but in an eternally monotonous destruction and renewal. The destruction of the world is only the transition to new destructions, a time of peace never comes, the history of the world is never brought to a close. The same idea we find in Parsism, according to Theopompus. The world, we are told there, is perfected in 12,000 years. Of these 6000 elapsed from the origin of the first being to the creation of the earth, and the earth lasts 6000, of which the last 3000 Ahriman alone reigns, when the whole system will be renewed. From the East this doctrine found its way into the West, as the *ἀποκατάστασις*, or, as it was later called, the doctrine of the Platonic or Stoic world-year. In "Nemesius de nat. hominum," c. 38, we have this remarkable passage: *Ἐν ῥηταῖς χρόνων περιόδοις ἐκπύρωσιν καὶ φθορὰν τῶν ὄντων ἀπεργάζεσθαι καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τὸν κόσμον ἀποκαθίστασθαι—γίγνεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τοῦ παντὸς οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ἄπειρον καὶ ἀτελευτήτως τὰ αὐτὰ ἀποκαθίστασθαι* "(they teach), that in fixed periods of times a burning and destruction of all things take place, and the world returns again from the beginning into the very same shape (*i. e.*, as it was before); and that the restoration of the all happens not once but often, or rather that the same things are brought back an infinite number of times." According to Firmicus Maternus (Mathes., III., 1, p. 47), this renovation by burning holds good for three hundred thousand years—the burning is followed by a universal inundation, since things burned out cannot possibly be called into life.

In Plato's *Timæus*, an old Egyptian priest develops the doctrine of the great world-year—10,000 solar years—as a very old tradition. A great flood is there also spoken of, which periodically returns like certain diseases. The Stoics developed this doctrine so that they taught, that in the new periods the same men, the same souls, would return under the same circumstances, *i. e.*, either Socrates in person, or at least a man exactly like Socrates, who would marry a Xantippe, would be accused by the same men, Melitus, Anytos, etc., and that *ad infinitum*. Even the constellations, under which this

catastrophe will take place, have been determined by the ancients. Says Seneca, III., *Natur., lt.*, 29: "Berosus, who has interpreted Belus, says that these things happen by the course of the heavenly bodies, and even assigns the time of the universal conflagration and deluge by them, asserting that all earthly things will burn when all constellations which are now running different courses, shall meet in Cancer, and the universal flood shall break in when they shall meet in Capricorn." As has been stated already, the durations of these world-years were different with different peoples. In the Indian mythology every thing is of a gigantic scale; the world-year is equal to fourteen Manus or Richis, and every Manus to a day of Brahma, and a day of Brahma to one thousand world-years. In the west the length of such a world-year fluctuates between 5500 and 25,000 years. Beautifully does Lasaulx express himself on this point: "Even if these ideas had no other value than that of magnificent productions of the imagination, and of a bold mind boldly philosophizing with an inadequate knowledge of the subject, still they would deserve, on account of the vastness of the problems which they try to solve, to be studied again by modern philosophers."

These expectations of a dissolution of the present system of the world were not only widely spread, but they are also traceable to the very remotest antiquity. Josephus (*Archæol. Jud.*, 1, 2, 3) speaks of columns, or pillars, or rather of the legend about these pillars, that was well known all over western Asia, and especially in Egypt. These columns are said to have been built of bricks that they might withstand the universal conflagration, that had been foretold by the first man. In like manner Seneca ascribes the prophecy of the future conflagration to the oldest of all seers and poets, Orpheus (*Herc.*, Oet. V., 1103); the passage is as follows:—

"When laws and morals shall have fled,
And the last of days draws nigh,
And the South pole shall be buried—
When we shall seek the last day with trembling,
And the broken ray of Titan,
Then the heavens will fall,
Overwhelming both the North and West.
All the gods without any distinction
Shall fall a prey to death and night."

The Sibylline prophecies about this catastrophe are too well known to require a special notice here.

Almost in the language of holy writ speaks Ovid (*Met.*, I., 256–258) of this catastrophe: "Jove remembers that it is written in the books of fate, that the time will come when the sea, and the earth, and the citadel of heaven will catch fire, and when the mundane system shall be destroyed." The final relapse of the universe into a state of chaos is thus described by Lucan, lib. I.:—

> "When all bonds are loosed and the last hour of the world's
> Many centuries arrives, hurling every thing back toward
> Chaos, all stars in wild confusion shall rush
> Against each other; the fires of heaven shall rush
> Into the sea. Phœbe shall in hostile course rush upon her
> Brother, indignantly demanding the
> Day to drive her chariot through the expanse of heaven,
> And every thing will rush back into chaos."

The agency bringing about this final destruction is, by universal consent, fire. Thus, Heraclitus is represented by Clemens Alex., Strom. V., 20, as teaching: "The world itself was neither made by a God, nor by a man, but it always was and always shall be, being an ever-living fire;" and by Eusebius: "Heraclitus taught that fire was the beginning of all things, from which all things come and into which all things are dissolved, saying that all things were in a constant change, and the time was fixed for the dissolution of all things into fire, and for the creation of all things out of the same element." Seneca says (*de consol.*, 26): "Stars will rush upon stars and the whole material world will burn in one fire." Cic. (*de nat. Deor.*, II., 46): "Our (men) are of the opinion, that at last the whole world will be set on fire, when all water is consumed and the earth can neither be supported nor any more air be generated, so that nothing but fire be left, from which the renewal of all things proceeds again." In the hands of the philosophers this doctrine (of a universal conflagration) loses its religious character altogether, which the ancient tradition has, being nothing else than a great revolution caused by fire, an idea which our modern philosophers likewise entertain. Although the new world that comes forth out of the universal wreck, is but another edition of the

first, yet a better state of things was very generally expected, as we learn from Virg., *Ecl.* 4. Even if this beautiful idyl had no reference to the Messiah, and was not based on any prophecy,—a point about which there is as yet a great difference of opinion,—that much is certain, that the poet with others looked forward for a better state of things, and believed this new state to be near at hand. When this universal expectation—about the time of the Saviour—was not realized, and when even believers found it hard to understand the spiritual nature of the kingdom of God, the human mind fell back once more upon the universal conflagration, which such men as Seneca and Pliny believed to be near at hand (Sen., *Quaest. nat.*, I., 3, and Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, VII., 16, and *Sec. Epist.*) The eruption of Vesuvius was widely considered as the forerunner of the great catastrophe,—people, however, spoke not of the last day, but of the last night. Lactantius (*Inst.*, 7, 14), who himself believed the end of all things to be near at hand, could, therefore, say with good reason: "The heathen prophets, agreeing with the divine prophets, predict the end of all things while describing the extreme old age of decaying nature." As among the heathens, so we meet with the same expectations also among the Jews in the post-prophetic times. The platonizing Philo was acquainted with and combated the notions of the Stoics about a burning up of the mundane system; he says in his treatise: Περὶ ἀφθαρσίας κόσμου: "if, indeed, the transgression of nature's laws by the other creatures of God is the cause of corruption, but in the world all the members have been distributed according to nature, the world cannot justly be called corruptible—it is not destroyed by fire, but is incorruptible." He was, at the same time, deeply impressed with the close sympathy between man and the physical world, and looked for a change of the enmity of wild beasts against man, saying beautifully: "All beasts are at war with all men, and no mortal can put a stop to this war: the Eternal one can stop it." And in another place: "One must not despair, that when the intelligent creatures—men—shall have been tamed, the beasts also will be tamed; and then, as it seems to me, the bears and lions and panthers and Indian elephants and tigers, etc., will be

tamed according to the notions of men." Of the restoration of all things the Talmud speaks often, and in Kethuvoth, fol. III., c. 3, we are positively told how many feet the human body will measure in the Messianic kingdom, how the holy land will then produce cakes, clothes of the finest wool, what will be the length of the wheat, what will be the size of the grains of wheat, of the grapes, etc., thus creating a complete fool's paradise. In these Jewish and heathen expectations the real cause of the corruption of the physical world, *i. e.*, sin, had been lost sight of, and they had, therefore, no proper idea of the necessity of the removal of this cause, in order to remove its effect also. But the main question that concerns us here, is: whence is this universality of this almost perfect agreement on subjects, of which, as we shall presently see, modern science has even not the most distant idea? If what rationalists and deists and other opposers of the Bible have said were true, viz., that the writers of the New Testament had borrowed their ideas from Jewish and heathen writers, although it needs not be mentioned, that the New Testament writings have added elements which are altogether wanting in the works of their predecessors,—if, we repeat, this position of the enemies of the Bible were granted, the state of things would scarcely be changed—there would still be the same agreement and the same universality, and there is only one reasonable answer to this question, which is: When men left the common house of their fathers, where they had learned both the tradition and the expectations, they took the remembrance of them with themselves to their new homes and transmitted it by oral teaching to their children. That the traditions assumed, according to the innumerable differences of influences under which men came, different shapes, that their expectations were modified to the same, or a still higher degree, is perfectly intelligible, appears as an absolute necessity; but the essence of both tradition and expectation remained the same, and the origin of this tradition, etc., can no more be rationally accounted for in any theory outside of the Bible, than the origin of man himself, and the origin of language can be accounted for in any manner, not stated in the Bible, that is not obnoxious to the charge of absurdity.

Whether the Usherian chronology, according to which Jesus was born 4,004 years after the creation of Adam, is correct, or whether it shall be found to require emendations; whether the six days of creation were ordinary days of twenty-four hours each, or whether each day was a period of unknown length,—about these and similar questions there may be differences of opinion, and we shall be greatly obliged for all the light that science may shed on these subjects, and this light will teach us to understand the Bible itself better. But if we have given to us, in the name of science, propositions which are palpable absurdities, involving the absence of a specific difference between man and beast, the descent of man from a "learned gorilla," the ding-dong and the bow-wow theory of the origin of language, including, at the same time, a renunciation of all faith in the Bible: then it is high time to stand still and to ponder the subject well with all the consequences it involves, before we take a decisive step. We intimated above, that there is absolutely nothing in the nature of matter, or of the natural world, which could have suggested the idea of the one or the other of the subjects considered. For what does science, what do astronomy and geology in the second half of the nineteenth century say about the future fate of this earth? That it cannot remain in its present state, that it cannot exist forever. On this point all are agreed; but what will become of it no one knows, although both geology and astronomy demonstrate the possibility of two diametrically opposite ways by which the final destruction or utter uninhabitableness of our planet will be effected. According to geology our earth may become a perfect desert, every drop of water disappearing from its surface—by sinking into the interior, thereby creating, perhaps, such an amount of steam as would shatter the whole body to atoms, or the earth may be completely set under water, so that its whole surface forms one uninterrupted ocean. According to astronomy the earth may be drawn into the sun, causing, perhaps, some wind for a few hours on its surface, or the sun may exhaust its heat as the planets have done, or are supposed to have done, thereby converting our earth, as well as all the other planets, into

masses of ice, where neither animal nor vegetable life can exist. Any other way of destruction science does not know, and how radically different are they all from the ultimate fate of the earth as predicted in the Bible and the universal expectation of our race?

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ART. III.—*Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés, Spanish Reformer in the Sixteenth Century.* By BENJAMIN B. WIFFEN. With a translation from the Italian, of his Hundred and Ten Considerations, by JOHN T. BETTS. London: 1865.

SPANISH civilization has not been particularly admired by the heirs of Protestant liberty. No free people cherishes gratitude to Spain for any great blessing that she has bestowed upon society during the last three centuries. Only at this late day have we the sample of a free press in that country. On our table lies the fifth number of a small weekly paper, entitled "El Eco del Evangelico," the first Protestant journal ever published in Spain, and it bearing the date of the last year. It is refreshing to see that it comes from Seville, once so notorious for the Inquisition. If the stones of that city could cry out, what revelations would be made! And yet, three hundred and fifty years ago, on Spanish soil, there was growing up a literature in advocacy of that same Reformation, which gave a new civilization to Germany, the Netherlands, and Great Britain. It surprises many of us to learn the quantity and quality of the Reformed writings then and there produced.

The world knows little of the late Don Luis de Usoz i Rio, but the results of his labors may yet be enjoyed with gratitude by goodly numbers of Protestant readers in Christendom. He collected and edited the "Reformistas Antiguos Españoles"—the various writings of the early Spanish Reformers. "He was," says Mr. Wiffen, "like Valdés, by birth *uno caballero*, a gentleman; and, like him, a person of sound and

exact learning, of great simplicity and modesty, of genuine truthfulness both in his life and writings. He loved his country, lamented its historical decline, and disinterestedly sought its highest welfare. With the exception of two of them, the twenty volumes of the 'Reformistas,' besides others not included in the series, were edited by his own labor during five and twenty years; and, with the exception of a single small volume, they were printed entirely at his sole cost and charges, without connection with any society or association, religious or literary; and one private friend alone aided him to procure the recondite materials." We learn also that but a limited number of copies were published, and these not intended for public sale. It is to be hoped that some of our libraries in this country may be enriched with these historical treasures.

This scholar, in concert with Dr. Edward Boehmer, of Halle, and Mr. Benjamin Wiffen, a Quaker gentleman of England, has brought to light very much interesting matter relative to the brothers Valdés. It is not long since the historian Ranke said, "unfortunately the writings of [Juan] Valdés have wholly disappeared." His most important work, the "CX. Divine Considerations," is now put forth in an elegant English dress, as one of the several modern editions and translations. An English version ran through two editions in the seventeenth century. Nicholas Ferrar translated it, and "the sainted George Herbert" added his notes. They knew almost nothing of Valdés. He was to them a mythic personage, who, with veiled face, had exercised a surprising influence in Italy at the dawn of the Reformation.

Izaak Walton, in his "Life of Herbert," thus drew the portrait, to us quite amusing: "This Valdesso was for his learning and virtue much valued and loved by the great Emperor Charles V., whom Valdesso had followed as a cavalier all the time of his long and dangerous wars; and when Valdesso grew old and weary of the world, he took a fair opportunity to declare to the emperor that his resolution was to decline his majesty's service and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, because there ought to be a time between fighting and dying. The emperor had himself, for the same or other reasons, taken

the like resolution, but God and himself only knew them, and he desires Valdesso to consider well of what he had said, but keep his purpose within his own breast till they two had another opportunity of a friendly discourse, which Valdesso promised. In the mean time, the emperor appoints privately a day for him and Valdesso to receive the sacrament publicly, and appointed an eloquent friar to preach a sermon on Contempt of the World, and the happiness and benefit of a quiet and contemplative life, which the friar did most affectionately. After which sermon the emperor declared openly, that the preacher had begot in him a resolution to lay down his dignities, to forsake the world, and to betake himself to a more monastic life. And he pretended he had persuaded John Valdesso to do the like; but this is most certain, that after the emperor had called his son Philip out of England, and resigned to him all his kingdoms, the emperor and John Valdesso did perform their resolution."

This pleasant episode never happened. Nor was the genial angler much farther astray from the facts than most other writers down to the time of Dr. Thomas McCrie, whose brief notices of Juan Valdés are in the main correct. Several scholars have recently made Valdés the subject of earnest research, bringing to light facts long concealed, and recovering books supposed to be lost. Some of the results of their investigations may be of interest to the present circle of readers, especially as a Spaniard has been considered so rare among the Reformers of the sixteenth century.

About the close of the twelfth century Hernando de Valdés founded the town of Cuenza, in New Castile, nearly half-way between Madrid and Valencia. Built on the terraces, tier above tier, this town grew into the capital of a mountainous district, peopled with traders, and thick with woollen mills. There also the higher arts and literature flourished. This land proprietor won the honors of nobility. He left behind him magnificent houses, a chapel, and entailed estates. One of his numerous descendants, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, bore his name, and sustained the reputation of the family. He sympathized with the popular party in a futile resistance to the policy of Charles V. in giving foreigners the

chief offices in the church and state. He expressed his independent spirit in the following lines:—

"Ten marks of gold for the telling,
And of silver I have nine score;
Good houses are mine to dwell in,
And I have a rent-roll more:
My line and lineage please me—
Ten squires I count at my call—
And no lord who flatters or fees me,
Which pleases me more than all."

Among other sons of this hidalgo and regidor, were the twin brothers, Alfonso and Juan, who were born near the beginning of the sixteenth century. Being twins, they have often been regarded as one person, or the deeds of one have been ascribed to the other. By two letters of the period their distinct personality and twinship are established. Erasmus, in 1528, wrote thus from Basle to Juan:—

"Most accomplished youth: Your brother, Alfonso Valdés, has conferred such obligations upon me, that I ought to love whoever in any way belongs to him. But [besides this] you, as I hear, are so like him both in personal appearance and readiness of mind, that you seem not be twins, but one individual. I think it very proper, therefore, to love you both alike. I hear that you are given to liberal studies, in order that you may embellish your naturally virtuous disposition with every sort of adornment. Why then should any one exhort you to study, when of your own accord you follow this excellent pursuit? It is more to the purpose to congratulate and praise you."

Three years later the historian Sepulveda wrote from Rome to Alfonso; "You ask me to receive your brother, should he come to me, in the same manner as yourself. Can I receive him otherwise, when as I look at him—whether he is standing or sitting, speaking or silent, in action or doing nothing—I fancy that I am looking upon yourself? And, what is no less remarkable, he so closely represents you, not in features alone but also in talents, learning, manners, and even in pursuits, that again and again he appears to be your very self and not your brother."

Upon the education of these twins, we have scarcely more certain light than these letters furnish. It is supposed that one of Juan's descriptions of a noble woman was intended to be that of his grandmother. In one of his Dialogues, she is

made to say, "That which my parents left me was the ability to read, and some little knowledge of Latin. Such pleasure did I feel in reading sacred Scripture, that I learnt much of it by heart. Not satisfied with the mere knowledge of it, I endeavored to conform my life and conduct to it, losing no opportunity of instructing those of my female friends and companions who conversed with me in what God had taught me; but with so much modesty and moderation, that I could not be blamed, knowing what peril attached to my age and sex, and what caution I had to exercise in my personal carriage; for doubtless we women are constrained much more than men to hold any opinion we may favor with distrust, until it previously has been very strictly examined and discussed." Many of the Reformers received their bent of mind from mothers, who were obliged to be as cautious in teaching their doctrines as they were earnest in the study of the divine Word.

Those who wish to study the anomalies of human character may find a rich subject in Cardinal Ximenes. In him the middle and modern ages met. He was the munificent patron of literature, and yet he made diligent use of the machinery of the Inquisition. He supplied the means for stimulating research and manly thought, but set the path of the student with terrors lest he should become too daring an inquirer and too independent a thinker. Under his patronage the University of Alcala rose to compete with the older universities of Europe. Intent upon rooting out "heresy" he strangely appears as the projector of a splendid Polyglot edition of the Bible, in six folios; and this only about ten years after the furious Torquemada made a bonfire of Hebrew Bibles at Seville, and then, at Salamanca, burned six thousand volumes of books which bore the heretical taint. It is curious to note that the last volume of the Polyglot was printed in 1517, the very year that Luther began to oppose the papal decrees and to direct the attention of Europe to the saving doctrines of the Word of God. It was also the year of the cardinal's death. Truth slumbered in those Complutensian folios, being closely watched lest it should waken and rise in its gigantic strength; it sprang forth with life-giving power from the popular editions of the Bible.

It is thought that the brothers Valdés were enrolled at the cardinal's university. They caught his literary spirit, but discarded his bigotry. Their later employments and writings indicate that Alfonso studied Latin composition and jurisprudence, while Juan directed his studies to his native language and to the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures. Juan did not share in the puerile devotion to the Vulgate, thus expressed in the name of Ximenes, in one of the prefaces to the great Polyglot: "We have put the version of St. Jerome between the Hebrew and Septuagint, as between the synagogue and eastern church, which are like the two thieves—the one on the right, and the other on the left hand, and Jesus, that is the Roman Church, in the middle; for this alone being founded upon a solid rock, remains always immovable in the truth, while the others deviate from the proper sense of Scripture." A sentence worthy of triple exclamation points! Hebrew and Greek editions came to be regarded as Protestant "versions" of the Holy Scriptures, and full of heresy. Quite in the same spirit, it is now assumed in some quarters that our popular version "translated out of the original tongues, and with the former translations diligently compared and revised," is a sectarian book, unfit to hold the place in our common schools, which our very civilization has long conceded to it.

The man who did most to mould the early character of the twin brothers was Peter Martyr of Angleria (Anghiera). He was an Italian, as was the later-born Peter Martyr Verneiglio. He was brought into Spain that he might educate the young nobles, "teaching them to love good studies and good books," rather than the follies of knight-errantry, the vices of gallantry, and the sports and spoils of marauders. Queen Isabella was his chief patron. He taught in various cities, and then he was transferred to the court in order to train the young princes in the ancient classics. He was the educator of nearly all the young nobles of Spain who won distinction by pen or sword, during the sway of Charles V. in Europe. His rightful boast was "My house all day long swarms with noble youth, reclaimed from ignoble pursuits to those of letters. . . . I earnestly inculcate in them that consummate excellence in any department, whether of war or peace, is unattainable without

science." Certain young princes and dukes "remain under my roof during the whole day; an example which has been imitated by the principal cavaliers of the court, who, after attending my lectures in company with their private tutors, retire at evening to review them in their own quarters."

The professor was leading a host of vigorous students along the road toward a reformation. No wonder the Inquisition had so much work to do, and did it in such a horrible way, for young Spain must be terrified and tortured into submission. But we do not wonder that the brothers Valdés struck out into an independent path, and were quite the first of the nobility to grasp and bind to their souls the most powerful of all truths. Angleria started them upon their career. His spirit was not servile to Rome, however indisposed to break from her communion. This is proved by his volume of eight hundred letters, written during thirty-seven years, and full of European history. From them Geddes, Gibbon, Herrera, Prescott, and Washington Irving drew very much of the life which renders their pages attractive. His unsparing criticisms of the vices of the popes, cardinals, and "lower clergy" must have shaken the faith of the young Spaniards in every sort of papal infallibility. Their sympathies for ecclesiastical reform must have been nurtured, if they read his letter to his patron Mendoza upon the martyrdom of Savonarola: "You already know that a certain friar of Ferrara, of the order of Preachers (as they are called), went on a long time condemning, from pulpits in the city of Florence, the bad life and evil manners of the cardinals and pope. This good man so irritated the pontiff [Alexander VI., the licentious], that he caused him to be burnt alive as a heretic by the apostolic judges. Notice in this occurrence the artifices with which he weaves his scheme when he wishes to effect a man's destruction, and be on your guard accordingly."

The twin brothers might never have gone beyond their literary master had he not sent them out of their native country; the one to meet the German reformers, and the other to look inside the Vatican, noting what was foulest in the field of corruption. A quick discerner of talent and character, Angleria had nominated the Piedmontese Gatinara as grand

chancellor,—an enlightened man, favorable to reform,—and near him, in a quite independent position, Alfonso Valdés, as Latin secretary to the newly elected emperor. Thus the agents of political corruption were checkmated. The elements of a national patriotic party found a centre of unity. Alfonso followed Charles V. into the Netherlands and Germany. In an interesting letter to Angleria, he describes the manner in which Luther had been aroused to confront the entire system of popery. "The origin and progress of the Lutheran sect" are traced to those provoking indulgences, Tetzel's swaggering, the famous theses, and the disputes of the monks over the auction of pardons, and the bold sermons of "the author of this tragedy," who dared to discuss the powers of the pope. He fears "that the evil will spread so widely as to be absolutely incurable." For even Cajetan has been worsted at Augsburg. "Luther was dismissed with greater glory than that with which he had been received—with a victor's joy." And the pope, "unable by caresses and warnings to secure the punishment of the blasphemous monk, and to prevent the poison from being scattered everywhere, and to cause all to flee him as a heretic and schismatic, launched a most severe bull, as they call it, against Luther and his partisans. Luther, more irritated than dismayed (oh, shame!) proclaimed the pontiff himself a heretic and schismatic, and published his 'Babylonish captivity of the church,' and burnt all the books on Roman law that he could find in Wittenberg." The writer did not think that history consisted in the abuse of men whose conduct he could not altogether approve.

Angleria sends this historical letter to some of his pupils, with the remark, "Enough of the disloyal monk, in refutation of whom many grave and learned men have written much that you can readily get and read." In the same way he uses other letters from Alfonso. In one of them the correspondent describes the Diet of Worms with commendable accuracy, and says, "Here you have, as some imagine, the end of this tragedy, but I am persuaded that it is only the beginning of it. . . . . The evil might have been cured, with the greatest advantage to the Christian republic, had not the pontiff refused a General Council."

Such letters, so candidly written, must have helped prepare the way for the writings of Erasmus to enter Spain. To Alfonso he was mainly indebted for various favors and friendships. Letters passed between them. It was not long before several books of Erasmus were honored with the ban of the Inquisition, and he said, "What lot so unfortunate as mine? The Lutherans persecuted me as a papist, and the Catholics as a Lutheran!" One of his Spanish friends, Juan Vives, the Valencian, exclaimed, "What frenzy! We live in difficult times, in which we can neither speak nor be silent without danger." Secretary Valdés was closely viewing affairs, studying, thinking, and coming to his own conclusions. When he returned to Spain his brother seems to have been absent in Rome.

Adrian of Utrecht had been the tutor of Charles V., an admirer of Erasmus, and the intimate friend of Angleria. He was a serious man, pious, active, benevolent, the advocate of polite learning, intent upon the peace of Europe, and the reformation of the grosser abuses in the church, and altogether the best material for the making of a pope that his age furnished. As Adrian VI. he filled the papal chair for about one year—too short a time to make effective his reformatory schemes. As soon as he was elected, in 1522, he was pitied by Angleria, who described him as "a wretched slave, and so much the more wretched as his flatterers vociferate 'blessed father' in his ears." Yet he secured for Juan Valdés the honorable position of *camanero*, probably chamberlain, at the Vatican. Juan had thus a brief opportunity to see the papacy on its fairest side, and at home. In a few months he must have had his mind directed to the need of a reformation in manners, morals, and the administration of all ecclesiastical officers and ordinances. He took notice of those special evils which are so vividly portrayed in his "Dialogues." At a later day he made a touching reference to the papal household, which Adrian had, doubtless, quite thoroughly reformed. In his fifty-first "Consideration" he says, when illustrating how *God makes himself to be felt* as the object of all dependence; "I bring before the mind what is ordinarily seen in the pope's household, where all those who compose it are dependent

upon him, and are maintained by him in the station and dignity in which he has placed them. At the pope's decease the whole house is broken up and ceases to exist, so that he who was secretary is so no longer. The same may be affirmed of all other officials of the establishment, all of whom, at the pope's death, lose the position which the pope's life gave them." In this way, it seems, Juan lost his place, and returned home to use his pen in exposing the hypocrisies and vices of certain dignitaries in the Roman Church.

The twin brothers were again together in 1523, and during five years they seem to have been in retirement, except that Alfonso was a gentleman or knight in the emperor's train. Three events had agitated Europe: the papal treatment of Luther; the vigorous captivity of Francis I., at Madrid; and the sack of "the Eternal City." Popery and Protestantism had entered upon their warfare, and the Emperor Charles had fought against the pope and his "most Christian son" of France. The public mind was severe upon Charles, for the scandal of holding the so-called vicar of Christ in captivity. The Spanish court issued a series of documents in his defence. These passed through the hands of Alfonso, as the Latin secretary. The controversy suggested to him and his brother a bold literary project. They composed and published two Dialogues, each political and religious. While defending the emperor, they lash the corruptions of the age with keen and subtle irony, and set in bold contrast the hypocrites and the honest Christians of every rank and grade in the church. One is the "Dialogue between Mercury and Charon," who discuss the affairs of Europe from 1521 to 1528, and make deceased ecclesiastics tell the story of their lives. The other is a "Dialogue which treats of the events that happened at Rome in 1527." The capture and pillage of that city is not so much the real theme, as is the moral state of the papacy.

These treatises have been pronounced among the best in Spanish literature, not merely for their general scope, but for their elegance of style, their graceful turns of wit and argument, their purity of sentiment, their bearing in favor of reform, and their truthful illustration of contemporary history. Cervantes appears to have made good use of them in his

famous burlesque upon chivalry. Juan probably wrote most of them, while his brother supplied the materials, and took on himself the responsibility of the declarations made therein, for his high official position was his shield. When accused, Alfonso defended himself as if he were the author of the first mentioned Dialogue.

We present a few specimens: Mercury is made to say, that in his world-wide travels he did not find among nations called Christians the pure morality that he expected. Even in the highest sphere, Rome itself, he found earthly desires and cares taking the place of heavenly aspirations. The hopes of men, instead of being fixed on Christ, were all placed on certain kinds of dresses, different sorts of food, paternosters, pilgrimages, and wax candles. Some hoped to get to heaven by building monasteries and churches; others imagined that the discipline of the whip, fasting to inanition, and going barefoot were services acceptable to God. Very small was the number of those who put their trust in Jesus Christ.

A haughty man appears, supposed at first to be some Persian satrap, but found to be a famous preacher, who says: "I put on an air of sanctity to get credit with the public. In the pulpit I took care never to reprove those who were present. If I had, they might have been converted and live like Christians, and then for very shame I should have been obliged to perform good actions." When accused by Charon of preaching Satan's kingdom rather than Christ, he replies: "I know not what you mean by preaching Christ. I had one object, to satisfy all my desires and live like a pope."

A lordly bishop comes, and, "though alone, he asks if *we* can pass? This manner of speaking is suitable to his dignity." When asked what it is to be a bishop, he makes it to consist in fine dress, ritualistic services, large revenues to spend, plenty of clergy to do the work, and benefices to give away. Charon replies: "Neither Peter nor any of the Apostles were bishops, nor had they any of these things. The little that belonged to them they gave to follow Christ. I will tell you what it is to be a bishop. It is to be solicitous for the souls under your care, and willing if need be to sacrifice your life for them; to preach faithfully to your flock, and set them a good exam-

ple; hence it is necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; to live free from worldliness, and much in prayer for your people; to see that holy persons administer the sacraments, and to relieve the poor." All this is news to the poor soul of the bishop. The cardinal, who presents himself, is very disconsolate, but wary and not disposed to make any avowals. A scholastic, expert in his art, admits that he never heard of the Gospels, nor the Epistles of Paul, except at mass. He has read Scotus, Thomas, Nicholas Lyra, Durando, and above all Aristotle, for these have more acuteness than the inspired writers and the fathers. Charon answers: "As the eggs so are the chickens."

These bad characters are offset by those which are good, and several of the descriptions are admirable. The true preacher does not even wish to lose the time required in telling his name or office. Being pressed, he says, "In my youth I sought not only to learn, but to have the experience of Christian doctrine. My studies were always attended with prayer for God's grace. Not confiding in my own abilities, I gave my whole heart to the Holy Scriptures . . . First among my friends, and then in the pulpit, I began to publish abroad what God had done for me . . . . I did not try to make my sermons elegant nor elevated, but Christian, and I was indifferent about being called stupid, or having my sermons called unworthy of a literary man, if they were only acknowledged to be Christian. I thought it a very evil thing to be found guilty of what I reproved in others."

Juan seems in part to have drawn his own portrait in this reply of a soul: "You know that when a youth I loathed vice, and yet through bad companions I was a slave to it for many years. At the age of twenty I began to know myself, and learn what it is to be a Christian. I laid aside ambition, and the desire for great wealth, for these are opposed to the teachings of the New Testament. I ridiculed the superstitions which some Christians practised, but still held to some bad habits. At twenty-five I grew more serious, and reasoned thus: Either the doctrines of the New Testament are true, or they are not: if true, it is gross folly for me to live as I am now doing; if false, why do I impose on myself the

numerous ceremonies observed by Christians? Then God enlightened my mind. I knew these doctrines to be true. I resolved to renounce all superstition and vice, and lead a Christian life. Some of my friends thought me mad, others made sport of me. But from love to Jesus Christ, I bore it all patiently."—"Why did you not enter the cloister?"—"Because I knew that a monastic life would not suit me. I was told that monks had seldom an opportunity to sin as other people do. I replied, that sinful desire developed itself as fully inside a monastery as out of it."—"Did you ever converse with them?"—"Yes, with those in whom the image of Christ was seen to shine forth."—"Did you ever go on a pilgrimage?"—"No, for Jesus Christ manifests himself everywhere to those who truly seek him. It seemed to me an act of folly to seek at Jerusalem what I had within me." In the same manner he gives his reasons for not observing the various ceremonies of the papal system. He, however, has fasted and heard mass. There is not a perfect freedom from error in these portrayals of character, yet the strongest features of truth stand out clearly in the dialogues.

In the second one Juan rises to eloquence, when endeavoring to show that the particular calamities which befell "the eternal city," and the papal hierarchy, were designed by Providence as direct and corrective puishments upon their cherished vices, their insatiable ambition, their avarice and robberies, their hypocrisy, superstition, and idolatry, and their reckless destruction of the souls of men. "You see," he exclaims, "what honor is done to Jesus Christ by his vicars, his ministers—those who live by his blood! Oh, blood of Christ! so abused by his vicars that the present one avails himself of thee to extort moneys that he may slay men, murder Christians, destroy cities, burn towns, dishonor maidens, make widows and devour them, and introduce all the accumulated ills that war brings in its train! He that saw Lombardy, and even all Christendom so lately in prosperity—such beautiful and important cities, such fine villas, such gardens, such merry-makings! such happiness! The peasants reaped their harvests, pastured their flocks, built themselves dwellings; citizens and nobles, every one in his sphere, freely enjoyed

his property. But after this accursed war began, how vast the desolations! How many nobles, citizens, and peasants brought to squalid poverty! How many widows and orphans! How many men have fallen throughout Christendom! And worse still, what numbers of souls have been sent to hell! And we put up with it as though it were a joke!"

More special outrages are cited, and then he exclaims, "Oh, chief pontiff, who allowest such things to be done in thy name! What Jew, Turk, Moor, or Infidel will ever wish to come to the Christian faith, if our vicar does such things? . . . Does it appear to you, sir, that this is the way to imitate Jesus Christ? Is this the mode of teaching Christian people? Is this the manner of interpreting Holy Scripture?" Reference is then had to the fact that God was rejecting this papal hierarchy, and raising up such men as Erasmus, "to expose the vices and fraud of the Roman court, and the entire Roman clergy with great eloquence, prudence, and modesty;" and Martin Luther to "draw away many nations from obedience to their prelates."

It seems quite as if the trenchant pen of Erasmus had been borrowed by the young Spaniard, and he might be taken for an admiring follower of Luther, were it not for his knightly defence of the emperor, and his expressions of devotion to the pope as the visible head of the church. It is not claimed that he was a Protestant, yet he took a far higher view of political morals, and cherished a more spiritual idea of religion, than any known writer in Spain during that period.

Even while these dialogues were privately circulated in manuscript among a few friends, the papal nuncio secured a copy, and declared them libellous and impious. The ruin of the secretary Valdés was at once plotted. Threatened with the Inquisition, it was a relief to follow the emperor to the famous Diet of Augsburg. He corresponded with Erasmus, he held conferences with Melanchthon, and had a quite prominent part in effecting the agreement between the Roman and Protestant parties. He translated into Italian and Spanish the Confession presented by Melanchthon, by command of the emperor, who finally said, "A man multiplies himself by the number of languages which he speaks." He probably wrote

a little work concerning the results of the Diet. He published Angleria's letters, in which were two from Luther. Quite suddenly he disappears, about the year 1532, and with him the policy of the tolerant party in Spain comes to an end. Angleria and Gatinara were already dead.

The most that can be gathered concerning his fate is from a letter of Enzinas, the translator of the New Testament into Spanish, to Melanchthon: "There are none of us who did not know Alfonso Valdés to be a good man. The satellites of the holy fathers could never endure his doctrine nor his authority. They laid such snares for him, that if he had returned to Spain there would have been an end of him. They would have caused him to die a cruel death; the emperor himself could not have saved him." Perhaps he was a martyr, although he was never an avowed Protestant. One has said (more than we can fully indorse), "Like Erasmus, he was not wanting in genius to soar with Luther; like Erasmus, he would not separate himself from the simplicity and breadth of the Bible; and like Erasmus, also, both he and his twin-brother remained within the pale of their ancient communion till their death." He may justly be ranked as one of the first reformers of Spain, and not altogether unsuccessful.

Meanwhile Juan seems to have prepared the "Advice on the Interpretation of Holy Scripture," which gained for him the title of "heretic," and the more prying attention of the Inquisition. He drew part of it from the writings of John Tauler. It was circulated in manuscript, and has not been recovered. Its three remarkable propositions were: That to understand the Scriptures we must not rely upon the Fathers; That we are justified by a living faith in Christ; and That we may, in this life, attain to an assurance of our justification.

It was unsafe for Juan to linger in Spain. Llorente affirms that he was formally declared a heretic while there, but the Inquisition was probably cautious enough to attempt first his capture. He was cheered by a letter from Erasmus, in March, 1529, and read these words: "That you hold a note so slightly written as mine to be one of your chief literary jewels, I quite appreciate; and, on my side, very dear Juan, I shall treasure with great esteem the memory of a mind so amiable and pure

as yours in my heart. It is gratifying to know that there are many good men in Spain who heartily love me. Yet it gives me pain that, in a country favored with so many privileges, such nests of hornets multiply, and cause such disturbances to me and all whom I love. I am heartily thankful for you and all Spaniards like you, because you consecrate all your efforts and studies to the culture of letters, always aiming to promote Christian piety and unite them to it, a thing not done by many Italians until now. What worth have learning and literature if they draw away the mind from religion?"

We find Juan Valdés at Naples as secretary to Don Pedro Toledo, the viceroy, who strove to make his power a terror to evil-doers and heretics.

No city was in greater need of a vigorous administration of justice. It is supposed that the doctrines of the Reformers were first introduced there by the German soldiers, who occupied it after the sack of Rome. In no other part of the peninsula do they seem to have made such extensive progress. The Germans were followed by a man who, according to a bigoted papist, "caused a far greater slaughter of souls than all the thousands of heretical soldiery." This was Juan Valdés, whom Curione, a contemporary, describes as "a splendid knight in the service of the emperor, but of much higher rank and much more splendid as a knight of Christ. He was not, therefore, very assiduous as a courtier, after Christ had been revealed to him, but he remained in Naples, where, by his suavity of doctrine and holiness of life, he gained over many disciples to Christ, especially among gentlemen and cavaliers, and some gentlewomen, most praiseworthy and exalted. It seemed as if God had appointed him as the instructor and pastor of noble and illustrious persons; he also drew to him those of lower rank, the poor, the rude and ignorant, making himself all things to all men, in order to win many to Christ. He gave light to some of the most renowned Italian preachers, as they have told me."

Here then was Don Pedro, charged by the emperor to use every exertion to uproot heresy, and publishing an edict that no one should associate with persons infected with Lutheranism, or even suspected of it, under peril of losing life and

property. And here was Valdés, a layman and a scholar, charged by Heaven to use all efforts to plant there the Word, which has power to grow mightily and prevail; the very man for whom many earnest inquirers were waiting. They had but a taste of the delicious truth from his lips, when ill health, or prudence, induced him to spend two years in travelling on horseback, or secluding himself at Rome. He resigned his secretaryship.

His return was hailed with uncommon delight by the circle of eager inquirers. For health and safety he took a country-house at Chiaja, beautifully situated on the bay of Naples. Like Calvin, he had little time to spare upon descriptions of the majestic scenery around him. Tongue and pen must be wholly engaged in his Master's service. He talked and wrote down the substance of the conversations; thus grew the Christian literature of Chiaja, where his friends visited him. One of them said of him, "I never saw a man more devoted to writing. At home, he is St. Juan the Evangelist, pen always in hand, so that I believe that he writes at night what he does by day, and in the day what he dreams at night." Certain gentlemen, who wished none of his words to be lost, contrived to bring in secretly a skilful writer, and hide him so that he should take notes upon the conversations. The scheme succeeded. They finally persuaded him to fill up the notes, and thus grew the "Dialogue on Language," for he was instructing them in the Spanish tongue. The production was one of great literary merit. One of his fine sayings in it is, "Had I to choose, I should prefer a man with but moderate genius and good judgment to one with moderate judgment and great genius."—"And why?"—"Because men of great genius lose themselves in heresies and erroneous opinions through want of judgment. Man has no jewel to compare with that of a sound judgment."

The man, who made this ingenious scheme so effective, was Marco Antonio Magno, the agent of Julia Gonzaga, duchess of Trajetto. Lawsuits brought her to Naples, where she joined "the gospel circle," and thenceforth exercised a powerful influence for the Reformation in Italy. She was known as a poetess in a literary age, and no descendant of the Colonnas

was more worthy of such tributes as were paid to her genius and solidity of character. Perplexed by long litigation with those who would deprive her of her rich estates, she sought relief in conversations with Valdés, and these conversations formed the basis of the "Alfabeto Christiano," a treatise worthy of its recent translation and republication in England. Its preservation was due to Julia's procurator, Magno, who rendered it into Italian, for the Spanish original perished in manuscript. A few of its noble sentences are these: "We are all born and created to know God, believe God, love God, and after this present existence to enjoy God. . . . . The happiness of man consists in his knowledge of God, and of Christ shown by the light of faith, and in the union of the soul with God through faith, hope, and love. To this none but the true Christian can attain. . . . The true physician of the soul is Christ crucified. . . . When you do what St. Paul tells you, respecting the restoring within you the image and likeness of God, you will find peace, quiet, and repose of spirit. . . . . The Law wounds, the Gospel heals. The Law slays, the Gospel gives life. . . . If you are not able wholly to subdue your feelings and inclinations, so as to be absolute master of yourself, at least so rule and moderate them that they be not your masters. The good Christian is not to seek to be passionless, but to rule his passions. . . . Vocal prayer frequently kindles and elevates the mind to mental prayer. . . . Love God, and you will know how to dispense your alms. . . . . Christian liberty is a thing which, however much reasoned about, can never be understood if it be not experienced."

It is for the biographer to trace the effect of these counsels upon the noble disciple; to follow her into hospitals where she visits the sick; to portray her in select society free from its worldliness; to see her almost constantly reading the Scriptures which Valdés urged her to prefer to any of his writings; to watch her superintending the education of a nephew who was as a son to her, and who became a duke, and showed his love of literature by patronizing a Hebrew press from which were issued several editions of the Pentateuch and Psalter; to trace her influence upon most of the Italian

reformers who appeared so unsuccessful; to cite her correspondence with Calvin, and see how this was one of the charges brought against her by the Inquisition; and to follow her until, with faith in her "long-suffering Father," and in Jesus Christ her Redeemer, she expired in the year 1566, at the age of sixty-seven.

It was to her that Juan Valdés presented the manuscripts of his translations of Matthew from the Greek, the Psalms from the Hebrew, and the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, with a commentary upon it. To instruct her, he was stimulated to prepare these works. In his letter to her, when presenting them, he says, "In order to imitate Christ, draw your picture of him from the Gospels. By reading St. Paul, the wonderful effects of the cross of Christ are seen and felt; so in reading the histories of Christ is wonderfully seen and felt the very cross of Christ." In his comment on Romans xii. 9–13, he has this idea, which probably no other commentator has ever appreciated so as to use it: "The Christian in his love to another Christian and to one who is not a Christian, should make the difference which one draws between a twin-brother, and another brother. Only he who has a twin-brother can understand this latter distinction; so none but a true Christian can feel real Christian love." Julia Gonzaga took every care to preserve the writings of her friend, to whom she was so greatly indebted. Through years of personal danger she religiously kept them. So much had the manuscripts been used before they came to the press, that Juan Perez, when editing the commentary at Geneva, had no little difficulty in making good every word of the well-worn pages.

Other conversations at his country-house, or in his city residence, were worked up by Valdés into the volume most celebrated. At Chiaja he received, on Sunday, a select number of his most intimate friends. They breakfasted together, walked a little amid the delightful scenery, and returned to the house, when he read some well-studied portion of Scripture, and either commented upon it, or talked upon some "Divine Consideration" which had occupied his mind during the week. He was accustomed to say that two of his books were prayer and consideration. The company discussed the

subject, and he thus was able to relieve them of doubts, or gather new views from them. Thus his own themes were presented in the forenoon. In the afternoon they brought forward their topics for conversation. These meetings may have continued four or five years. "These Sabbaths of studious Christians, this exchange of subjects, this intercourse of thought between the proposers, the day, the pure elevation of mind they brought as it were with them, the situation, the beauty of the country, the transparent skies of a Southern climate, the low murmurs of the bay," says Mr. Wiffen, "would all be favorable to the purpose of Valdés." His notes expanded into short essays, upon distinct themes, until they formed "The CX. Considerations." They present his most finished thoughts, and seem to have been his latest composition.

That the book is free from any sort of erroneous opinion, none will claim. Yet it will not suffer in comparison with the writings of almost any other reformer, even the chief. The absurd charge that he was an Anti-trinitarian was started by Sandius through ignorance, or a desire to swell a list, or the mere suspicion that Bernardino Ochino received his later views from his teacher in the Gospel. Bayle and most of the biographical dictionaries have repeated the charge. It will suffice to quote Valdés—not even a tithe of what he declares; "I rejoice in what I know at present, that this Word of God is the Son of God, with whom and by whom God has created and restored all things; that he is of the same substance with the Father; that he is one and the same in essence with him, and that like him he is eternal." He constantly speaks of "the Holy and Divine Spirit" as an eternal person. Beza was offended a little at Valdés chiefly because his readers might be led to forsake the Scriptures and look for some higher revelations of the Holy Spirit. When trying to show, in his Sixty-third Consideration, "that the Holy Scripture is like a candle in a dark place, and the Holy Spirit is like the sun," Valdés evidently means that the Holy Spirit is the source of Holy Scripture and higher than it; that He alone leads to its truly spiritual comprehension, and, as he says, "the man who seeks to be pious, having no other light than the Holy Scriptures, is like a man in a dark place with only

a candle," while "the man who seeks to be pious, having the Spirit of God to guide and bring him forward in it, is like one who stands in a place where the rays of the sun enter and make it bright." Scarcely a reformer more stoutly insisted upon the light of Scripture and the life of the Spirit, as necessary to salvation.

The first edition of the "Divine Considerations" was in Italian, edited by the refugee Celio Curione, and issued from Basle, in 1550, ten years after the author's death. It soon was published in French at Lyons and Paris, and also in Spanish and Dutch. Two English versions appeared in the seventeenth century. After that time it became a rare book, until very recently. It is now re-published in various languages. Morhof, near the close of the seventeenth century, said of the author and his work: "Those Considerations of his are full of piety, and evidently written with the taste of a purer theology than the common, so that there is no pontifical leaven to be found in them. And it is altogether wonderful that, even in that age, there were men concealed under papal darkness who profoundly fathomed the depths of religious mysteries. The book was one truly worthy of being turned into Latin or German; it occasionally breathes so sympathetically with Arndt (author of 'True Christianity'), that it would seem as though they spoke but with one mouth. It ever scrutinizes our actions very closely; it evinces in its great discretion a true acquaintance with Christianity, and on that account is singularly to be commended."

The impression which Juan Valdés made upon his age and adopted country was not measured by the circulation of his writings. He was a prime mover of other minds. His personal power was felt in the entire circle of choice spirits who heard him talk in his villa, and they carried it with them into their homes, their neighborhoods, their palaces, or their pulpits, their prisons, and their places of exile. Few of them left the Roman Church, while they threw off most of its grosser errors; they had not the privilege of an organized Protestantism in their own land. The known names among them would make a long list. Julia Gonzaga was but one of the many noble ladies who were disciples of Valdés. Isabella Manrique, a

Spanish lady of high rank, and the sister of a cardinal, received his doctrine, zealously promoted the evangelical faith, and, when persecution drove her from Naples, she fled to Zurich, and finally settled in the Valtelline in order to maintain the liberty of conscience. The gifted Vittoria Colonna, an admired poetess, was no unaffected listener. Folengo, the prior of Monte Cassino, noted the effects of the revival of the Gospel, and said: "We behold a most extraordinary spectacle; we see women, who seem naturally more prone to vanity than to serious reflection, men untutored, and soldiers, so moved by the truth that, if any thing is heard about a holy life, it generally comes from them. Indeed, this is the golden age! Throughout my native Campania there is no preacher so learned but that he would become wiser and holier from converse with such women."

Julio de Milano, a professor of theology, carried the truth with him through various persecutions, printed a volume of sermons, and fled to the Grisons, where he founded a church, preached to it thirty years, and laid the foundation of several other churches in that region. Marc Antonio Flaminio, the poet, exercised a pious influence among literary men. Caserta and Carnesecchi were among the noble martyrs; among the charges against such men was their having read and circulated the writings of Valdés, and that kindred spirit, Aonio Paleano. The heroic Marquis of Vico, Galeazzo Caraccioli, forsook his honors, estates, and family (who refused to accompany him), and went into exile for the love and liberty of the Gospel. He was received at Geneva with the warm affection of Calvin, who did so much to make Geneva the refuge for troops of exiles driven out of Italy and France on account of their faith.

Valdés had no more eminent disciple than Peter Martyr Vermiglio, who was still preaching at Naples when his instructor died. With him was Cusano, formerly his fellow-student at Padua, where they had spent whole nights in mastering the Greek language and reading the Greek Testament. This Peter Martyr is intimately connected with the history of the Reformation in Italy, France, Switzerland, and especially England. His influence at Oxford and with the several English bishops who labored for reform—Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer,

Hooper, and Jewel—cannot be estimated. No small part of it may be traced to Valdés, who has been called the spiritual father of this "master-spirit in Israel, the arch-counsellor of the recognized founders of the English Church."

It has been said that Valdés, as a reformer, entered less than almost any other man of his time into the battle of the hierarchies. His aim was not so much to destroy error as to build up truth. He was not a controversialist, nor a speculative theologian. Without discarding the Roman Church, he seems to have quietly retired from her communion. He looked far above the mere ritual. Concerning the prevalent abuse of ecclesiastical rites he said: "Outward ceremonies breed inward vices." He could have sympathized in the remark of Calvin: "Little will be made of ceremonies in the Day of Judgment." Certain quietists of our age have made him one of their models, and kept him aloof from the Christian church and her ordinances. This must be owing to a perversion of a few of his rather unguarded sayings: *e. g.*, "A Christian's proper study should be in his own book. I call my mind my book. In this are contained my opinions, both true and false. In this I discover my confidence and my diffidence, my faith and my unbelief, my hope and my negligence, my charity and my enmity." But he did not mean that a pious life consisted largely in mere inward contemplation. For he goes on to say: "When I wish to know whether my opinions in the Christian faith are false or true, I compare them with the doctrines held by those holy men who wrote the Sacred Scriptures. Reading the holy faith of those Christians of the primitive church, who were acknowledged to be justified and sanctified in and by Christ, I know my own faith and my unbelief, and pray God that he will increase my faith. . . . In this manner Holy Scripture serves me the better to study *my own book*, and to understand it." After all, his greatest book was the Bible. He certainly differed from most of the modern Quakers in his views of its authority and the fulness of its light for the human soul.

He died at Naples, about middle age, in 1540, and there was a long remembrance of his spare body, fair and pleasing countenance, retiring disposition, courteous manners, gentle

and winning speech, benevolent heart, vigorous mind, clear logic, happy wit, devoted piety, and unblemished life. His circle of learners felt lonely in the world after he was gone. One of them, Bonfadio, thus wrote to Camesecchi: "Would that we were now with that happy company! I hear you sigh for it. Yet where shall we go, now that Signor Valdés is dead? This has truly been a great loss for us and the world, for Signor Valdés was one of the rare men of Europe, and those writings he has left us on the Epistles of Paul and the Psalms of David most amply show it. With a particle of his soul he governed his frail and spare body: with the larger part he was always raised in the contemplation of truth and of divine things."

The writings of Valdés were not likely to escape the searching eye of the Inquisition in his native country. There, one of his own relatives, Fernando de Valdés, archbishop of Seville, was Grand Inquisitor. It was he who put the whole code of the Spanish Inquisition into the form in which those terrible laws have existed to this day. The contrast between the two men was but a type of what existed in that age. Juan Valdés, without using his tongue as the lash upon persecutors, or noisily declaiming against intolerance, was the earnest advocate of true, religious liberty.

Although "actions speak louder than words," the fame and influence of a few men rest mainly upon their conversations. Samuel Johnson and Coleridge were great talkers. They had great things to say. No one talks too much whose utterances are timely, wise, and weighty. The ancients, without a press to crowd its issues upon them, were not shallow thinkers; they talked and remembered, we read and forget. In an age when the decline of right manly conversation is lamented, it may be well to notice that Juan Valdés was a great talker, and that his influence was by no means wasted in the air. His words were deeds. Mr. Ticknor, in his History of Spanish Literature, mentions him as "a person who enjoys the distinction of being one of the first Spaniards that embraced the opinions of the Reformation, and the very first who made an effort to spread them." The day may be coming when his long-hidden writings will hold in Spain the place which they deserved more than three hundred years ago.

ART. IV.—*The Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, from the Coming of Julius Cæsar into the Island, in the sixtieth year before the Incarnation of Christ, till the year of our Lord* 731. By the VENERABLE BEDE. *Carefully revised and corrected from the translation of Mr. Stephens.* By Rev. J. A. GILES, LL. D. London: 1840.

THERE are special reasons why English and American scholars should be acquainted with the history of the ancient British and Anglo-Saxon churches, for here were our own ancestors—the fathers and mothers from whom we are lineally descended. Could we trace our lineage backward, from forty to fifty generations, we should find our progenitors either among the rude savages who so sternly resisted the invasion of their country by Julius Cæsar, or among the ruder and fiercer Saxons who conquered the ancient Britons in the fifth century.

The individual to whom we are chiefly indebted for what we know of the first introduction of Christianity into Britain and of its re-introduction, when it had been subverted by the Saxon invasion, is the Venerable Bede.* He is as much the father of English church history as Eusebius is of church history in general.

Bede was born, A. D. 672, in the vicinity of Durham, in a village now called Farrow, near the mouth of the Tyne. Having early lost both his parents, he was placed, by his relatives, in a monastery at Weremouth, where he was educated with much strictness, and became in youth, it is hoped, a child of God. He was afterward removed to a monastery at Jurrow, where he spent the remainder of his life. These monasteries were of the order of the Benedictines, which, in their earliest and purest times, were useful institutions. The monks lived abstemiously, and divided their waking hours between study, devotion, and labor. Many of them were employed in transcribing books; and we are indebted to them for much

* Gildas, surnamed the Wise, was the most ancient British historian. He is supposed to have died at Bangor (Wales), about the year 590. His only complete work now extant is *Epistola de Excidio et Castigatione Ordinis Ecclesiastici*, in which he graphically depicts and mourns over the ruin of his country by the Saxons. He is often referred to by Bede.

that we know of ancient sacred and classical literature. The labor performed by them was agriculture, gardening, and the various mechanical trades, by which means they made their lands productive, and supplied, in a great measure, their own personal wants.

From his earliest years Bede was a diligent student, and he soon came to be regarded as the most learned man of his time. He was well skilled in the Greek and Hebrew languages, while the Latin, in which most of his works are written, was to him as his mother-tongue. He was ordained deacon in the nineteenth, and presbyter in the thirtieth year of his age; and to higher promotion he did not aspire.

Bede never knew what it was to be idle. He gave himself to the study of the Scriptures, to the instruction of young men, and to the preparation of numerous literary and religious works. He wrote on most of the branches of knowledge at that time cultivated in Europe. His fame soon spread beyond the bounds of England, and was celebrated in the surrounding countries. He was invited by Pope Sergius to visit Rome, but the great world had no charms for him. He preferred the routine and seclusion of monastic life, and it does not appear that he ever wandered far from his cell.

The works of Bede have been published in eight folio volumes, consisting of commentaries on nearly the whole Bible, numerous homilies and letters, and a great number of tracts. But his most valuable work, and that by which he is now chiefly known, is his "Ecclesiastical History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the year 731"—only four years previous to his death. This work was undertaken at the special request of Ceolwulph, one of the Saxon kings, to whom it was dedicated, and in whose dominions Bede's monastery was placed. He spent many years in collecting materials for his history, which he gathered from the lives and letters of particular persons, from the annals of convents, and from such chronicles as had been written before his time. He died, at the age of sixty-three, of an affection of the lungs, attended with great difficulty of respiration. His last work was a translation of "John's Gospel" into English. Only a short time before his death, his amanuensis said to him: "My

beloved master, one sentence of your translation remains to be written."—"Write it quickly," replied the dying man; and summoning up all his spirits, like the last blaze of a candle, he indited the passage, and expired.

Bede's dying scene was peaceful and glorious. His body was interred in the church of his own convent, but was afterward removed to Durham, and placed in the same coffin with that of St. Cuthbert. According to the fashion of the times, his tomb was often visited, and his relics were held in the highest honor.

Bede was a sincere and devout member of the Church of Rome,—as Rome was in the eighth century,—and sympathized with the Romish clergy in their disputes with the British and Scottish missionaries of those times about Easter, the tonsure, and other matters of the like nature. Still, he bears ample testimony to the piety of the Scottish missionaries, and especially honors them for their strict adherence to the teachings of Scripture.

Various opinions have been expressed by different authors respecting the character of Bede's writings—some extolling them immoderately, and others disparaging them as much. Du Pin says: "His style is clear and easy, but without purity, elegance, or sublimity. He wrote with a surprising facility, but without art or reflection, and was a greater master of learning than of judgment or critical taste." On the other hand, Bayle says: "There is scarcely any thing, in all antiquity, that is worthy to be read, which is not found in Bede; and if he had flourished in the times of Augustine, Jerome, and Chrysostom, he would undoubtedly have equalled them." And Pitts tells us that "he was so well versed in the several branches of learning that Europe scarce ever produced a greater scholar. Even while he was living, his writings were of so great authority, that it was ordered, by a council held in England, and afterward approved at Rome, that they should be publicly read in churches."

If we would form a just estimate of Bede, we must judge of him, not by our standards, but by that of his own times. And weighed in this balance, he is entitled to a high rank, both as a scholar and a writer. That he was superstitious

and credulous there can be no doubt—as was every other churchman of the eighth century. That he believed in marvels and miracles, and has written of them, *ad nauseam*, in his history, is also certain. Nevertheless, he was a diligent searcher for the facts of history, and when he speaks from his own knowledge, he is always reliable. He is reliable, too, as a narrator of what he had heard from others, though not always a voucher for its truth. His style is direct, readable, and more nearly classical than that of many of the fathers. We are not surprised, therefore, to hear him favorably spoken of by such men as Selden, Sir Henry Spelman, and Bishop Stillingfleet.

The piety of Bede, as might be expected, was that of the cloister; and yet he seems to have been a truly religious man, and the same remark may be extended to most of the Romish and Scottish missionaries, who were engaged at that period in planting churches throughout the Heptarchy, and bringing back England to the faith of the Gospel. The clergy were, in general, a self-denying and laborious class of men, exposed to many dangers, and inured to hardship, in their endeavors to enlighten the stubborn Saxons, and lead them in the way of truth. We may deplore their superstitions, and laugh at what seems to us their frivolous disputes; but we can but admire their zeal, their diligence, their cheerful endurance, and constant privations in carrying forward the work they had undertaken. Nor can any one of English descent avoid thinking of his own personal indebtedness to these men, and to the cause in which they were engaged. What had been the condition of England at this day, and what our own condition, but for their persistent efforts to turn our heathen ancestors from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God!

The island of Great Britain seems to have been settled, originally, by three distinct races or classes of men. The Britons, who inhabited all the southern part of the island, were Celts, who came over from Gaul, and in character and language were like the other Gauls. The Scots were from Ireland, which was the original Scotia, while the Picts were of Scythian descent. Fifty-three years before the birth of

Christ,—or fifty-nine years, according to Bede,—Julius Cæsar, having conquered Gaul, commenced his attack upon the British islands. The conquest, however, was not completed until near the close of the first century after Christ. Indeed, the Romans never conquered the whole of Britain, but only that part of it which now bears the name of England. This became, at length, a Roman province, and so continued for more than three hundred years.

When, and by what means, Christianity was first introduced into Britain, it is impossible to say. Many are of the opinion that the Gospel was preached there by the Apostles, or certainly in the apostolic age. Thus Eusebius testifies that some in this age "passed over the sea to those which are called the British Islands."* And Clement of Rome says, that Paul "preached righteousness through the whole world, and in so doing went to *the utmost bounds of the West;*" which may mean that, after his first imprisonment, he preached it, not only in Spain and Gaul, but also in Britain.

That Christianity prevailed in Britain in the second century, extending even beyond the conquests of the Romans, is certain, from the testimony of Tertullian. For, in writing against the Jews, he mentions, among the nations which had embraced the Gospel, not only the Getuli, and the Mauri, and the Spanish clans, and the different tribes of Gaul, but "*the regions of the Britons, inaccessible to the Romans, but subject to Christ.*"

Bede tells of a British king, Lucius, who, about the middle of the second century, applied to Eleutherus, bishop of Rome, for teachers, to instruct him and his people in the doctrines of Christianity. There may have been such a tributary king in Britain at this time, and the story of his having received teachers from Rome is not improbable. This does not imply, however, that Christianity had not previously secured an entrance into some parts of Britain, though it had not reached the court of the king.

That Christianity had become firmly established in England before its abandonment by the Romans in the beginning of

* Demonstratio Evangelica, Lib. iii., cap. 7.

the fifth century, is indubitable. It was during this period that the British churches suffered persecution under Diocletian, and were troubled by the Arian and Pelagian heresies. But their great, overwhelming trouble was from another source. After the subversion of the Roman government, the southern part of the island was invaded by the Picts and Scots from the north; and in their distress, the Britons invited the Saxons of Germany to come to their relief. The Saxons, who were still pagans, came, at several times, and in great numbers; drove back the Picts and Scots, and compelled the native Britons to retire,—some to Cornwall and Wales, some to Ireland, and some to other countries. The conquest by the Saxons was not effected, however, without a struggle. The Britons fought bravely for their religion and their homes; but, after a contest of one hundred and fifty years, they were subdued, and the Heptarchy was established. The old British churches were nearly all destroyed, paganism prevailed, and England needed to be converted to Christianity a second time.

This work of re-conversion and evangelization commenced near the close of the sixth century. The story of Augustine and his forty monks, who were sent over by Gregory, bishop of Rome, to impart the Gospel to the Anglo-Saxons, is familiar to every reader. The kingdom of Kent was first converted; then that of the East-Angles; and afterward,—amidst trials and struggles, running through the space of almost a hundred years,—the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy. While Augustine and his missionaries from Rome were laboring in the south of England, Oswald, king of Northumberland,—the northernmost branch of the Heptarchy,—applied for teachers to another source. A missionary school—or convent as it was called—had been for some time established at Iona, one of the Hebrides Islands, under the direction of Columba, an Irish monk, from which proceeded, for a long course of years, a most valuable class of missionaries, called Culdees. For one of these Oswald made application; and Aidan was sent to instruct him in the faith. The character of this missionary would have done honor to the purest times. He gave to the poor whatever presents he received from the rich, and

diligently employed himself, with his associates, in the study of the Holy Scriptures. He strictly avoided every thing luxurious, and every appearance of secular avarice and ambition. He redeemed captives with the money that was given to him, and afterward instructed them, and fitted them for the ministry. He labored, indeed, under a disadvantage, in not being able to speak the language of the English; but King Oswald, who perfectly understood both languages, acted as his interpreter, and did what he could to assist him in his labors. The zeal of this monarch was extraordinary. He was a nursing father to the infant church. Encouraged by his protection, more missionaries came from Iona, and churches in considerable numbers were gathered.

Aidan was their first bishop, and had his seat at Lindisfarne, a small island in the German Sea. He was succeeded in office by Finan, and he by Colman, both of whom were ordained and sent forth from the school at Iona.*

This work of evangelizing England, being commenced in the south, by missionaries from Rome, and in the north by missionaries from Iona, in a little time, the two classes of teachers came together; when it was found that, on several points of doctrine and practice, they did not agree. They differed as to the proper time of observing Easter; the northern missionaries following, on this point, the Asiatic churches, and the southern the church of Rome. The northern missionaries did not practise auricular confession; they rejected penance and priestly absolution; they made no use of chrism in baptism, or of confirmation; they opposed the doctrine of the real presence; they condemned the worship of saints and angels; they dedicated their church to God, and not to the saints; they placed no reliance on merits of any kind, except the merits of Jesus Christ; they were opposed to the celibacy of the clergy, and were themselves married men. In short, they were witnesses to the simple truths and institutions of the Gospel, in an age of abounding and increasing superstition.

* As these men, having no other than Presbyterian ordination, officiated as bishops, and ordained others, this fact has cast no little uncertainty upon the alleged uninterrupted apostolical succession of bishops in England.

Controversies on these points, as might be expected, soon, sprang up in England, various synods and conferences were held with a view to reconciling differences; but in vain. The ecclesiastics from Rome were bigoted and overbearing. The missionaries from Iona had learned their religion from the Bible, and could be convinced on no other authority. The kings, however, rather inclined to the customs of Rome, as being the more fascinating and imposing, and the Scots were obliged after a time, to give way. Colman, the third bishop from Iona, left his charge in the year 662, and returned with many of his adherents into Scotland. Bede informs us that, "the Catholic institution daily increasing, all the Scots who resided among the Angles either conformed to it, or returned to their own country."

It would be interesting to pursue the ecclesiastical history of England till the subversion of the Heptarchy, which took place under Egbert, king of the West Saxons, about the year 828. At this time he became sole monarch of the country, and called it *Angleland* or *England*. But we have already transcended the limits of Bede, and may as well stop.

At the close of the brief sketch which has been given, interesting reflections crowd upon us. We can notice but two or three.

1. We see at what an expense of waiting and watching, of toil and conflict, of treasure and of blood,—an expenditure running on through long ages and centuries of mingled light and darkness, of superstition and sincere devotion,—our privileges, as Anglo-Americans, have been purchased for us.

Tantae molis erat Romanum condere gentem.

Let us learn how to prize these dear-bought privileges. Let us be sure to preserve them, and transmit them unimpaired to future generations,—as the past have transmitted them to us.

2. We see that naught but a Divine power accompanying Christianity, and a vital energy in the system itself, would have sustained it through so many trials and dangers, and given it the victory over them. One of the most striking symbols of God's church and kingdom to be found in the Bi-

ble, is that of the burning bush. The bush was all in a glow and flame, and yet it was not consumed. So the Church of God in general, and the Church of England in particular, has been ever in the fire,—the flame burning more fiercely at some times than others,—and why does it survive at all? Why is it not consumed? These questions admit of but one answer. The Lord is with it, and in it; and while he is in it, by his sustaining power, how can it die? It must live, and grow, and triumph forever.

3. There is yet another lesson to be learned from the history over which we have passed, and one on which it is proper to dwell, viz., *our personal indebtedness to the cause of missions*, and our *obligations*, on this account, *to love that cause*, and *to sustain it.* Our remote British ancestors, let it never be forgotten, were a race of fierce and cruel pagans. Their priests, the Druids, were among the most exacting and cruel that ever inhabited the dark places of the earth. They dwelt in impenetrable forests, kept themselves and their religious rites in profound secrecy and mystery, and were thus enabled to hold all around them in a state of the most debasing terror and bondage. They are said to have been worshippers of the oak; and when their sacred tree was felled, would deify its shapeless stump. The mistletoe, a small shrub attaching to the boughs of the oak, was an object of high veneration. Their sacrifices were offered in thick groves, and on some occasions in inclosures formed of massy stones. One of them, denominated Stonehenge, is partly standing in England at the present time, and the sites of several others have been discovered.

It will give us a sufficiently dreadful idea of the rites of the Druids, and the religious customs of our pagan ancestors, to know that they were in the frequent if not constant practice of offering human sacrifices. Their victims were, in general, selected from among criminals; but when these were wanting, they did not scruple to sacrifice innocent persons. Lucan, in his description of a grove in which the Druids performed their rites, after stating that the trees were so thick and interwoven that the sun could not penetrate through their branches, adds: "There was nothing to be seen there but a

multitude of altars, upon which the Druids sacrificed human victims, whose blood turned the very trees of a horrid crimson color." In time of war, great numbers of prisoners were often sacrificed together. They were inclosed in large wicker cages made of rods, in form resembling a monster man, to which being surrounded by combustible materials, fire was applied, and they were consumed to ashes. It is evidence of the horrible nature of the superstition here described, that the Romans, who were proverbially tolerant toward the different species of idolatry practised in their provinces, were excited to vengeance by the cruelties of the Druids, and attempted to put an end to them by force.

Such, then, were our British ancestors—the fathers and mothers from whom, in all probability some of us are lineally descended. And we refer to them here, that we may the more deeply feel our obligations to those heroic men who first went among them, at the peril of their lives, to preach to them the Gospel of Christ. Not by tortures, punishment, and war, but by the saving, humanizing influence of the Gospel, they quenched the fires, and overturned the altars, and destroyed the groves of the murderous Druids, and rescued those from whom we derive our being from the horrors of heathenism, here and hereafter. At two different periods was England enlightened and evangelized by the toils and sufferings of Christian missionaries. Let us then never forget our indebtedness to the cause of missions, and our obligations to sustain and extend it. Every consideration which could have induced Christians, more than a thousand years ago, to send the Gospel to our heathen fathers, and thus snatch them and us from the horrors of a bloody and idolatrous superstition, are now urging us to send the same Gospel to those who dwell in darkness and in the region and shadow of death. Our personal indebtedness to missions is certainly a powerful reason—one suited to come home to every bosom, why we should awake to our duty in this respect, and engage in the work of spreading the Gospel with new devotedness and zeal.

## Art. V.—*The Trial Period in History.*

Man was made in the image of his Maker,—a conscious, rational, and immortal being. This constitutes the vast difference between him and all the lower ranks of creation. With an upright will, he was yet capable of deflection, else he could not have fallen. He possessed affections that twined around the true and good, which, nevertheless, might turn and clasp the evil and the false; otherwise how could he be capable of trial. In this freedom lies the superiority of mind and conscience over matter and animal instinct.

This difference explains, too, the mastery of man over nature, and the progress of the race in science, civilization, and moral refinement. It also accounts for its mastery over him, when, falling into moral debasement, he is governed by appetite and passion, instead of reason.

"Two things overwhelm me," said Kant,—"the star-sown deep of space, and right and wrong." Of the two, the latter is far more sublime and appalling. The stars have no power of deflection from their normal course. The high capability of this in man is just that moral endowment in which the likeness to his Maker consists, and without which, improvement or deterioration would be impossible. In this primal fact of the divine likeness in man, lies the key to human history and a clew to human destiny.

This fearful possibility of wrong comes first into actual history, in what may be called The Trial Period.

But there meets us here the preliminary question of man's physical and intellectual status at the starting point. Three theories have found more or less acceptance.

First, a literal infancy, capable, by time and growth, of bodily and mental development and maturity.

Second, a physical maturity, but intellectual and moral savageism.

Third, a mental and moral, as well as physical completeness, in a fulness of faculties which nature and the divine tui-

tion brought into immediate use in the acquisition of knowledge, and the felicities of obedience and love.

Which, now, is the true theory? Not that of infantile weakness. For Eve, who could not have grown from infancy in the brief slumber of the man during which she was made, appeared in blooming womanhood, when, on waking, he welcomed her as his wife. So Adam, it would seem, was not created a babe, that by years and growth obtained maturity, but in the capability of acquiring knowledge, and with a full responsibility for rightly using it. All other parents being born, were once babes. But these first parents were not born and were never babes. Things that grow, reach perfection gradually. Those which are created, start normally in it, and may advance or retrograde. This seems to be a creative law. According to the testimony of geology, every species, however low, comes into being at the point of its own ideal as a species.

The theory of barbarism as the historic starting point, elaborated by Condorcet and espoused by Bunsen and others, is not supported either by facts or analogies. For although a cannibal savageism is the lowest stage of society, this is certainly no more an intimation that the human race commenced at that point, than the inebriation of a few adults is, that all men are born intoxicated. Cannibalism shows how low humanity has fallen, not its state at the commencement.

All barbarisms perpetuate and intensify themselves by a law as fixed as that of gravitation. They all are traceable, historically, as a degeneracy from something higher and better. No savageism, by its own force, ever emerges to civilization. Niebuhr affirms that there is not in all history a single instance of such emergence. Hence no essential advances are indigenous, but all come to it from without. These general facts perfectly harmonize with the sacred record, and help to settle this question of status at the commencement of history.

Swedenborg adopts a theory from the old Hindoo philosophy which combines the two—infancy and barbarism. He represents man as making his entrance into the world from an egg, incubated by the Supreme, on the branch of a tree. In due time the parturient branch rested its burden on a leafy couch.

When the term of gestation was completed, the infant broke through its bars into the waiting world. From this vegetable maternity he passed slowly through childhood and youth to a mute manhood. For several generations he and his descendants had only a vegetable respiration. Their only language was the inaudible movements of the lips with the gesticulations of the face and fingers, and their only hearing through the mouth and by the Eustachian tube.

But the vegetable kingdom, according to the best lights of science, holds no maternal relation to the animal, nor filial to the mineral. God, as Creator, is, indeed, man's Father; but nature is not his mother. And the birth of one kingdom or species from another is contradicted equally by the sacred record and the natural sciences.

From all the diverse theories of spontaneous generation, of transmutation, natural selection and development, the historical and scientific thought turns away more and more unsatisfied and dissatisfied, to the simple announcements of the divine Word: "So God created man in his own image." He starts thence, not as a philosopher, but with natural intuitions far better than inventions or mere tuitions. He possesses a rich mental and moral furniture, adequate both to the acquisition and the use of knowledge.

It is an extravagance to say with South, that "an Aristotle was but the rubbish of an Adam," though in some respects the Adam was better than the Aristotle. For it is not mere conjecture that the first type of humanity, the starting-point of history, was neither barbarism nor infancy, but the beginning of a high moral and religious civilization.

What is civilization if its elements are not found in this period? Here, at the very first, by admission of the philologists, is language sufficient in its social and zoologic use, for both science and society. Here is the marriage relation, in the purest and most sacred monogamy—a relation which barbarism always corrupts and which modern civilization does not entirely restore, or even preserve in its primitive purity. Here, in the care of the garden, is horticulture, with its hygienic and refining influence; and here is monotheism in its simple grandeur,—the central educating power of all that

is noble and true, of which polytheism, and pantheism, and fetichism are barbaric perversions. And here, too, is the Sabbath of rest,—a heart-worship of the Supreme by souls erect in good and in God's image, as yet unmarred.

Man's first great movement harmonizes with this view. It shows him to be a rational being and a subject of definite law. In the keeping and culture of the garden of which he was the sole human proprietor, there was the largest liberty of enjoyment. These first occupants of the fertile and blooming earth were full of loyalty to their sovereign and happiness in each other. But their loyalty was untried.

> "This one, this easy charge of all the trees
> In Paradise that bear delicious fruit,
> So various, not to taste that only Tree
> Of Knowledge, planted by the Tree of Life;—
> So near grows death to life."

Perhaps it is God's ordinance that no finite virtue can be entirely firm and trustworthy till it has passed the ordeal of temptation. Certainly it cannot be heroic till it has fought with evil and conquered. The subjects of moral government cannot become conscious of their full loyal power till they have complied with prohibitory as well as requiratory law. Neither can they attain the highest development of their upright faculties and the greatest nobleness of character, but by shunning error and evil as well as by aspirations after the good and the true. Hence every wise ruler finds it necessary to include the disciplinary force of the prohibition of wrong with the requisition of right.

These fundamental principles were operative in Paradisiacal history, and give trial as the characteristic of this first movement. All the trees of the garden were permitted to its occupants except one. The fruit of that was forbidden, and under penalty: "In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die."

The object of this discipline and of all wise prohibitory law, is the preservation of loyalty to truth and good, and the reenforcement of virtue by a more distinct consciousness of its worth. The positive command is the formulated moral principle. It is another of the uses of this prohibition, to illustrate

the liberty of will in finite agents, without which freedom they could not be the subjects of moral government.

"Many there be," says Milton, "that complain of Divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! When God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had been else a mere artificial Adam."

Here are some of the great principles of government, the seeds of history. And the simplicity, the apparent insignificance even of the form of the trial, instead of a stumbling-block, is a beautiful instance of that wisdom by which the weightiest results are often reached through means, to human reason, most inadequate and unfit. That this law was so simple, concise, and so perfectly intelligible, and that the consequences of disobedience were so explicitly stated, is a signal proof of Divine wisdom. Where great interests are staked on obedience, it is incompetency or despotism that leaves confusion or unnecessary complexity in legal enactments. This first statute is admirable in every quality of legislation.

Here, now, is the race introduced upon the world's great movements, in a dual unity; with their Maker for their Teacher, and the heavens and the earth for their illustrated text-books.

For a time they abide in obedience and felicity. But a dark scene soon opens. A new and disturbing agent makes his appearance. The third chapter of Genesis records a conversation between the new-made woman and a tempter in the form of the serpent. It indicates a rationality as real and palpable on the one side as the other,—inexperienced guilelessness assailed by malignant cunning and craftiness.

The term serpent, from *serpo*, to creep, very inadequately conveys the content of the Hebrew word, נָחָשׁ. The former expresses only brute being, and the latter an investigating and shrewdly reasoning creature. The rational rules in the whole scene, and is the sole tempting force. A bold impeachment of the infinite Lawgiver, on the injustice and unreasonableness of his prohibitory enactment, opens the great trial.

The woman is taken very adroitly in the absence of her

more reasoning husband. A natural curiosity puts her on a venture.

> "Let us divide our labors; thou where choice
> Leads thee, or where most needs.
> While I
> In yonder spring of roses, intermixed
> With myrtle, find what to redress till noon."

In her conscious innocence, she feels more than equal to any temptation that might fall in her way :—

> "Let us not, then, suspect our happy state,
> Left so imperfect by the Maker wise,
> As not secure to single or combined."

But the tempter came. First she listens, then wavers. Can it be sin to know? Next, she wishes to be wiser, then, disbelieving, puts forth her hand to the forbidden tree.

The admission, at this point, of a third factor in history—a distinct, personal agent—is objected to by about all sceptical schools. The narrative is divided by some into fact and fiction, and by others, resolved into pure fancy. Others allegorize and find a moral with its machinery,—some great facts dressed in fable.

But what are the facts and what the fancies? On this, the objectors are not agreed. One party understands by the narrative, the lapse of man into some sort of evil; and another party his advancement in freedom up to true manhood. The prohibition, the garden, the trees, and a personal tempter are poetic drapery. What is the value of this criticism?

As the discoveries in natural science vindicate the historic character of the creative period in Genesis, so also do the principles of historical science discredit, with equal explicitness, the idea of allegoric machinery and poetic fancy in respect to the temptation and fall in this trial period.

The actual presence of sin and of death in the world, and hence their commencement somewhere, is one of the most patent events in history. And these two facts are clearly traceable to this first human pair. As sin, in its nature, is a transgression of order and law, it must have had its beginning in the infraction of command. This infraction supposes in man an antecedent condition of loyalty and of trial. It sup-

poses also a prohibitory law and circumstances of temptation, in harmony with this trial. And just this concurrence of particulars is found in the record in minute detail.

There is the garden, its geographic boundaries, its rivers, and its mineral treasures,—all historic verities. There are the many trees that are permitted, and among them, the tree of life, the sacramental symbol of primitive obedience and communion. There stands the forbidden tree, whose fruit, to the eaters, made it the tree of knowledge,—of good, sorrowfully, from a sense of its loss; and of evil, by its bitter experience. What more natural than this grouping of elements, and what more harmonious?

If this is not all veritable history, who shall tell where the history ends and the fiction begins? The garden,—who knows that it was not a real, but only a poetic, garden? And the trees,—what proof that they were only fancy and not real trees? The tempted,—was she not a veritable body-and-soul woman? Why, then, was not her tempter a veritable, personal instigator to evil?

Besides, tried by the highest literary and scientific tests, this providential record is accredited as an historical and not a poetic document. The writer has every appearance of a plain narrator of fundamental facts. No such writer mingles, confusedly, fiction with facts. If the serpent be resolved into an impersonal, mythical tempter, by the same rule, the tempted will fall into an impersonal, mythical woman. By the same logic, we must construe the prohibition and her disobedience into allegory. Then why not construe the creation of the race, the origin of moral government, and the Great Ruler himself,—all into allegory? For allegory, as well as history, demands of those who write it, harmony and self-consistency. This narrative must be one or the other; it cannot be both.

Upon these general principles, the inspired record vindicates itself in respect to the trial and fall of man, as thoroughly historic, both in its drift and detail. It is a simple and continuous narrative. It has not a single element of poetry, or sign of allegory or mythology. It is consistent with itself throughout, and with all subsequent history. And

it accounts for the origin of moral evil and death, to which, otherwise, we have no historical or ethical clew.

Other important events make it evident that here comes into the movements of the world a third class of actors. The prince of these is called, in the Hebrew, Satan, and in the Greek, Diabolus, both expressing the same idea of tempter, adversary, a lier-in-wait. And because of his first appearance in human history in the guise of the serpent, John, the revelator, designates him as "the great dragon, that old serpent, the devil, and Satan." Christ, referring to his diabolical agency in the temptation, calls him "a murderer from the beginning, a liar, and the father of it."

In the later history, when the woman, which is the church, fled into the wilderness from the face of the serpent, the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after her. "And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God and have the testimony of Jesus." Here, the ineradicable antagonism, which appears so early in history between these two representative personages, is seen to continue with unabated force in its later stages.

But what are the qualities of this new element which comes into history, as disclosed in the events immediately following? Crest-fallen shame, in the place of open-faced innocence; a patchwork of fig-leaves instead of the robes of heavenly purity; gloomy fear of him who, before, was the object of their reverent and joyous love. Then came black falsehood,—a schism of the soul from truth, assigning nakedness instead of guilt as a reason for this fear. The man meanly excuses himself by inculpating his wife, and wickedly reflecting on his Maker. She palliates her case by casting the blame on the serpent, the mover of all these schisms and seditions.

On the next page of the record the dark drama opens into what is still more tragic. The new element is not a mere atom, without links or length, but has continuity as a positive force in human nature. The schism between these first parents and their Maker, and also between themselves, extends to their children. Here lies the second born, a martyr, and there stands the eldest born, his murderer,—speedy harvest of that

first sad seed sowing. In the fratricidal son re-appears, and in bolder characters, the same scene of crimination, falsehood, and impugning of God's justice. How complete the separation of man from his fellow, in this separation from God, his Maker.

But in this trial period, another character appears, whose influence also sweeps through the whole historic course. In the curse pronounced upon the serpent-tempter, God says to him,—"I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed. It shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel."

In this pre-announced hostility of these two parties, is given the cause and the programme of the conflicts of the ages. The introduction of a new representative personage—the seed of the woman, makes more clear and certain the personality of the serpent-tempter, who is confronted by him.

But who is this seed of the woman, thus introduced as the moral and historical opponent of the great tempter and deceiver?

Recall here the primal condition of man, in perfect harmony with himself and his Maker, as the key to the temptation and the fall. Then this degeneracy places itself in our hand as a clew to the regeneracy which follows. Notice also, that both these personages—the seed of the woman and the serpent-tempter—are presented under the law of pedigree. The lineage of the tempter is ethical only, an affinity of evil. Those are his children who do his works. The genealogy of the seed of the woman is both physical and moral. It commences with her who fell from her primeval loyalty and drew her husband along with her. It introduces the idea of a suffering, but finally conquering Messiah, an idea, which, like a thread of light, prophecy and history make more and more visible as the plan of Providence unfolds.

Here, then, among these trees of Paradise, opens the great drama of providence and history. The chief *dramatis personæ*, as now introduced, are the seed of the woman and the serpent-tempter. Two competing kingdoms take their rise here. Two antagonistic forces,—truth and error, freedom and oppression, order and anarchy, meet here, of which these per-

sonages are the respective leaders. Thus through the revolving ages, these two rival powers have been struggling for the mastery.

Now one seems to bear down every thing of truth and good. Then it is checked, and the other makes advances. To a spectator of this first deflection, coming so near the starting point, it might seem that all was lost. But a little star glimmers in the darkness,—a foretold seed of the woman, whose recuperative power is so far felt in the family of the first offenders, that religious worship is restored. One son, at least, and probably the parents, turn back to faith in God and loyalty to his government. The lost life of love is thus made to reflow in the veins of humanity and to vitalize again the course of history.

But what has Providence to do in this dramatic action? where is the sovereignty? where the plan? And to what do these dark beginnings tend? It will help us in seeking an answer to these questions, to glance at the factors which have now been brought into the historic arena. These are God, man, and the devil, or evil angels.

The construction of history will be theistic or pantheistic, colorless or Christian, according to the view taken of these three agents. On theistic principles, they are perfectly distinct, yet all act in the harmony of a divine plan, and according to the idea of a problem and progress in history.

The atheistic view entirely excludes the Supreme, and shuts out the possibility of a plan and rational history.

The pantheistic resolution of these factors into an eternally expanding and contracting substance, confuses every thing, and makes progress, except in a mere treadmill-movement, impossible. The effect and the cause are one. Being and non-being, something and nothing, are identical. Listen to one of these wise men out of the east.

"Mathematics," says Oken, "is based on nothing. The eternal is the nothing of nature. Animals are men who never imagine, and men are the whole of mathematics. Theology is arithmetic personified. God is a rotary globe and there is no other form for him. The liver is the soul in a state of sleep; the brain is the soul active and awake. Circumspec-

tion and forethought appear to be the thoughts of bivalve mollusca and snails. Gazing upon a snail, one believes that he finds the prophesying goddess sitting upon a tripod; what majesty is in a creeping snail! what reflection! what earnestness! what timidity and yet what confidence!"

Such is the acme of the pantheistic philosophy, the sublimation of rarefied modern theologic science. It has its starting point in the infinite as the nothing of nature, and its goal in the anthropologic wisdom and majesty of a snail.

How simple and intelligible in comparison with this confusion, is the course of providence in history. And how welcome the relief which it brings from the inanities and platitudes of these heathenish speculations!

Of the three factors which appear in history, God as the divine, is supreme, the cause of all other causes and of all things. His agency is a perfect unit, and its characteristics, wisdom, justice, and love. He acts in and through his intelligent creatures, and yet they act with as much freedom as if they were the sole agents. All things transpire according to his providential plan, and also in harmony with the creature's liberty and accountability.

Moral evil came into the world not unforeseen or unprovided for. It came neither by God's direct agency, nor because he had not power to prevent it if wisdom and benevolence had dictated. Every possible plan was open before the sovereign ruler,—that in which good is universal, that, in which evil is universal, and that in which they mingle. He chose the last, and this is the actual course of history. We may not be able to see all the reasons for such a choice. But that does not invalidate the wisdom of it, or the benevolence of the plan. The evil comes in against prohibition and against right, else it would not be evil. It comes in by providential toleration, else it would not come at all.

If God could not have kept sin out of history, and if its absence were necessary to the best administration, he is not infinite, not adequate to the best system of moral government. But since its existence is a palpable fact, and it is one of the great forces, and the problem of history turns so much on its treatment, its permission points to some object that will in

the end vindicate the providential course as wise, and make history a complete theodicy.

The human factor is created and dependent, and falls into the rank of secondary causes. Ethically, it is either antagonistic to the sovereign factor, concurrent with it, or partly both. Since the lapse of man, the concurrency with the divine is the result of a recuperative providence, through the seed of the woman.

Only so far as the human will is brought into agreement with the divine, can the two agencies have a free and harmonious movement. And as this agreement is not absolute in the life of the best, while on earth, the human factor is here partly concurrent, and partly discordant—the discords in the history of good men vanishing more and more until they finally disappear in a complete and eternal harmony. Hence, the phenomenon of imperfection, of degrees in moral excellence, the triumph of good over evil in some, and that of evil over good in others.

Underneath all the forms of human agency, as opposed to fate, lies man's freedom. Of fatalism history knows nothing, for fate and providence are moral contradictions.

But what is freedom? Hegel defines it pantheistically, as self-sustained existence. It is its own object of attainment, its own law of development, and is under an absolute necessity of unfoldment. Hence, only the infinite and absolute is free. But since all is God, by this philosophy, all, in some stage, are free.

Historical, responsible freedom consists in the completeness of personality—the power of choosing and of refusing, as radical forms of moral conduct. This will-power is the indispensable condition of moral agency, the distinguishing feature of personality. The exercise of it constitutes the entire human part in history. All personal action must be free in order to be personal. This freedom is a primal part of God's image in man.

Hence, though man is a creature, he is, in a limited sense, a creator also. He originates his own thoughts, makes his own history, his character, and, to a certain extent, his destiny. Yet these human creations and this human history are subor-

dinate to the divine plan, and make a part of it. They are determined by providence, yet are perfectly free, and free because made to be so. To this freedom, which some call an illusion, consciousness bears the fullest testimony.

But there are some limiting impossibilities connected with this freedom of the human factor. It cannot detach itself from dependence on the Supreme Factor. It cannot withdraw itself from providential control, or subservience to the solving problems of history. It is limited by the finiteness of the human faculties. It can side with the good or the evil, but not with both at the same time. Nor can it stand neutral. The first deflectors from the primeval rectitude were free in their transgressions, and were moved to it by natural causes and influences. But when they had taken the step, and turned the historic course downward, a supernatural agency became necessary to turn it back again. Degeneracies come by the influence of natural laws and forces. But regeneracies spring from a power that is supernatural, that touches the will with a divine magnetism, that draws it back again to truth and good, in the fulness of its force and freedom.

Of the angels, the third class of factors, a part are loyal and a part disloyal. In respect to their origin, we have little or no definite information. But our knowledge of their existence is very clear, from what we know of their agency.

These angels had a beginning anterior to the creation of man; but how far anterior, we have no means of determining. Of those fallen from primitive holiness, one—the arch-traitor, by guile and falsehood, drew the progenitors of the human race from a regular development to a schismatic and degenerate one.

It is in connection with these apostate spirits that the problem of moral evil first meets us. Why was it permitted? Who was the first tempter? Or did the first sin come without temptation? What motive to evil could prevail over the tendency to good, where all was good? How could wills, erect in truth and right, and with the strength of original constitution, bend downward to error and wrong? These are metaphysical, rather than historical questions. Yet the providence which is in all human history, is also in this,

which is pre-human. The evil that starts here cannot be detached from that providence which rules everywhere. It makes a dark scene of the unfolding plan. It projects itself into the human course almost at the starting-point, and runs its tragic race through all the generations of mankind.

We cannot, with some, resolve this evil into only "the shady side of good," or a "vanishing negative," the mere "dust of progress." It is an appalling positive, and thus far, it is the dominant phase of history. The problem of suffering is easily solved by the presence of sin. But whence and why came this sin? From the moral freedom of the creature and that infinite permissive wisdom and benevolence which the true idea of theism involves, a wisdom and benevolence which the works of creation everywhere proclaim, and of which the written revelation is still more full and expressive.

The influence of the evil angels or spirits upon the destiny of man is most evident and positive. It has changed the whole course of history. To accomplish his purposes, the prince of these powers of the air darkens the understanding, perverts the judgment, debases the will, and sows the seeds of discontent and strife. He is not mortal, like men, nor eternal, like God: possessing superhuman power, he is not omnipotent; moving with spirit-speed, he is not omniscient. His power is limited by a threefold barrier; the finiteness of his own nature, the connection of cause and effect, and God's perfect control. Beyond any one of these he cannot take a single step.

Twesten portrays with a graphic pen, the characteristics of this peculiar personage:

"He possesses an understanding which misapprehends exactly that which is most worthy to be known, without which nothing can be understood in its true relations; a mind darkened, however deep it may penetrate, and however wide it may reach. Torn away from the centre of life, and never finding it in himself, he is necessarily unblessed. Continually driven to the exterior world, from a sense of inward emptiness, yet with it, as with himself, in eternal contradiction; forever fleeing from God, yet never able to escape him; constantly laboring to frustrate his designs, yet always conscious of being obliged, in the end, to promote them. Instead of hope, a perpetual wavering between doubt and despair; instead of love, a powerless hatred against God, against his fellow-beings, and against himself."

Here are the three great factors of the providential course —God, man, and the angels—with their characteristics and relations. One is purely wise and good; another is a mixture of good and evil; and a portion of the third is purely evil. The divine is always the dominant; the satanic ever the resistant. The human is partly with the one and partly with the other, with a providential movement, slow but sure, back from the starting-point of evil, through the coming conqueror, toward the triumph of the true, the beautiful, and the good.

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## Art. VI.—*The General Assembly.*

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, convened in the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, on Thursday, May 19th, at 11 A. M.

Being the first General Assembly of the re-united church its proceedings were regarded with extraordinary interest, not only on account of the magnitude, the new composition, and circumstances of the body, but on account of the many grave and delicate questions of readjustment and reconstruction to be decided by it.

According to the plan of re-union, as adopted, both Moderators of the bodies now united presided jointly, until the election of a new Moderator was effected—the Rev. Dr. Fowler preaching the sermon, and the Rev. Dr. Jacobus performing all other duties of the office. Dr. Fowler preached from Eph. iv. 4: "There is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling."

Among the many pertinent suggestions of this discourse, in regard to the best means of promoting the unity, purity, growth, and efficiency of the united church, we note one, which we trust will not be forgotten. He said:—

"*The great doctrines of grace are committed to our stewardship.* It devolves on us to keep and dispense them. Our Baptist brethren, who profess them, are occupied with the mode and subjects of baptism, and our Congregational brethren

with their church policy. If Calvinism is cared for, it must be by us, and care for it we will. With all our hearts we embrace it. If not the whole of Christianity, nor the whole of the substance of Christianity, it is indispensable to Christianity. If not the entire soul of the Gospel system of truth, it is its spine, and upholds it. And never was Calvinism more needed than now. The theology of the day is effeminate and flimsy. We must give it backbone."

We hope this will prove the doctrinal key-note of the Presbyterian Church of the future.

Upon the nomination of Dr. Adams, enforced by a felicitous speech, Rev. J. Trumbull Backus, D. D., of the Presbytery of Albany, was appointed Moderator by acclamation, and, in his difficult and delicate position, presided to the entire satisfaction of all parties. With the like unanimity Rev. E. F. Hatfield, D. D., of New York, was elected stated clerk; and the Rev. Cyrus Dickson, D. D., of Baltimore, permanent clerk. Dr. V. D. Reed, Judge McCoy, and Mr. Ezra S. Kingsley were appointed temporary clerks. A resolution complimentary to the former clerks of each Assembly, not re-elected, was unanimously passed. It was impossible, without doubling the force, to make places for them in the united Assembly. While abundantly satisfied with the gentlemen elected, we should have been glad if some way could have been devised by which the church could have still availed itself of the services of its former able and accomplished clerks.

Reports of the various committees appointed in Pittsburgh on re-construction, the boards, and other matters requiring adjustment in the re-united church were heard, docketed, and disposed of in their order. These consumed nearly the whole time of this unusually protracted session of the body. We can only refer to them in their order when we treat of the final disposal of them by the Assembly. Indeed, we can at most barely touch on a few of the most salient or controverted points.

### *Christianity and Common Schools.*

The subjoined resolutions, accompanied by an able report from Dr. Prentiss, chairman of the committee on the subject, were enthusiastically adopted by the Assembly. They confirm the judgment we expressed in our last number, as to the

drift of the Protestant and Evangelical mind of the country on this great subject.

"1. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly regard the free public school as an essential part of our republican system, as conducive in the highest degree to the moral unity, common spirit, and kindly sympathies of American citizenship, and as closely connected with all the best interests of Christian society in the United States.

"2. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of the General Assembly the divorce of popular education from all religious elements, while involving a radical departure from the spirit and principles in which our public school had its origin, would be eminently unwise, unjust, and a moral calamity to the nation.

"3. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly are also entirely opposed to the appropriation of any portion of the public school funds for the support of sectarian institutions, and would regard the establishment of such a policy as fraught with the greatest mischief, not only to the cause of popular education, but hardly less to the interests of American freedom, unity, and progress.

"4. *Resolved*, That whereas the Bible is not only the *Magna Charta* of the spiritual rights and liberties of mankind, but is also pre-eminently our National Book, the best model of our mother tongue, and the fountain of our highest thought and of our ruling ideas, both in private and public life, the General Assembly would regard its expulsion from the schools of the people as a deplorable and suicidal act; nor can they perceive that any real advantage could thereby be gained to the cause of popular education.

"5. *Resolved*, That the General Assembly, conscious of being actuated in this matter by no other motive than the greatest good of the whole country, hereby profess their readiness to co-operate with all Christian people, of whatever name, and with all good citizens, in so modifying and perfecting our noble public school system, as to obviate as far as practicable the conscientious scruples and difficulties of any of its friends, and thus to render it a fountain of still greater light and benediction to us and our children after us to the latest generation."

We wish we also had room for Dr. Prentiss' eloquent report on the subject.

## *Laying of the corner-stone of Re-union Hall in the College of New Jersey.*

The following document was presented to the Assembly:—

"PHILADELPHIA, May 20, 1870.

"*To the Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of America:*

"The trustees of the College of New Jersey are about to erect a suite of rooms to accommodate the rapidly increasing number of students, and intend to call the building 'Reunion Hall,' in honor of the re-union of the two branches of the Presbyterian Church, and it will be deemed a very great favor by the trustees and faculty if the General Assembly will make an arrangement to lay the corner-stone of the hall at a time it may appoint. It may be interesting to the members of the Assembly to know that we have at present a larger number of ministers'

sons and of young men studying for the ministry than we have ever had in our old college, and it is believed that the interests of religion will be subserved by thus countenancing us on this occasion.

"JAMES MCCOSH,
President of the College,
"HENRY W. GREEN, G. W. MUSGRAVE,
JOHN C. BACKUS, CYRUS DICKSON."

Judge WM. STRONG: Mr. Moderator: I move you, sir, that a delegation of twenty members of this Assembly, to be appointed by the Moderator, be sent to attend the laying of this corner-stone on the 28th inst., one week from to-morrow.

I need hardly say, sir, that a more interesting ceremony can hardly be devised. As Presbyterians we are deeply interested in the College of New Jersey.

It is our institution more than any other collegiate institution of the country. It well befits us, therefore, I think, sir, to attend the ceremonies of laying the corner-stone of a new building to be dominated Re-union Hall. My motion, therefore, is for a delegation of twenty members of this Assembly, to be appointed by the Moderator, to attend the laying of that corner-stone, and that the day be fixed for the 28th inst., to-morrow week.

Dr. BREED: I would make an amendment. In addition to the delegation of twenty, I move that any others be sent who may choose to accompany them.

The motion as amended was passed.

On Saturday, May 28th, from two hundred and fifty to three hundred of members and others connected with the Assembly, came up from Philadelphia to Princeton, to participate in this solemn and significant ceremony. The corner-stone was laid with due solemnity by Dr. Backus, the Moderator. Happy addresses were then made by him, Drs. Adams and Jacobus, by Judge Strong, and Hon. Wm. E. Dodge; and at the collation by Drs. Prentiss, Nelson, R. Patterson, Prof. Stoever, Hon. S. F. B. Morse, Hon. J. McKnight, and others. The interest of the occasion was enhanced by the unusual religious attention which has prevailed of late among the students. We trust that the Re-union of which it is a monument will prove lasting and happy, on foundations of truth and piety, more lasting than the rock of which the edifice is built; and

that the college in her future expansion, as well as in her past history, will evermore be devoted *Christo et ecclesiæ.*

*Change in the Structure and Composition of the Boards.*

The Boards of the past Old School Church have been composed of a large number of ministers and elders, generally exceeding fifty, selected from all parts of the church, divided into four sections, each one of which was in turn elected by the Assembly every four years. The result is, that the business of each Board must be conducted by the few members residing convenient to its principal office, and, in all ordinary cases, by an executive committee of these. Saving a few exceptional instances, the relation of the distant members of these Boards to their actual conduct and operations has been merely nominal. The advantages of this plan have been supposed to be, that it tends to awaken interest in the cause under the care of the Board in all parts of the church, and that in case of emergency, involving serious conflict of opinions, the more distant members could be summoned, so as to represent the mind of the whole church. This is good in theory. In a more compact body, like the churches of Scotland or Ireland, or our own half a century ago, it might be so in fact. But as it is, it is notorious that members of our Boards at all remote from their place of business, have little more to do with them, or the causes under their charge, than if they were not members. The only way in which the whole church is felt in shaping the policy of the Boards is in the annual meetings of the General Assembly, to which they report, from which they receive all instructions it may be pleased to give, and by which their vacancies are annually filled. This essentially corresponds with the actual working of that oldest and most successful of our foreign missionary organizations, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, so far as an ecclesiastical organization can correspond in its movements with a close corporation acting as agent for the Congregational churches of our country, and such others as may choose to employ it for the purpose. The actual ordinary business of that Board is done, not under its immediate direction, but under the supervision

of its prudential committee, consisting of not more than ten members, and living in Boston or its adjacent suburbs. The Board itself, with great numbers of its supporters, whose spirit it aims at once to reflect and guide, meet once a year, and once only. It then fills vacancies, chooses its prudential committee and other executive officers, and gives such directions to them, as it may judge requisite. Here, in fact, is a committing of the whole business to the supervision of a small but competent body of men, who are annually made immediately responsible to the appointing Board, and, through them, to the great constituent body of contributors for whom this Board acts.

With us this responsibility is not to an unorganized body of contributors, but to the organized church, acting in her organic capacity, through her supreme judicatory, and thus enabled to make herself immediately and officially felt in guiding or correcting the policy of any of her Boards of evangelism. If the business of the several Boards, then, must be done under the supervision of men living at or convenient to their places of business, let them be composed of the most competent men living there, and let these be responsible, not mediately through a large and scattered Board that never meets, but immediately to the General Assembly. This is the surest way to unity, efficiency, intelligence, and fidelity of management; the most complete responsibility to the church; and the adoption of the best means for inspiring and organizing the benevolence of the whole body. This change in the composition of our Boards, therefore, seems to us judicious and salutary. The Assembly has ordered an investigation, with instructions to report to the next Assembly, as to the best means for proper local assistant agencies, so that efficient influence may be propagated from the centre to the circumference of the church.

### *Foreign Missions.*

In this department, as the Old School had a chartered Board with the requisite property and agencies for conducting missions among the heathen, while the other branch had operated wholly through the American Board, it was only necessary that the re-united church should adopt as their own the organization already in being for this purpose. In accordance with

the principles already explained, they reduced the number of the Board to fifteen, to be divided into classes of five each, whose terms of office severally expire every third year, five of the number to constitute a quorum. For reasons which we need not state, we deviate from our usual course and give the list of the members of this Board appointed by the Assembly. We think it will commend itself to the church:—

*First Class*, 1870–1873.—James Lenox, Esq., Robert L. Stuart, Esq., Hon. Wm. E. Dodge, Rev. Wm. Adams, D. D., Rev. J. O. Murray, D. D.

*Second Class*, 1870–1872.—Rev. Geo. L. Prentiss, D. D., Rev. Chas. K. Imbrie, D. D., David Oliphant, Esq., Walter S. Griffith, Esq., Rev. Robert R. Booth, D. D.

*Third Class*, 1870–1871.—Robert Carter, Esq., Robert Jaffray, Esq., Rev. Wm. M. Paxton, D. D., Rev. John D. Wells, D. D., Ezra L. Kingsley, Esq.

Only two points connected specially with this subject awakened much discussion. Of these, the first related to the transfer of the foreign missionary connections of the late New School branch from the American Board. In regard to this it is obvious, 1. That this portion of the church will not at once universally cease their contributions to the American Board. Old habits, tender attachments, and sacred associations will prevent the immediate completion of this transfer. Portions and members of some Old School churches continued to contribute to the American Board till a very recent period. 2. Our brethren of the other branch have in good faith concluded to co-operate with us in putting missions upon an ecclesiastical and Presbyterian platform, in supporting and working through the Presbyterian Board, and in bringing their ministry and churches to promote the cause through this channel as rapidly and generally as is practicable. 3. It is only right that as they withdraw their contributions from the American Board to the Presbyterian Board, the latter should assume the support and control of some of the missions heretofore sustained by the contributions so withdrawn. 4. In this transition state it must inevitably happen that some temporary anomalies will occur, which must be charitably borne with until, in due course of things, the working of the Presbyterial system will bring all parties involved into harmony with it. After hearing the report of the committee appointed by the New School Assembly to confer with the American Board,

action was adopted in substantial conformity to the foregoing views, and the same committee was continued further to mature negotiations now in progress, and to report to the next Assembly.

### *Evangelizing the Indians, Policy of the Government, Political Deliverances by the Assembly.*

One of the resolutions recommended to the Assembly for adoption, by its standing committee on the subject, was the following :—

"That the Assembly views with deep concern the unevangelized condition of the aboriginal population of our land, and deprecates the increasing tendency among many of our citizens to treat them as a race to be exterminated, rather than as the proper objects of Christian effort, to be thereby civilized and gathered into the fold of Christ; and the Assembly hereby authorizes the Board of Missions to put forth its utmost efforts to accomplish this humane and benignant purpose."

This commanded the general if not unanimous acquiescence of the Assembly, and was finally carried. Dr. Howard Crosby offered the following amendment to it, which was rejected :—

"That we heartily indorse the peaceful and Christian policy of the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior, and the other officers of the government toward the Indian tribes within our borders, and trust that the humane and thoughtful of the land will join us in sustaining the hands of our President and government in this important action."

Dr. Crosby, Hon. Wm. E. Dodge, and others supported this on the ground that the government, especially those most responsible for its present humane policy, are entitled to the support and co-operation of the Christian people of the country. Dr. Beatty, Dr. Musgrave, and others, while avowing themselves republicans who voted for General Grant, and agreeing with every word of the amendment, were nevertheless strenuously opposed to its adoption by the Assembly. They regarded it as a beginning and precedent for political deliverances by the united church, which might work great mischief in the future. Some proposed a compromise, by leaving out the words "President," "Secretary of the Interior," etc., and commending "the peaceful policy of the the government," or like softened phrase. Dr. Crosby, how-

ever, said this would be "taking the blade out of the knife." The following speech of Dr. Musgrave made a clear and simple issue of the whole matter.

"I have listened to this amendment with great concern. You all know what bitter fruit resulted from what were called the political deliverances of the General Assembly in past times. I hope, sir, that we shall not renew this thing and make any deliverance whatever on political subjects. It is not our province. We establish a mischievous precedent; we excite the ill-will and the jealousy of a large portion of the community. And no matter how we deliver ourselves on any political subject, we shall be met by opposition.

"Now, sir, the resolution that was proposed by the committee, it seems to me, covers the whole ground. It is well, in my judgment, that this Assembly should take no action with reference to General Grant, and his Secretary, or any particular line of policy which any political party may pursue. Now I may speak with freedom on this subject, because I am what politicians call a Republican. But, sir, I don't want my church to indorse Republicanism. I voted for General Grant heartily, but I don't want this church to say any thing in favor of General Grant's policy. Let us have done with politics. We cannot handle it without damage to the cross of Christ. And what good will come of it? We can act in our capacity as citizens.

"We can have a convention whenever we like or a public meeting, and as citizens express our approbation or disapprobation of any political measure. But let the church of the Lord Jesus Christ stand aloof from all party politics. As I should deprecate any deliverance in the Assembly on the subject of politics, I shall vote heartily against this amendment, and for that resolution of the committee which tends to advance the interests of the church we have at heart."

Dr. Crosby's amendment was accordingly lost by a large majority. A subsequent motion to strike out the clause against "extermination of the Indians," as being also political was advocated on the ground of consistency. It, however, utterly failed. Dr. McCosh said:—

"I think the language in the report has been well weighed. It covers every point. I certainly wish to do away with the impression that those who may have voted for laying the amendments on the table, do by that mean to indicate that they approve in any manner of the exterminating policy.

"I think the clause that is put in this motion by your committee fills every object you have in view.

"It simply recognizes the need of evangelizing measures, and I confess I could not vote for that motion unless it contained all it does contain. It sets itself up against that feeling which is abroad in the scientific world, and which is propagated by a large portion of the public press, that the inferior races ought to be exterminated, and give way to the superior. That is not the law save as regards animals; not the law with regard to man, as established by our Divine Redeemer. His law is that weakness should conquer strength; that the suffering Redeemer should rise up to protect the weaker against the strong. It is the

special function of the church to carry out this law. This Assembly is doing this great work when it passes this motion, by thus throwing a protection over that race, and assisting in the great work of evangelizing them."

The article of the report was carried, as it originally stood. We believe the Assembly in this whole matter was divinely guided, and is in a far safer position than it would have been, had the contrary action been taken.

The relation of the church and of religion to politics is still greatly confused in multitudes of minds. And yet we apprehend that the difference is far less as to the *principle* involved than its applications. Is the church to shrink from the maintenance or affirmation of any principle or truth of morality or religion, because any political party opposes or advocates it, or because such truth has in any way became entangled with politics? What Christian will say so, or give place to such a doctrine for an hour? Is she to be muzzled in speaking for truth, honesty, humanity, faith, repentance, regeneration, the Trinity, Incarnation, Atonement, Eternal Judgment, or against Popery, Socinianism, Scepticism, for any such reason? Never, never. But then when the question arises as to the concrete methods adopted by any political party for carrying out or furthering these principles, we get into a region of expediency about which the best of men may differ, and do honestly differ. We get into a region in which these men may and ought, outside of the church, to adopt such measures as seem to them best adapted to carry into effect their convictions. We get into a region befogged, and befouled by all the passions which debase party politics. If we attempt to erect them into church deliverances, we introduce these passions into the church. As private Christians or citizens, let Christians uphold whatever administrations, officers, and measures they may judge right. But let them not undertake to make them deliverances of the Church of God, or to sustain them by such deliverances. If the advocates of the President may seek this sanction, so also may his opponents, until the church is engaged in an endless wrangle on matters essentially secular, and heart-burnings, alienations, strifes, divisions, and secessions are the baleful consequence.

The debates on this very subject in the Assembly itself, in-

dicate a serious difference of judgment among the members, as to what course is most truly humane in the dealings of the government with the Indians. Some evidently thought that the Quaker agencies operate against Presbyterian evangelism. Some thought that the only practicable methods of doing the Indians any good, of Christianizing and civilizing them, preventing their massacres of the whites, and their own consequent extermination, was to give them reservations, and compel them to stay upon them. This view was warmly pressed by Col. J. Ross Snowden, as the result of his observation and experience among them. The tone of the speeches of those living on the frontier, or in vicinity to the Indians, was not indeed that of opposition to the vote as passed; but of men who evidently and earnestly felt that humanity to the white, as well as red man, requires not only Christian kindness to the latter, but the vigorous exercise of the military arm of the government to prevent the massacre and butchery of our own defenceless pioneers.

We do not refer to these things for the purpose of giving any opinion upon them, but simply in order to show the wide room for diversity of opinion as to the concrete political application of moral and religious principles on which the whole church is a unit, and the danger of committing the organized church to the advocacy of the specific measures of political parties. There may be exceptions, on rare occasions, of paramount and overbearing necessity, when the national life is at stake; where there is no room for reasonable doubt or debate, and the church itself is essentially a unit, as in some exigencies of the late war. It may often be that the church will find it necessary to stand in opposition to wrongs espoused by politicians and parties, such as the exclusion of the Bible from schools. But it must be a very rare contingency that can justify it in espousing and sanctioning, as a church, the concrete measures of parties and politicians as such. This distinction between moral and religious principles, and their concrete embodiment and application, especially in politics, is recognized constantly in our daily living and practice. Who questions that parents ought to support and educate their children according to their means and position? And yet how far

from evident is it, what room for difference of judgment in any concrete case is there, as to what is a fit support and education? How far from certain is it how much spending money he should be allowed? All these things lie on the verge of ethical, and in the sphere of what are sometimes technically indeterminate duties. And if we may not privately dogmatize in such matters, much less may the high court of the church.

A motion to transfer the care of missions to the Jews, Chinese, and Indians, from the Foreign to the Domestic Board, was referred to the joint committee on Home and Foreign Missions, with instructions to report upon it to the next General Assembly.

*Domestic Missions.*

It having been decided by eminent legal counsel that the New School Committee of Home Missions, incorporated by the State of New York, and the Old School Board of Domestic Missions, incorporated by the legislature of Pennsylvania, could not be welded together without danger to their legal franchises, unless the requisite enabling legislation could be obtained in each of these States; and it having been further decided on the same authority that, prior and in order to such legislation, the location of the chief office for conducting business must be determined, the most important action of the Assembly on this subject consisted in appointing committees to procure such legislation before the meeting of the next Assembly, and in fixing said location. The vote on location was: For Philadelphia, 153; for New York, 306. New York was therefore chosen by a two-thirds majority.

Any heart-burnings and griefs awakened by this choice were quickly soothed by the election of Rev. Henry Kendall, D. D., and Rev. Cyrus Dickson, D. D., as co-ordinate Secretaries, and Samuel Powell, Esq., of Philadelphia, so long Treasurer of the Old School Board of Missions, as Treasurer. This was done unanimously by acclamation, on motion of Dr. Adams, commended by one of his happy speeches. No step better fitted to pacify and unify the church, and smooth its future workings, could have been taken. A resolution, highly

commendatory of the services of Dr. Musgrave, as Secretary of the Board, an office which he resigned on account of advancing years, was unanimously adopted.

We rejoice in the unmistakable signs of the universal prevalence in the Assembly of the opinion that the allowance to domestic missionaries, as well as the salaries of the ministry generally, ought to be largely increased. We trust that reunion, with proper unity and efficiency of organization, will evoke a beneficence in this department, of which all the present is but the mere dawn. The Assembly indeed voted that all salaries of missionaries now short of $800 ought to be raised to that sum.

### *Reconstruction.*

This term has been used to denote ecclesiastical changes, whether of the constitution, or of the bounds and composition of Synods and Presbyteries, rendered needful or expedient in connection with re-union. From the nature of the case, it was impossible that the joint committee on the subject should do more than present a programme for the Assembly to perfect. The subject is one of extreme difficulty and delicacy, and requires a knowledge of localities from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf, which is impossible to individuals, and can only be had in the Assembly containing commissioners from all these localities. All felt that the committee had done their arduous work elaborately and faithfully, and furnished an outline chart, by the aid of which that body could press the work forward to completion. This they proceeded to do, first with regard to Synodical boundaries, in which they followed the scheme presented by the committee with some modifications. The only question of principle that arose here was, whether the Assembly should constitute the newly-constructed Presbyteries, and out of these constitute the Synods in the natural order; or whether, having constituted the latter according to the book, it should leave to the Synods the formation of the Presbyteries, as the book also directs. The former course was recommended in the report of the Reconstruction Committee, and advocated on the floor of the Assembly by Messrs. Beatty, Musgrave, Hat-

field, and Judge Strong, as having been contemplated by the Assemblies at Pittsburgh, as being within the constitutional prerogative of the Assembly, and as necessary to expedite reconstruction. It was earnestly opposed by Dr. Spear, Judge Haines, and others, as unconstitutional, and inexpedient because impossible to be done by the Assembly with competent knowledge of what the boundaries of the Presbyteries ought to be. These reasons prevailed with the majority. As to the constitutional question, we do not doubt, we do not believe a majority of the Assembly doubted, that, although the constitution expressly gives this authority to Synods, yet, in the absence of any express self-imposed prohibition, it also leaves it potentially in the Assembly as the original repository of the fulness of the whole church's power, to be exercised, if need be, in extraordinary emergencies. But we quite concur with the large majority who, aside of constitutional scruples, regarded this course as inexpedient in the present case, not only because the Assembly was so ill-qualified to do the work, but because such large numbers questioned its constitutionality.

### *Basis and Ratio of Representation.*

Perhaps there is no subject in regard to which there is a more universal conviction that some change ought to be made, and so little agreement and certainty as to how it should be made, as that which respects the ratio of representation. All agree, with scarce an exception, that the body under the present ratio of representation is too large for convenient dispatch of business, and for the endurance of ordinary, practicable hospitality. The reconstruction committee at first recommended Synodical representation, which has the great merit of surely accomplishing the object through existing organizations of the church. But they found it unacceptable to the church, which is strongly wedded to Presbyterial representation, from immemorial habit and other grave considerations. We confess that we prefer this, not from any scruples respecting the constitutionality of Synodical representation, but because we think the Presbyteries are more suitable bodies to elect commissioners, if a method of apportionment can be

found satisfactory to them, which will reduce the Assemblies to proper dimensions. Viewing the whole case, the Reconstruction Committee at last recommended that the commissioners be elected by Presbyteries in the ratio of one for every twenty, or fraction of twenty, ministers, and in case of any odd number of delegates from any Presbytery, the odd member to be in alternate years, first a minister, then a ruling elder, all even pairs to consist of one minister and one elder.

The discussion of the ratio soon brought into debate the basis of representation. The Scotch, Irish, and we believe the English delegates, when inquired of, reported that in the bodies represented by them, no ministers were voting members of Presbyteries, or eligible to the General Assembly, except pastors and theological professors, unless as ruling elders, to which office ministers without charge are often elected in the congregations to which they belong. Then some proposed to make the number of churches, others of church-members, in a Presbytery, the basis of its ratio of representation in the General Assembly.

It soon became evident that no satisfactory solution of the matter could be reached without thorough discussion of these subjects, some of them new to many of the body, and that there was no time for the due consideration of them during the present session of the Assembly. No change in the ratio was therefore made, and the whole subject was referred to the next General Assembly. This was better than a hasty and crude decision now. It is, moreover, hoped that the union and reconstruction of old Presbyteries will reduce their number and afford some relief. We have no doubt, however, of the absolute necessity of some change in our large and rapidly growing church in the ratio of representation, in order to prevent the body from getting huge and unwieldy.

Some alterations of the constitution were proposed by the committee, and ordered by the house to be referred to the Presbyteries for ratification.

The principal of these were, that no Presbytery should consist of less than five members; and for the relief of the General Assembly in the dispatch of business, and to discourage pertinacious litigation in the church courts, that all bills,

references, and complaints terminate at the Synods, except in questions of constitutional law or the trial of a minister for heresy in doctrine. This latter it is proposed to accomplish by an alteration in the constitution in the following form :—

"In the Form of Government, Chapter XII., Section 4, add to the first sentence, at its close, the following words, "AND WHICH RELATE EXCLUSIVELY *to the construction of the Constitution, or to the trial of a Minister for heresy in doctrine.*"

These amendments are so wholesome, yea, indispensable, that they can hardly fail to secure the requisite Presbyterial ratification.

### *Theological Seminaries.*

One subject on which important portions of the church have been much exercised, has been the relation of the theological seminaries to the General Assembly, and the placing of them all, so far as their charters and legal obligations would permit, upon a common basis in this respect. In order to this, the brief suggestions thrown out in our April number appear to have been carried into effect by the Assembly, as they had previously met with the approbation of all parts of the church. The Board of Directors of Princeton Seminary unanimously proposed to the Assembly to submit the control of the seminary and the filling of vacancies in its chairs to themselves, subject only to the veto of the Assembly. The Board of Trustees of Union Seminary of New York proposed to the Assembly to submit their own election of professors to the veto of the Assembly. The way was thus prepared, under the discreet leadership of Dr. Adams, for the following ultimate disposal of the subject, with the utmost unanimity and cordiality—a result in which we are sure all parties will rejoice :—

"1. Accepting the offer so generously made by the Directors of the Union Theological Seminary in New York, a seminary independent hitherto of all direct ecclesiastical control, to invest the General Assembly with the right of a *veto* in the election of professors in that institution, this Assembly would invite all those Theological Seminaries, not now under the control of the General Assembly, to adopt at their earliest convenience, the same rule and method, to the end, that throughout the whole Presbyterian Church there may be uniform and complete confidence in those intrusted with the training of our candidates for the ministry.

"2. That the several Boards of Directors of those seminaries which are now

under the control of the General Assembly, shall be authorized to elect, suspend, and displace the professors of the seminaries under their care, subject in all cases to the *veto* of the General Assembly, to whom they shall annually make a full report of their proceedings, and to whom their minutes shall be submitted whenever the Assembly shall require them to be produced. These Boards shall further be authorized to fix the salaries of the professors, and to fill their own vacancies, subject in all cases to the *veto* of the General Assembly.

"3. That a committee of five be appointed by the Assembly to propose such alterations in the plans of the seminaries now under the control of the Assembly, as shall be deemed necessary to carry into effect the principles above stated, and and that said committee report to this or to the next succeeding Assembly.

"4. In case the Board of Directors of any theological seminary now under the control of the General Assembly, should prefer to retain their present relation to this body, the plan of such seminary shall remain unaltered."

The Assembly also approved of the action of the Directors of Princeton Seminary, increasing their salaries from $2,666 to $3,000.

Since writing the foregoing, we have seen the election of the persons named below, to fill vacancies in the Board of Directors in Princeton Seminary, being nearly all persons who have long and worthily filled the office, held forth as a "strange exception" to the course pursued in regard to the election of trustees of the General Assembly and directors of the Seminary of the Northwest; because the Assembly did not drop from their places these old and honored guardians of the seminary, and put New School men in their place. We knew nothing about the vacancies or the election to fill them until we saw the account of it in the published proceedings of the Assembly. The names are the following:—

*Ministers:* William D. Snodgrass, D. D., Joseph McElroy, D. D., G. W. Musgrave, D. D., Robert Hammill, D. D., Joseph T. Smith, D. D., Robert Davidson, D. D., Gardiner Spring, D. D. *Elders:* Robert Carter, John K. Finlay, George Sharswood, LL. D., Thomas C. M. Paton, to fill the place of Moses Allen.

For ourselves we should have considered it a "strange exception" to the plan for the unification of our theological seminaries, had they been dropped without their own voluntary resignation. Would it be in keeping with the spirit of that plan for the other side to demand that a like number of the venerated guardians of Union or Auburn seminary should resign to make room for others, perhaps more strongly attach-

ed and devoted to other seminaries? We are not disposed to censure the Assembly in this matter.

In regard to Chicago Seminary the case is different. That institution still chooses to retain its former relation to the Assembly unaltered. Its intestine feuds, revived unhappily into fresh violence, demand the interposition of the Assembly, and the infusion of new elements into its board of direction. Rev. Dr. Prentiss, of New York, was chosen to its vacant professorship of theology. We trust this will serve to put an end to its strifes. Dr. West was transferred to the chair of Theology, and Rev. S. H. McMullin elected Professor of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History; Rev. G. D. Archibald, D.D., of Pastoral Theology and Church Government in Danville Seminary.

It was agreed that the agencies and capital for publication, heretofore owned by both bodies, should be combined in one, under the charter and corporate title of the Presbyterian Board of Publication; that it should be located in Philadelphia; that adequate buildings and other accommodations for its publishing operations should be put upon the property owned and used by the New School for this purpose, and that the edifice of the Old School, 821 Chestnut Street, be sold, as wholly insufficient and unsuited to the business. The location of the Board of Education for the united body was also fixed in Philadelphia. The New School Board of Church Extension, having a charter from the State of New York, under which it holds a large amount of funds, and that of the Old School, having no such charter or funds, it was agreed to combine them both under the charter of the New School, and to locate them in New York. The Committee on Freedmen was continued for the present at Pittsburgh.

We should be glad to say something on the projected five million memorial fund, the function of the financial committee, the proposition to have one financial board and treasury, to superintend all the fiscal affairs of the church, gathering all the receipts, and distributing to each evangelic department a portion in due season. These and other topics which we omit entirely would each justify an article. But we have no room. We shall recur to them, and to any other

topics requiring discussion, in order to the right adjustment of our ecclesiastical system, in our new condition, as we may see cause. We shall treat of the deputation to the Southern Assembly in a separate article.

On the whole, the first General Assembly of the re-united Presbyterian Church, the greatest and most memorable in our history, was enabled, by the blessing of heaven, to be true to its high position, and walk worthy of its high vocation. It is the universal testimony that it embodied an amount of wisdom, piety, culture, and weight of character never before shown in any ecclesiastical convocation on this continent. No less pre-eminent were the delegations to it from other bodies, especially from the Presbyterian bodies of Great Britain. It had an immense amount of difficult and momentous work before it; and in the main did it wisely and well. For their ability to accomplish this they were much indebted to the admirable preparatory labors of the various joint committees appointed at Pittsburgh. The proceedings of the Assembly were conducted with marked unanimity, and it was rare that the slightest discordant ripple marred the uniform harmony of the body, or the Christian dignity and courtesy of its proceedings. The first beginnings of the united church have surely been auspicious. May this prove the true augury of its future. So far we can see the gracious and guiding hand of God. May it never leave nor forsake us.

All accounts represent the closing hours and parting scenes of the session as a fit culmination of so glorious a meeting. The spirit, plentifully vouchsafed, filled the whole body with a holy love, peace, and delight, so that every face shone with a heavenly lustre, while every eye was moist, as all wept for joy. It was a very mount of transfiguration. All felt that it was good to be there, beholding the Saviour in his glory, and his church in her beauty. But it is not given to us here thus to tabernacle for more than brief season in the heights so resplendent with the Master's transporting presence. This can only be in the church triumphant in heaven, in which, when he appears, we also shall appear with him in glory.

## ART. VII.—*The Delegation to the Southern General Assembly.*

VERY early in the recent session of the General Assembly Dr. Adams moved the following resolutions, and advocated their adoption in a few remarks breathing the warmest Christian love toward all parties concerned. They were adopted at once, cordially and unanimously, by the Assembly. As the proceedings and results thus far consequent on this action are of great historical and ecclesiastical significance, and pregnant with momentous future consequences, we have concluded to gather up into a distinct article the more important documents involved, and the few comments we propose to make upon them, both for convenience of future reference and the better comprehension of their import. We begin with the original resolutions of our Assembly:—

"*Whereas*, This General Assembly, believing that the interests of the kingdom of our Lord throughout our entire country will be greatly promoted by healing all unnecessary divisions; and

"*Whereas*, This General Assembly desires the speedy establishment of cordial fraternal relations with the body known as the 'Southern Presbyterian Church,' upon terms of mutual confidence, respect, and Christian honor and love; and

"*Whereas*, We believe that the terms of re-union between the two branches of the Presbyterian Church at the North, now so happily consummated, present an auspicious opportunity for the adjustment of such relations; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, 1. That a committee of five ministers and four elders be appointed by this Assembly to confer with a similar committee, if it shall be appointed by the Assembly now in session in the city of Louisville, in respect to opening a friendly correspondence between the Northern and Southern Presbyterian Churches, and that the result of such conference be reported to the General Assembly of 1871.

"*Resolved*, 2. That with a view to the furtherance of the object contemplated in the appointment of said committee, this Assembly hereby reaffirms the 'Concurrent Declaration' of the two Assemblies which met in the city of New York last year, viz.:—

"'That no rule or precedent which does not stand approved by both bodies shall be of any authority in the re-united body, except in so far as such rule or precedent may affect the rights of property founded thereon.'

"*Resolved*, 3. That one minister and one elder of this committee, appointed by this Assembly, be designated as delegates to convey to the Assembly now in session at Louisville a copy of these resolutions, with our Christian salutation."

Pursuant to these resolutions, the following gentlemen were appointed this committee: W. Adams, D. D., Chancellor H. W. Green, Charles C. Beatty, D. D., William E. Dodge, P. H. Fowler, D. D., James Brown, H. J. Van Dyck, D. D., Governor D. Haines, J. C. Backus, D. D.

Drs. H. J. Van Dyck, J. C. Backus, and Hon. William E. Dodge were appointed a sub-committee to proceed forthwith to Louisville and communicate these proceedings to the Assembly in session there. This mission they immediately executed. They telegraphed their coming in advance to the Louisville Assembly. On their arrival they were received with a courtesy and dignity, and with extensive manifestations of warmth from individuals, which indicated a cordial welcome. They were called by the Moderator upon the stage, and their words of Christian love and tenderness were heard with attention and eagerness by the Assembly, and called forth a fraternal response from the Moderator. The whole subject was then referred to the committee on Foreign Correspondence. This committee soon made a report which was adopted by a vote of some five-sixths of the body as its formal and official answer to the peaceful and conciliatory overture of our Assembly. This report was drafted by Dr. B. M. Palmer, of New Orleans. A single member offered a minority report proposing the appointment of the committee requested without the impracticable conditions and offensive charges contained in the paper actually sent to our Assembly as a response to its overture. This paper is in the words following:—

"The Committee on Foreign Correspondence, to whom were referred the overture for re-union from the Old School General Assembly North, of 1869, at its sessions in the city of New York; and also the proposition from the United Assembly of the Northern Presbyterian Church, now sitting in Philadelphia, conveyed to us by a special delegation, respectfully report:—

"That the former of these documents is virtually superseded by the latter; because the body by whom it was adopted has since been merged into the United Assembly, from which emanates a new and fresh proposal reflecting the views of the larger constituency. To this proposition, then, 'that a committee of five ministers and four elders be appointed by this Assembly to confer with a similar committee of their Assembly, in respect to opening a friendly correspondence between the Northern and Southern Presbyterian Church'—your committee recommend the following answer to be returned:—

"Whatever obstructions may exist in the way of cordial intercourse between the two bodies above named, are entirely of a public nature, and involve grave and fundamental principles. The Southern Presbyterian Church can confidently appeal to all the acts and declarations of all their Assemblies, that no attitude of aggression or hostility has been, or is now, assumed by it toward the Northern church. And this General Assembly distinctly avows (as it has always believed and declared) that no grievances experienced by us, however real, would justify us in acts of aggression or a spirit of malice or retaliation against any branch of Christ's visible kingdom. We are prepared, therefore, in advance of all discussion, to exercise toward the General Assembly North and the churches represented therein, such amity as fidelity to our principles could, under any possible circumstances, permit. Under this view the appointment of a committee of conference might seem wholly unnecessary; but, in order to exhibit before the Christian world the spirit of conciliation and kindness to the last degree, this Assembly agrees to appoint a committee of conference to meet a similar committee already appointed by the Northern Assembly, with instructions to the same that the difficulties which lie in the way of cordial correspondence between the two bodies must be distinctly met and removed, and which may be comprehensively stated in the following particulars:—

"1. Both the wings of the new United Assembly, during their separate existence before the fusion, did fatally complicate themselves with the State, in political utterances deliberately pronounced year after year; and which, in our judgment, were a sad betrayal of the cause and kingdom of our common Lord and Head. We believe it to be solemnly incumbent upon the Northern Presbyterian Church, not with reference to us, but before the Christian world and before our Divine Master and King, to purge itself of this error, and by public proclamation of the truth to place the crown once more upon the head of Jesus Christ as the alone King in Zion. In default of which, the Southern Presbyterian Church, which has already suffered much in maintaining the independence and spirituality of the Redeemer's kingdom upon earth, feels constrained to bear public testimony against this defection of our late associates from the truth. Nor can we, by official correspondence even, consent to blunt the edge of this, our testimony, concerning the very nature and mission of the church as a purely scriptural body among men.

"2. The union now consummated between the Old and New School Assemblies of the North was accomplished by methods which, in our judgment, involve a total surrender of all the great testimonies of the church for the fundamental doctrines of grace, at a time when the victory of truth over error hung long in the balance. The United Assembly stands, of necessity, upon an allowed latitude of interpretation of the standards, and must come at length to embrace nearly all shades of doctrinal belief. Of those failing testimonies we are now the sole surviving heirs, which we must lift from the dust and bear to the generations after us. It would be a serious compromise of this sacred trust to enter into public and official fellowship with those repudiating these testimonies; and to do this expressly upon the ground, as stated in the preamble to the overture before us, 'that the terms of re-union between the two branches of the Presbyterian Church at the North, now happily consummated, present an auspicious opportunity for the adjustment of such relations.' To found a correspondence profitably upon this idea would be to indorse that which we thoroughly disapprove.

"3. Some of the members of our own body were, but a short time since, violently and unconstitutionally expelled from the communion of our branch of the now United Northern Assembly, under ecclesiastical charges which, if true, render them utterly infamous before the church and the world. It is to the last degree unsatisfactory to construe this offensive legislation obsolete by the mere fusion of that body with another, or through the operation of a faint declaration which was not intended, originally, to cover this case. This is no mere 'rule' or 'precedent,' but a solemn sentence of outlawry against what is now an important and constituent part of our own body. Every principle of honor and of good faith compels us to say that an unequivocal repudiation of that interpretation of the law under which these men were condemned must be a condition precedent to any official correspondence on our part.

"4. It is well known that similar injurious accusations were preferred against the whole Southern Presbyterian Church, with which the ear of the whole world has been filled. Extending, as these charges do, to heresy and blasphemy, they cannot be quietly ignored by an indirection of any sort. If true, we are not worthy of the 'confidence, respect, Christian honor, and love' which are tendered to us in this overture. If untrue, 'Christian honor and love,' manliness and truth, require them to be openly and squarely withdrawn. So long as they remain upon record they are an impassable barrier to official intercourse."

After this document had been laid before our Assembly, Dr. Adams submitted the following paper from the committee appointed to confer with the Southern church:—

"*Resolutions in regard to Southern Assembly.*

"*Whereas*, this General Assembly, at an early period of its sessions declared its desire to establish cordial fraternal relations with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, commonly known as the Southern Assembly, upon the basis of Christian honor, confidence, and love; and with a view to the attainment of this end appointed a committee of five ministers and four elders to confer with a similar committee, if it should be appointed by the Assembly then in session at Louisville, 'in relation to the amicable settlement of all existing difficulties, and the opening of a friendly correspondence between the Northern and Southern churches,' and for the furtherance of the objects contemplated in the appointment of said committee, and with a view to remove the obstacles which might prevent the acceptance of our proposals by our Southern brethren, reaffirmed the concurrent declaration of the two Assemblies which met in New York last year, to the effect that 'no rule or precedent which does not stand approved by both the bodies shall be of any authority in the re-united body, except so far as such rule or precedent may affect the rights of property founded thereon;' and as a further pledge of our sincerity in this movement sent a copy of our resolutions together with our Christian salutation to the Assembly at Louisville, by the hands of delegates chosen for that purpose;

And *whereas* the Southern Assembly, while receiving our delegates with marked courtesy, and formally complying with our proposition for the appointment of a committee of conference, has nevertheless accompanied that appointment with declarations and conditions which we cannot consistently accept,

because they involve a virtual pre-judgment of the very difficulties concerning which we invited the conference; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the further consideration of the subject be postponed and the committee be discharged. At the same time we cannot forbear to express our profound regret that a measure designed, and, as we believe, eminently fitted, to promote the establishment of peace and the advancement of our Redeemer's kingdom in every part of our country, has apparently failed to accomplish its object. We earnestly hope that the negotiations thus suspended may soon be resumed under happier auspices, and hereby declare our readiness to renew our proposals for a friendly correspondence whenever our Southern brethren shall signify their readiness to accept in the form and spirit in which it has been offered."

This report, after some discussion, chiefly consisting of a speech by Rev. Dr. Henry J. Van Dyck, was adopted.

The action of our own Assembly speaks for itself, and is its own vindication before all Christendom. In the kindly but considerate and cautious original proposition to the Southern Assembly, in the character of the committee deputed to bear it, in the acceptable presentation of the matter to that body by this committee, and in the final disposal of the subject responsive to the reply given to its proposal, our body has made an admirable exhibition of Christian charity, magnanimity, and forbearance, nor has it uttered a word to close or obstruct the way to future negotiations, whenever the Southern church shall be willing to open them on terms of equality. They have refrained, as they could so well afford to do, from every word of self-defence or retaliatory accusation, which might embitter old antagonisms, or cause fresh exasperations. The following extract from Dr. Van Dyck's speech, every word of which is a credit to him (and for a permanent record of the whole of which we wish we had room), is quite conclusive, and we think will command the assent not only of the whole Northern church, but of the whole Christian world, outside of our former slave States:—

"And now, sir, I wish to express my profound mortification and regret at the temporary and apparent failure of this effort to make peace. It has failed. The terms and conditions which you have just heard read are manifestly impracticable. How can your committee meet their committee with this terrible indictment flung across the threshold of our conference? If it were all true, there is no propriety in putting it there. The things complained of and decided in the paper adopted by the Southern Assembly, are among the very questions concerning which we proffered the conference. When men enter into negotiations for the settlement of existing difficulties, it is not for either party to prejudge the case

according to their convictions, and demand that their decisions shall be conditions precedent to the settlement.

But, sir, I cannot stop here. I think it due to you, to this Assembly, to that Assembly, and to myself, to say the imputation laid there is not true in the form in which it is laid. (Applause.) Mr. Moderator, there are some at least in this Assembly who firmly believe that during the heat of passions excited under civil war, the Assembly with which I was formerly connected did pass acts and make deliverances inconsistent with the headship of Christ and the constitution of the Presbyterian Church. Our votes, our protests, are on record on that subject, and I am not here to take back one word in regard to them; but, sir, that this Assembly, that the Christian men and women with whom God has cast my lot, have taken the crown from the head of Jesus Christ, and chained his bride to Cæsar's chariot wheels; that these two Assemblies, by their re-union, have totally cast aside all their former testimonies for the doctrines of grace; that this reunited Assembly stands necessarily upon an allowed latitude in the interpretation of the standards of the church, such as must ultimately result in bringing in all forms of doctrinal error—this I strenuously deny. (Applause.) And I say frankly, affectionately, and sadly to you—and, if it shall reach their ears, to our Southern brethren—if they wait for us to stultify ourselves by admitting such things as these before we enter into negotiations, we shall all have to wait for the settlement of these difficulties until we get to the General Assembly of the first-born in heaven." (Applause.)

We quite agree, too, with Dr. Beatty, Dr. Van Dyck, and others, who hold that this labor of love will not be lost, and that, as "kind words never die," so, in due time, the kindly attitude of our church will be most appreciated where now it is least reciprocated.

We cannot dismiss the subject without expressing our amazement, as well as grief, at the charges brought and the humiliating demands made by our Southern brethren, as conditions, *sine qua non*, of conference through committees. The deliverances or declarations of any Assembly not ratified by the Presbyteries are no part of the constitution of the church. They are simply the recorded opinions of that Assembly. The idea of undertaking to erase from the records of past Assemblies all that is offensive to us or to others with whom we may have friendly relations is impracticable and absurd. Have our Southern brethren, claiming to be "the sole surviving heirs of the failing testimonies" of our church, expunged or abrogated the testimony of 1818 on the subject of slavery, which affirms that it "creates a paradox in the moral system," and that "the voluntary enslaving of one portion of the human race by another is a gross violation of the most precious

and sacred rights of human nature, utterly inconsistent with the law of God?"

Moreover, was not every pretext for such a plea removed by the express and emphatic assertion of our Assembly that no "rule or precedent," such as the special action to which our brethren object is now of force? With what desperate and infatuated ingenuity do they try to neutralize this, and to embarrass the removal of what they esteem barriers to renewed fellowship? But who are they that stigmatize us as having "taken the crown from the head of Jesus Christ and chained his bride to Cæsar's chariot wheels," and, under the lead and by the pen of Dr. Palmer, charge us with a "sad betrayal of the cause and kingdom of our common Lord and Head," and summon us "to place the crown once more upon the head of Jesus, as the alone King of Zion?" Is not their leader the same Dr. Palmer whose great sermon in advocacy of secession for the conservation and expansion of slavery, more than any one immediate exciting cause, "fired the Southern heart" for that fatal plunge which precipitated the country into a war that exterminated slavery, drowning it in seas of blood? What of the Synod of South Carolina bestowing its benediction upon the legislature of that State in its initiation of secession? What of the repeated declarations of sympathy with the Confederate Government and armies by this same Southern Assembly that now hurls its denunciations at us as having "disowned the crown and kingdom of our Lord," and disdains to "hold official correspondence with the Northern church unless the Saviour is reinstated in the full acknowledgment of his kingship?"* Do they think it enough to say of all this,—

"No ingenuity of sophistry can transmute into political dogmas the scant allusions to the historical reality of a great struggle then pending, or the thankful recognition, in the middle of a paragraph, of the unanimity with which an invaded people rose to the defence of their hearthstones and the graves of their dead; or the pastoral counsels addressed to the members and youth of our own churches, passing through the temptations and perils of the camp and the field; or the half-hour spent in prayer for a land bleeding under the iron heel of war; or

* See Pastoral Letter of the Southern Church, in defence of their response to our deputation, written by Dr. B. M. Palmer.

even the incidental declaration in a narrative to stand by an institution of the country, a traditional inheritance from our fathers. Even though, from the ambiguity of human language, these chance references may not have been always discreetly expressed, the most that a just criticism could pronounce is that they are inconsistent with the judicially pronounced principle upon which the Southern Assembly entered upon its troubled career. And when exaggerated to their largest proportions by all the prejudices of bitter partisanship, they dwindle into motes and specks by the side of those elaborate and colossal deliverances, repeated each year through formal committees, and exalted into solemn testimonials co-ordinate with the doctrines of religion and of faith, which disfigure the legislation of both the Northern Assemblies through successive years." *

How dare they affirm that the war votes of our Assemblies were made "co-ordinate with the doctrines of religion and faith?"

But still more astounding is the charge that the union of the two Presbyterian bodies "involves a total surrender of all the great testimonies of the church for the fundamental doctrines of grace," and "must come at length to embrace nearly all shades of doctrinal belief!" We have nothing to say in regard to the doctrinal basis of the united church which we did not say a year ago, and have no room now to repeat. This we deem a sufficient refutation of all such charges as the foregoing. We now only add to these the *argumentum ad hominem*: whoever else might venture such a charge, the Southern church cannot, without tabling the like charge against itself, for it has done the same thing. Some years ago it coalesced with the New School Synod South upon the doctrinal basis of the standards pure and simple, receiving all ministers and churches of that Synod to the precise standing they had anterior to the union. "Therefore, thou art inexcusable, O man! whosoever thou art that judgest; for wherein thou judgest another thou condemnest thyself; for thou that judgest doest the same things."—Rom. ii. 1. This is so palpable that it was emphatically objected to this part of the report in the Southern Assembly, in the debate preceding its adoption. The venerable Dr. F. A. Ross, of Huntsville, Alabama, in whose church the Assembly is to meet next year, said, and as conversant with the facts from intimate personal knowledge:—

* Ibid.

"The second point I would notice is, that an objection to the consideration of the question of correspondence is that the Old School North and the New School North have united. But the Old School South and the New School South have done the same thing. Dr. Barnes is the front of New Schoolism; still I believe he would have agreed to the basis of union determined upon in Lynchburg in 1863. That arrangement has not changed the preaching of any one. Every member of the United Synod has the right to preach just as he preached before; every member of the Old School has the right to preach just as he did before. Where is the difference between the union of the two branches in the North and those in the South? In both cases there was some preliminary discussion as to terms, but finally in both cases they united on the basis of the standards pure and simple. Why, then, should we object to corresponding with them on the ground that they have effected just such a union as we had done before?

"I am sorry to use the words Old School and New School in this body. We are *not* the Old School Assembly; we are neither Old School nor New School, but *the* Presbyterian Church in the United States. It has been said that the members of the United Synod were Old School men. I mentioned one, a leader among them. He was further from the views of many here than even Albert Barnes."

Dr. Rice said:—

"We must do no act that will for a moment ruffle the calmness and peace resting upon us. It is for this reason, sir, that I object to that report of the committee which speaks of the union of the Old and New Schools of the North as one reason why we cannot hold intercourse with them because we are the only heirs of the truths which have fallen to the ground. You know very well, Mr. Moderator, that I am an Old School man; that I was one of the very last to consent to the union of our church in the Synod which was consummated in 1864. Now, having agreed to that union, and these New School brethren having come among us we are called upon to maintain the doctrines of God's house, and we are bound to stand by those brethren and regard them as integral portions of our church. And therefore it is not right for us to say we object to holding intercourse with the Northern Assembly because they received the New School. It is true that there is a wide difference between the two positions; but we have accepted these brethren as a part of ourselves, and I trust that you will do nothing that will make it appear that we are not one, for we are one."

How can all this be gainsaid? And what had Dr. Palmer to say in reply? We extract from the *Christian Inquirer and Free Commonwealth*, of June, from which we have copied all our extracts from this debate:—

"Dr. Palmer then stated that he was very much impressed with Dr. Hopkins' remark, that Dr. Lyon had assumed that all this opposition to a correspondence with the Northern church proceeds merely from hatred. This idea he combated, and then proceeded to notice Dr. Ross's remarks about union of the churches

in the North and those in the South. He stated that much more care had been taken to secure orthodoxy in the Southern church. There had been no diplomacy in their coming together. There is no jar or discord between them. It never had occurred to him that there was a shade of difference doctrinally between them."

And is this all the justification he can make out for the difference he puts between the Southern and Northern churches, assuming for the former the function of guardian and conservator of orthodoxy, and the prerogative of denouncing the latter as surrendering her testimonies to the faith once delivered to the saints? Allowing the utmost force to the considerations above adduced by him, they only touch the accidents and unessential circumstances of the case. They do not affect the essence of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical platform of the two bodies. These are identical—the simple standards. But we deny that "more care has been taken to secure orthodoxy in the Southern church." So far from this, plans of union were rejected twice by the Northern church, because they contained the slightest qualification of the standards; and it was thus proved that no union was possible except on the pure and simple standards. Not only so, but we boldly affirm, from knowledge independent of the testimony of Dr. Ross and Dr. Rice, that no latitude of doctrine can be found in the Northern, which has not been tolerated freely and without question in the Southern church. What shall we say then to the amazing assurance which vents itself in such "colossal" fulminations? Probably it is useless to say much at present. It is either above or below being reasoned with. It must be left to speak for itself. Probably the following extracts from Dr. Palmer's speech explain the *animus* of the leaders, who were able, by their force of intellect and eloquence, to magnetize the Assembly with their own feelings:—

"He paid an eloquent tribute to the Southern Presbyterian Church—the only home he had left. 'I am a disfranchised man,' he said. 'The boy who waits on my table at twelve dollars a month dictates to me at the polls who shall be my master. I have no vote. I am an exile in the land of my birth. My only consolation is that I have a home in the church of God. I want peace, and do not, therefore, want to be involved in any of these complications. We have not approached them with any disturbing proposition. Why should they come and disturb us, and seek to divide brethren who are united? . . . Moderator, I do not propose to sacrifice substance for shadow at any time. If you enter into

this conference, in three years there will be a fusion between this Assembly and the North. I am opposed to fusion, and will never consent individually to be fused into any body. I hold to the old maxim, *obsta principiis.* Probably that correspondence is introduced in every case with the ulterior view of amalgamation.'"

Somehow, the reporter mislaid his notes of a portion of this speech, most of all, it is said, surcharged with bitter invective against the North. However this may be, the above means simply that they wish to prevent every sort of conference or correspondence, because they believe it would speedily result in a fusion with us, and that all the apparent differences that now keep the bodies asunder would, on thus meeting face to face, vanish or dwindle into insignificance. Such fusion they do not want, and are resolved to prevent if possible, because, while every other sphere in which their peculiar ideas could dominate is lost, their church kept thus insulated, is their only remaining "home." In the above extract Dr. Palmer depicts the issue of his former appeals to the Southern people, to use his present cautious phrase, "to stand by an institution of the country, a traditional inheritance from our fathers."

It remains to be seen whether his present ingenious and passionate appeals to the Southern church, breathing a very similar spirit, to raise an impassable barrier between itself and the Northern church, by requiring the latter as a condition precedent to conference, to confess that it has "bound itself to the chariot wheel of Cæsar," and has apostatized from the faith by doing just what the Southern church has done, will reach a more auspicious consummation. We do not believe that such accusations from such a source will be heard with deference beyond the geographical limits of the body making them; or that they will long mislead Southern Christians; or always continue to stultify even their authors. We pray and hope that the dark veil may be lifted which now discolors and distorts their view of the Northern church, and of all connection with it; and that in due time all barriers to full fellowship with brethren whom, on so many accounts, we love, may be removed.

## Art. VIII.—*The Evangelical Alliance.**

The writer of this article was well acquainted with two worthy men, adherents respectively of two of Scotland's sternest sects, who met of an evening to discuss the merits of their churches. They resolved in their wisdom to begin with their points of difference, and they disputed till it was first late and then early, and they separated while the day was breaking without coming nearer each other, but fixing on another night for renewing the controversy. When they met on that occasion, a wiser though not a better man, recommended them to commence with their points of agreement; and they found these to be so numerous and important that they parted at a decent hour on the understanding that they should adjourn the consideration of their points of discordance till they met in heaven. The two men have been in that blessed place for the last quarter of a century—as time moves in this world—but even with the assistance of "Gates Ajar" we have not been able to ascertain whether in their lengthened (as it seems to us) sojourn there they have so exhausted the wondrous sights and truths disclosed to them as to allow of their coming to the points about which they disputed on earth—which was, whether a certain burgh oath, long since abrogated, was or was not lawful.

The anecdote chimes in with "the tune of the times," which is loud in praise of the union of churches and Christians. And yet we are not at liberty to overlook the differences of those who profess to be Christians. The Church of Christ, as a whole, every individual church, and every individual member is set for defence of the truth. There have been occasions in which a minority were required by faithfulness to Christ to separate from a majority. Dogmas or ceremonies which they believed to be contrary to the Word of God were imposed on them, and as "whatever is not of faith is sin" they could relieve their conscience only by assuming a position of

* The long and permanent connection of Dr. McCosh with the Evangelical Alliance will invest this account of it from him with special interest for our readers.

independence. Or the church has become so corrupt in doctrine and loose in discipline, that they feel they would be countenancing evil in continuing in it,—and there is no resource but to separate themselves. We rejoice exceedingly in the re-union which has been now so happily accomplished between the two largest branches of the Presbyterian Church in America. But we wish it to be distinctly understood that if men, whether belonging to the Old or New School, appear in that church promulgating dogmas clearly inconsistent with the "system of doctrine" contained in the standards; and if these men, after being kindly warned, insist on continuing in that church, instead of going out of it and seeking to become useful in a sphere of their own, and if they are allowed to continue in that church by a deliberate act of the constituted authorities, then there is no help for it—it may be as sacred a duty to divide that church in some future year as it may be in present circumstances to unite it. We wish this to be distinctly understood at this early stage to prevent conceited youths, or old men who have not grown wiser from age, from introducing at Synods, or on some public occasion, "divers and strange doctrines," which may first trouble, and then divide, the now happily united church.

But while we must ever claim an absolute power to defend the truth, we are not to allow our minds to dwell exclusively and forever on the points on which they differ who believe in Christ the Son of God and the Saviour of all them that believe. The tendency of those who feel that they agree in fundamental truth, will ever be to join in some organic and visible union, and in common action for the salvation of souls and the spread of the Gospel at home and abroad. In order to unity of organization it is not needful that there should be an absolute agreement even on matters which are not unimportant in themselves. Thus the question of the time and manner of Christ's second coming has ever been left an open question in the most orthodox Presbyterian churches. When there is a substantial agreement, as there has been for years in the two great branches of the Presbyterian Church, there is no reason why churches should keep isolated and apart, and there are many reasons why they should combine their energies and ex-

hibit their unity to the world. We trust that the Presbyterian Church union lately consummated will be the beginning of unions, to go on till the whole orthodox Presbyterian family become one in name and in action, as they are already one in faith and in discipline. But while this is so far an approach to it, it is far from amounting to a full confession and acknowledgment of the grand doctrine of the unity of the Church of Christ. There is a depth of meaning in the words of our Lord, and in the statements of Paul, which, as every Christian feels, are not realized in any church organization on earth: "That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me." "There is one body and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." It is impossible, in the present state of things, to bring all true Christians into a unity of outward organization. Episcopacy and Congregationalism cannot be brought into a unity of government and form with one another and with Presbyterianism, or that modified Presbyterianism which we find in Methodism. If by some external force—like that which the king of Prussia employed in making the Lutheran and Reformed churches one—we brought them together for one day, it would only be to make them fly asunder the next, perhaps in anger or in jealousy. And yet have we not all felt it pleasant, and profitable withal, to hold personal communion with Christians called by another name than that which we bear, and trained, it may be, under somewhat different influences? Have not we Presbyterians often experienced a high enjoyment in the society of Episcopalians, or Methodists, or Congregationalists, or Baptists? As we did so, have we not felt the jealousies and suspicions which we entertained of them when we viewed them at a distance, thawed and finally dissipated; and we have been led to see in them all the features of our common Father and elder Brother; and we have been interested in, rather than repelled, by the points in which they differed from us? And have we not all felt as if the various sects ran the risk at times of hindering instead of helping each other, and by each

setting up a separate agency, say a church or college, in a district where only one is needed? But while these various organizations remain separate is there not a way by which we can, after all, acknowledge and manifest the unity of the Church of Christ?

"I believe in the holy Catholic Church, and in the communion of the saints." This is a doctrine which we Protestants must not hand over to the Romanists that they may claim it as their own. It is all good that Christians should show zeal in behalf of the denomination to which they are conscientiously attached; but when they have done this they are not to be satisfied that they have done all that is required of them; they are never to forget that they are members of a larger church composed of all the faithful, and that they owe duties to it. It is not good for the individual man to be alone; nor for the individual Christian to dwell apart: both are intended for society and are benefited by it; and if they thwart their nature on these points they will become selfish and sour. But on much the same principle it is not for the benefit of a particular church to look upon itself as *the church*, the whole church of God; in doing so, it will restrain and hinder the spirit of love and become narrow, exclusive, and bigoted. A church cut off from all connection with other churches is like a pool—sure to become a stagnant marsh—with no living inflow or outflow, instead of a lake receiving supplies from above, and giving out from beneath fresh and fertilizing waters.

These were the ideas and sentiments which gave rise to the Evangelical Alliance. Men of piety and love in the Established churches of Great Britain longed for some means by which, without compromise of principle, they might hold intercourse with those who were separated from all state-endowed churches. Men of wide catholic spirit in the dissenting bodies, while continuing their protest against all state-endowed churches, were anxious to show that they loved good men in these churches. Christians widely separated from each other, in Great Britain, on the continent of Europe, in America, and in India, desired earnestly to see each other, and to pray and confer with each other. The idea of a Protestant conference was started and was welcomed by choice spirits in many a

church. In particular, at a bicentenary meeting of the Westminster Assembly, held in Edinburgh in July, 1843, a speech by Dr. Balmer, minister of the United Presbyterian Church, Berwick, fell on the receptive spirit of John Henderson of Park, a wealthy and benevolent Eastern merchant, residing in the neighborhood of Glasgow, and thenceforth his purse and a large portion of his time were devoted to the promotion of union among evangelical Christians. A conference, called by the most eminent non-conformist ministers of Scotland, headed by Dr. Chalmers, was held in Liverpool on October 1, 1845, when, in order to remove misapprehensions, and explain clearly the object aimed at, the following resolutions were passed: "That in the prosecution of the present attempt, the Conference are clearly and unanimously of opinion that no compromise of their own views, or sanction of those of others, on the points on which they differ, ought to be either required or expected on the part of any who concur in it: but that all should be held as free as before to maintain and advocate their creeds with all due forbearance and brotherly love." "Further, that any union or alliance to be formed should be understood to be an alliance of individual Christians, and not of denominations or branches of the Church." It was declared to be "the design of this Alliance to exhibit, as far as practicable, the essential unity of the Church of Christ; and at the same time to cherish and manifest, in its various branches, the spirit of brotherly love." These declarations gained the confidence of all who were breathing for union. It had then to be decided who were to be invited to join in this movement, and the Conference drew out a few simple propositions embodying what are usually understood as evangelical views, adding in explanation, "It being, however, distinctly declared, that this brief summary is not to be regarded in any formal or ecclesiastical sense as a creed or confession, nor the adoption of it as involving an assumption of the right authoritatively to define the limits of Christian brotherhood, but simply as an indication of the class of persons whom it is desirable to embrace within the Alliance." An understanding having thus been come to, the Evangelical Alliance was formally constituted in a meeting held in London on August 19, 1846.

The Society has now been in existence for twenty-four years, and during that time it has effected a large amount of good. It may not have fulfilled the expectations entertained by the good men who instituted it, and who in the delight which they experienced in fellowship one with another, and as those who had been fiercely contending came forward to express their affection for each other, spoke as if the millennium had actually dawned. Still it has succeeded in accomplishing various important works. It has been more effective than any other agency in keeping before the Protestant Church a grand truth, which it has often been tempted to overlook in its denominational zeal,—that of the unity of the church. It has not stopped discussion,—there must still be much discussion before the truth can be ascertained,—but it has certainly lessened the acrimony by which theological controversy has so often been characterized. It has not perhaps been visibly a great power, at least in the view of the world. But invisibly and inaudibly it has exercised not a little influence for good; and in our world the unseen and silent forces are after all the most efficacious,—the light which comes so pleasantly from the sun produces greater effects than the lightning with its thunders —the gently flowing stream has in its course more influence than the rushing waterfall. Supposing the Church of Christ to be represented by "the wheel in the midst of a wheel," we believe the Evangelical Alliance has, by its prayers and the spirit which it has diffused, yielded an oil which has helped to keep the wheels from creaking, and made the machine move with more ease and greater velocity. If it has not produced universal love, it has at least softened asperities. It has quietly created a public sentiment and given expression to that sentiment. If it has not accomplished union, it has made Christians long for union, and prepared the way for coming unions.

It can claim also to have promoted important practical work. It has united the people of God, of all sections and nationalities, in prayer more thoroughly than ever they have been before. It is through its influence that the "Week of Prayer" has been observed so uniformly all over Christendom; at almost every place where there is a Branch of the Alliance there have been meetings to pray for the children of Christian

parents, and for the promotion of great public measures in which all Christians are agreed. It has exerted its influence to combine Christians in great religious efforts, as in opposing rationalism and infidelity on the one hand, and popery and ritualism on the other. It has been particularly active in sheltering the persecuted for conscience' sake all over the world and to gain this end it has used its influence with the British, and with other governments. The Madiai in Florence, Matamoros, Alhama, Trigo and their fellow-Protestants in Spain, the missionaries and Turkish converts in Constantinople and other parts of the East, the Baptists in Germany, and many others, have been protected from severe persecutions by the influence which it has exerted. We have heard American missionaries from Turkey declare that they owe more to the Evangelical Alliance in protecting them from eminent danger than to all other instruments whatever.

The Evangelical Alliance has branches in nearly every country in which there are Christians. But by far the most important organization has hitherto been the British—we hope the American is henceforth to rival it. Down to this year, the history of the Evangelical Alliance is the history of the British Branch. For many years the ruling spirit in it was Sir Culling Eardley, a country gentleman of high status, nominally attached to the Episcopal Church, but in fact a member of the church universal. Since his decease there has been a felt want of one commanding mind to give life to the institution. It has had to meet, if not with opposition, yet with coldness, lukewarmness, and contempt. It never expected to meet with any favor from High Churchmen, or from Ritualists, or from Rationalists, or from Broad Churchmen (seeking to make the doctrines as few and undistinctive as possible), for it always opposed these parties; but it has met with no support from many persons who might have been expected to stand by it. Church leaders have been afraid heartily to identify themselves with it lest they should thereby lose their influence with their denomination; and hence the management of it has in many places devolved on weaklings, who have had no name or power in their locality. Ministers of the established churches of England and Scotland have de-

clined to join it, as in doing so they might seem to be making all churches alike, and bringing down their own favored church to the level of the dissenting churches. In Scotland, especially of late years since the death of Mr. Henderson of Park, the Alliance has called forth little zeal and enthusiasm, which have all been expended instead in defending denominationalism, and at the best in promoting denominational unions. We believe that Scotland has been a loser thereby, and the grand barrier to the union of the Presbyterian churches in Scotland is to be traced to the non-recognition of the unity of the Church of Christ. Then in England many Episcopalians, even of the evangelical type, have stood afar off, lest they should lose the *prestige* their church derives from their supposed apostolic succession. Yet in spite of all this callousness and indifference the Evangelical Alliance has kept its place in Great Britain and Ireland, and if rightly guided will come to have a more extended influence in these times, when state endowments are being broken up and all churches are put by the government on the same footing.

The Alliance has had five General or Ecumenical Conferences: in London in 1851; in Paris in 1855; in Berlin in 1857; in Geneva in 1861, and in Amsterdam in 1867. All of these, and especially the three last have been eminently successful, and have left a blessed influence behind them, more particularly in the way of strengthening the struggling Protestant evangelical churches situated in the midst of Romanism and infidelity. Take the conference held three years ago at Amsterdam. The Alliance went to that city at the earnest request of a few devoted Evangelical Christians who felt themselves powerless to resist the tide of rationalism in the state church. In that church there are about 1500 or 1600 ministers, and of these we could not hear when present at the conference, of more than 300 or 400 who preach the doctrines of the cross; a far larger number are avowed rationalists, and a considerable proportion of these are naturalists or humanists, who do not believe that a miracle has ever been performed; and the rest utter no certain sound of any kind. A merchant in the city, bred in Scotland, but now living in Amsterdam, said to the writer of this article, "This is a very difficult place in

which to bring up a family. My daughter not long ago was not able to go to the Scotch church as the day was wet, and she went to the nearest parish church, and returned from it in deep anxiety, crying out, 'What am I to believe, the minister told us to-day that Jesus never rose from the dead.'" It was into this city that the Alliance went in August, 1867. It sat for ten days, and discussed the profoundest topics on which the mind of man can meditate,—theological, missionary, moral, and social. The truth was defended, and errors exposed by the most erudite scholars and profoundest thinkers of Germany, France, Holland, and Great Britain; and plans for extending the Gospel and removing the evils that abound in our world were unfolded with great eloquence and power by some of the greatest philanthropists now living. The result was most beneficent. A twelvemonth after we met in London an excellent minister, perfectly competent to report the effect, and he assured us that more good had been done to Evangelical religion in those ten days by the Evangelical Alliance than by all other agencies during his twenty years' residence in that city.

At the meeting in Amsterdam, a requisition was handed in, through Dr. Prime, from the American Branch, praying that the next General Conference should be held in the city of New York; when it was moved by the Rev. Dr. Steane, the active Honorary Secretary of the Society, and seconded by the Rev. Dr. McCosh, a member of the Council of the Alliance, that this prayer should be granted. This leads us to speak for a little of the history of the Alliance in America. At the first Conferences in Liverpool and in London, American Christians felt as deep an interest and took as active a part as British Christians in the formation of the Society. But the unhappy question which so long distracted the churches in America, cast up in the Alliance, and American Christians feeling their situation unpleasant, withdrew from the association. It was not till the year 1866, that is till after slavery was abolished in the providence of God, that an understanding could be brought about and a harmony effected between the American and European churches. It was one of the highest privileges which the writer of this article has enjoyed

in this life, that he had a small share in helping to form a Branch of the Alliance in this country. Before his arrival in America, arrangements were being made to form an American organization; but it was on his paying a visit to this country with full powers from the British side, that the American Branch was actually instituted. On his return to Great Britain he proclaimed the fact to the Annual Conference of the British Branch, held that year at Bath; and the intelligence was hailed with boundless enthusiasm. For the last year and a half, the American Branch has been busily employed in making preparations for the great Ecumenical meeting in New York. Last year, Dr. Schaff was sent to Europe to bring about a thorough unity of action between Europe and America, and he succeeded in inducing a great many eminent men from Great Britain and the European continent to agree to visit this country, and to read papers on important subjects, theological and philanthropic. Some expect that the meeting to be opened on Sept. 22d will be the most important and influential General Conference which has yet been held, and that it will exercise a mighty influence for good on the Protestant churches throughout the world. When the British and American Branches unite their energies, the Alliance may be expected to enter on a new career, far more brilliant and important than it has had in the past. Happy effects may be expected to arise from the very meeting of Christians from the East, and from the West; of the profoundest theologians from Germany, France, Britain, and America; of the most devoted philanthropists and successful missionaries, each giving reports of the state of religion in his own land, or of the methods of usefulness employed in his own field of operations. Americans will learn much from what is being done in the old countries, in Europe and Asia; and we venture to predict that foreigners may learn something from the forms which Christian zeal takes in this new country, and that they will go home, more favorably impressed than when they come here, with the practical energy of the American people.

We lay before our readers the programme of the proceedings of the New York Conference in the latest form which it has assumed. It should be borne in mind that this plan may

be slightly modified from time to time, as it is intimated that persons who have engaged to read papers are prevented from doing so by events of Providence, or that other distinguished individuals can be present and take part in the proceedings. We have reason to believe that a number of eminent statesmen, lawyers, and physicians of this country, not named in this schedule will be asked to preside at the Conferences, and give addresses at the day and evening meetings.

EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE, 24 BIBLE HOUSE, NEW YORK.

Programme for the General Conference of Christians from all nations convened by the Evangelical Alliance, to be held in the city of New York, September 22 to October 3, 1870. *Printed for revision.*

[The list of English delegates will be completed as soon as a final report is received from the British Alliance. The Continental Delegates have all accepted, and will be present in person, or send papers on the topics assigned them. In addition to the reading of Essays and the discussion of their topics during the day, popular and devotional meetings will be held in the evening.]

*Thursday Evening.*—Preliminary Session.

Social re-union of members and delegates in a public hall. Address of welcome by the Rev. William Adams, D. D., LL. D., New York; and replies by officers and delegates of Foreign Alliances.

*Friday.*—I. Organization of the Conference, Election of Officers, etc.

II. Address by the President of the Conference.

III. Reports on the present state of Protestant Christendom.—Rev. Eugene Bersier: State of Religion in France. Professor A. Tholuck, D. D., Halle: Evangelical Theology in Germany. Rev. H. Krummacher, Brandenburg: Practical Religion in Germany. Rev. Cohen Stuart, Rotterdam: Holland and Belgium. Professor Revel, Florence: Italy. Rev. Antonio Carrasco, Madrid: Spain. Dean Kind, of the Grisons: Switzerland. Bishop Martensen, or Dr. Kalker, Copenhagen: Scandinavia. Rev. Dr. Koenig, Hungary: Austria. Rev. Robert Murray, D. D., Halifax: British Provinces of America. Rev. Abel Stevens, D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.: United States.

*Saturday.*—Christian Union.

I. Vital Union by Faith with Christ, the basis of Christian Union: Dean H. Alford, D. D., of Canterbury. Professor Charles Hodge, D. D., Princeton, N. J.

II. The Communion of Saints—Modes of its Promotion and Manifestation. Christian Union consistent with Denominational Distinctions: Bishop McIlvaine, D. D., D.C.L., Cincinnati, Ohio. Rev. C. D. Marston, Rector of Kersal, Manchester.

III. The Evangelical Alliance—its Objects and Influence in promoting Christian Union and Religious Liberty: Rev. James Davis, Secretary of the British Organization. Bishop George D. Cummins, D. D., of Kentucky.

IV. Relations, Spiritual and Ecclesiastical, between the United States of America and the British Empire: Rev. John Stoughton, D. D., London.

V. Religious Relations between America and Continental Europe: Professor Philip Schaff, D. D., New York.

*Sunday.—Morning.*—Sermons by ministers from Europe in all the churches opened to the Alliance. *Evening.*—Meetings for Prayers and short Addresses in various churches and in different languages.

*Monday.*—Christianity and its Antagonists.

I. Rationalism and Pantheism: Professor Von der Goltz, D. D., Basel, Switzerland. Professor W. F. Warren, D. D., Boston.

II. Materialism and Positivism: President James McCosh, D. D., LL. D., Princeton, N. J.

III. Best Methods of Counteracting Modern Infidelity: Rev. John Cairns, D. D., Berwick, England. Professor Theodore Christlieb, D. D., Bonn, Prussia.

IV. Harmony of Science and Revelation: General Superintendent W. Hoffman, D. D., Berlin. Professor Arnold Henry Guyot, Princeton, N. J.

V. The Gospel History and Modern Scepticism: Professor J. J. Van Oosterzee, D. D., Utrecht, Holland.

VI. The Gospel and Philosophy: Professor Ernest Naville, Geneva.

VII. Reason and Faith: Rev. E. A. Washburn, D. D., New York.

VIII. Christianity and Humanity: Professor F. Godet, D. D., Neuchatel.

*Tuesday.*—Christian Life.

I. Personal Religion—its Aids and Hindrances: Professor Phelps, D. D., Andover, Mass. Rev. Richard Fuller, D. D., Baltimore, Md.

II. Family Religion: Charles Reed, Esq., M. P., England. Rev. W. S. Plumer, D. D., Columbia, S. C.

III. Sunday Schools: Rev. Richard Newton, D. D., Philadelphia. Rev. Edwin B. Webb, D. D., Boston. Rev. J. H. Vincent, D. D., New York.

IV. Religious Aspects of Popular Education in Christian Countries: Honorable Baron Van Loon, Amsterdam (with regard to Holland). President Mark Hopkins, D. D., Williams' College, Mass. (with regard to America). Professor Pfleiderer, Wurtemberg (with regard to Germany).

V. Religious Education in the South: Rev. B. Sears, D. D., Staunton, Va.

VI. Demands of Christianity upon its Professors in Commercial and Public Affairs—The Right Use of Wealth: Bishop Matthew Simpson, D. D., Philadelphia. Pres. Martin B. Anderson, LL. D., Rochester, N. Y.

VII. Revivals of Religion—How to make them productive of permanent good: W. W. Patton, D. D., Chicago, Ill. S. W. Fisher, D. D., Utica, N. Y.

VIII. Christianity and the Press: G. H. Davis, LL. D., Sec. London Rel. Tract Society. Rev. W. R. Williams, D. D., New York.

*Wednesday.*—Protestantism and Romanism.

I. Principles of the Reformation—Supremacy of the Bible—Justification by Faith—Christian Liberty: Prof. I. A. Dorner, D. D., University of Berlin.

II. Effects of the Reformation upon Modern Civilization: Prof. I. Lichtenberger, D. D., Strassburg. Prof. Geo. P. Fisher, D. D., New Haven.

III. Present Aspects of Romanism—Ultramontanism—The Œcumenical Council of 1870—Temporal Power of the Papacy—Lessons to be Learned from

Romanism: Rev. Edmund de Pressense, D. D., Paris. Rev. R. S. Storrs, D. D., Brooklyn.

IV. The Training required to enable Protestant Ministers effectually to meet the Intellectual and Practical Demands of the Present Age: Rev. Frank Coulin, D. D., Geneva. Prof. Alvah Hovey, D. D., Newton Centre, Mass.

*Thursday.*—Christianity and Civil Government.

I. Present State of Religious Liberty in the different nations of Christendom: Rev. Edward Steane, D. D., London.

II. Church and State: Rev. Fred. Fabri, D. D., Barmen, Prussia. Prof. Theodore Dwight, LL. D., New York.

III. Constitution and Government in the United States as related to Religion: Pres. Woolsey, D. D., Yale College, New Haven.

IV. Legislation upon Moral Questions: Hon. W. M. Evarts, LL. D., New York.

V. Sunday Laws: Alex. Lombard, Esq., Geneva, Switzerland. Hon. William F. Allen, Albany, N. Y.

VI. The Free Churches on the Continent of Europe: Prof. Astie, Lausanne, Switzerland. Prof. C. Pronier, Geneva, Switzerland.

VII. The Effects of Civil and Religious Liberty upon Christianity: Prof. Daniel R. Goodwin, D. D., Philadelphia.

VIII. Support of the Ministry: Pres. W. H. Campbell, D. D., New Brunswick, N. J. Rev. John Hall, D. D., New York.

*Friday.*—Christian Missions—Foreign and Domestic.

I. Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions compared, in their Principles, Methods, and Results: Rev. Dr. Grundemann, Gotha, Germany.

II. Protestant Missions among the Oriental Churches: Rev. Dr. H. H. Jessup, Beyrut, Syria.

III. Missions among Civilized and Uncivilized Nations: Rev. John Mullens, D. D., Secretary of the London Miss. Society.

IV. Territorial Divisions of Missionary Fields of Labor: Rev. Rufus Anderson, D. D., Boston.

V. Obligations of Science, Literature, and Diplomacy to Christian Missions: Rev. Dr. Van Dyck, M. D., Beyrut, Syria. Hon. Peter Parker, M. D., LL. D., Washington, D. C.

VI. Evangelization of the Masses in nominally Christian Countries—Inner Missions in Germany—City Missions in England and America, etc.—Lay Preaching: Count Bernstorf, Berlin, Prussia. Rev. Dr. Nast, Cincinnati. Dr. L. S. Jacobi, Bremen.

VII. Christian Work among Western Settlers, the Freedmen, Indians, and Chinese in the United States: Bishop Payne, Xenia, Ohio (Freedmen).

VIII. Laws and Modes of Progress in Christ's Kingdom: Rev. Horace Bushnell, D. D., Hartford, Ct.

*Saturday.*—Christianity and Social Evils.

I. Intemperance, and its Suppression: Prof. H. A. Nelson, D. D., Lane Theol. Seminary, Cincinnati.

II. Pauperism, and its Remedy: Rev. W. Muhlenberg, D. D., New York. G. H. Stuart, Esq., Philadelphia.

III. War, and its Prevention: Rev. Henry W. Beecher, Brooklyn, N. Y.

IV. False Theories of Marriage, with special reference to Mormonism: Prof. Daniel P. Kidder, D. D., Chicago.

V. Christian Philanthropy — Hospitals — Deaconesses — Refuges — Ragged Schools—Prisons: Rev. Dr. Wichern, Berlin, Prussia. The Earl of Shaftesbury, England. George Hanbury, Esq., London. Count Acenor de Gasparin, Geneva. Rev. Dr. Passavant, Pittsburgh, Pa. Bishop B. Bigler, Lancaster, Pa.

*Sunday.*—Close of the Conference.

*Morning.*—Sermons in various churches in New York, Brooklyn, and vicinity.

*Evening.*—Farewell Service of the Conference, with Addresses and Prayers in each language represented.

*Congress on Matters of Emigration.*—On Monday and Tuesday after the Conference an International Congress will be held for the Discussion and Promotion of the Material, Social, and Spiritual Welfare of the Emigrants, in which Delegates from Europe and America are to take part.

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## ART. IX.—*Minority Representation in the Diocese of New Jersey.*

THE method of voting by ballot, which gives to respectable minorities their just representation, in a Parliament, a Congress, or a board of officers, has attracted much attention in England, and some in this country, during the last few years. Of the attempts to introduce it, and expositions of its character and tendency, we gave some account in the last October number of this Review.

Our interest in the subject has been not a little excited, by two instances of its application; the one a recent election of a bench of judges in the State of New York, where with a Democratic majority of 80,000 against them, the Republicans elected two out of six; the other in the recent Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of New Jersey, of which the writer is a member.

The Convention adopted, and forthwith applied in action the following canon, of which we have this record: "The Rev. Dr. Garrison of Camden made a very cogent argument

in favor of minority representation, and concluded by introducing the following canon, which was supported by the Bishop, and accepted after a warm, but temperate discussion: 'In all elections by ballot each voter shall be entitled to as many votes as there are persons to be elected, which votes may be cast all for one name, or may be divided among any number not exceeding the whole number to be voted for,* and any ticket having such excess shall be rejected.

"'There shall be a nomination to the Convention, at least three hours previous to any election by ballot, of all persons for whom it is proposed to vote, and no vote shall be counted for any name not so nominated.'"

This was directly put in force in the election of the Standing Committee of the diocese, consisting of four clerical and four lay-members. Tellers having been appointed, and the ballots received, it was found, respecting the vote of the clergy for their order, that 37 votes had been cast (only about one-third of the voters having come in at the time appointed for the election), and that the minority candidate had 37 votes, while the highest of the majority candidates had only 28. But here, for some who had not grasped the main points of the transaction, came a puzzle. It was found that the lowest of five voted for (while only four could be elected) had 19 votes; and as the tellers, not understanding that, in this mode of election, pluralities turn the scale, had reported 19 necessary to a choice, it seemed that five were equally entitled to be declared chosen. But as soon as attention was called to the plurality feature of the mode of electing, all were satisfied, and the lowest, *i. e.*, the 19 vote name, was dropped.

Then, another result of the new rule was observed, viz., that while the majority in the Convention is about 4, to 1 in the minority, the minority candidate had 9 more votes than the highest of the others. Be it observed too, that 9 voters in the minority would give 36 votes, while the 28 voting against them, giving 112 votes to 4 candidates, could give but an

* This is obscure. The meaning is, that a voter can have only as many votes as there are officers to be elected. So many he can give to one, or distribute among four of those who have been nominated, where only four are to be elected—the candidates might be a dozen.

average of 28. It appeared from the report, that several of their votes were scattered, as the 4 candidates ranged from 28 down to 19.

It is also worthy of note that while pluralities determine the result, if the majority have so scattered their votes as to give no one more than 2 or 3, their part of the ticket would have been perfectly secure, unless, indeed, two of their candidates had the same number of votes; in which case they would, we suppose, have been obliged to change some of their ballots. So a minority candidate might be elected by a very few votes against large numbers, *i. e.*, if they should happen to be much scattered.

As an illustration of results in this mode of voting, let us suppose 4 officers to be elected by 8 voters. Let the majority be 6, the minority 2. If both parties concentrate their votes, as they naturally would, the ballot will stand thus:—let A be the minority candidate, he of course gets 8 votes. The others may stand thus:—

| B. | C. | D. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 1 | 1 | 1st voter, |
| 1 | 2 | 1 | &c. |
| 1 | 1 | 2 | |
| 2 | 1 | 1 | |
| 1 | 1 | 2 | |
| 1 | 2 | 1 | |
| 8 | 8 | 8 | for each of the major- |

ity. It might be 7, 8, 9, by sufficient care in distributing the votes; and other results are attainable; but the chances would be in favor of the one first stated.

The opposition to this measure in the Convention, was partly under the misapprehension that *any* minority, *however small*, must elect one at least of a proposed ticket. This had been inadvertently asserted by one or more of those favoring the canon, and not, for some time, contradicted. But it is easily made to appear that very small minorities can elect no one, unless, indeed, the majority should scatter votes in a reckless way; and this is not, in any ordinary circumstances, to be feared.

But, it is suggested, a large minority may elect the half of

a ticket: say 4 to be elected, and the parties as 65 to 45. Then as the 45 have 180 votes, they can give 90 to each of two candidates; while the majority could give only 86⅔ to each of three. But the margin of danger here is small; for let there be 42 to 68, and the minority can elect only one; as clearly they ought to have power to do. Such possible dangers are not much to be regarded.

This method of election, whenever it is practicable, is clearly right; and the common method, where there is not some special reason for it, is as clearly wrong—socially, if not morally, wrong. In the case of the recent election of judges in New York, there is not the slightest reason to doubt that the minority hold a great share of the wealth, and have much of the intelligence of the mass of voters. What a wrong, where a bench of judges is to be elected, whose decisions will be of no less importance to the minority than to the majority, that the larger number merely should have all the power in their own hands—the people and interests wholly unrepresented, being more than of several of our smaller States put together.

On the true plan every one votes for those who can represent him. The smaller number may elect only one in five, or one in ten, or one in twenty—they are nevertheless represented, and can always be heard when decisions, or enactments involving their interests are proposed. This is a most beautiful result; and the world in all its parts, where voting is allowed, must at length see and feel it. The inventors of this method may be set down for as much immortality as this world can give.

The righteousness of this rule, for religious bodies, was very strongly urged in this New Jersey Convention, by Judge Savage of Rahway. He referred to the election in New York, where notwithstanding the corruption so commonly charged upon political parties a sense of rectitude prevailed. His appeal was: "If even the political world is so far moving in the direction of right, is it possible that you, as members of the Church of Christ, will refuse such a concession to your very brethren in that church?" Such, for substance, was his appeal, and it was felt, we venture to say, by every opponent of the proposed canon.

But we hear of another objection. In this same Convention it has been for some time the practice of the majority to allow the minority one member on the clerical part of the Standing Committee. Now it is said that the minority having the right, by combining thoroughly, to *elect* one, party spirit will thereby be exacerbated, the majority will lose its opportunity of showing generosity, and the minority have no longer an occasion for gratitude for the favor received. All which may be thus parabolically set forth. There is a strong man who having a weak one in his power, is accustomed to deprive him of various rights; but also, as a mere matter of grace, to allow him certain others; for which the weak man is partially grateful. But ever and anon, the parties fall into disputes, and never fully realize the conceivable blessing of generous giving and grateful receiving. The too often oppressed man is very apt to think of his *rights*, and wish that he could maintain them without the gracious permission of another. Would not these men be upon better terms, probably at least, if the *right*, instead of possible favor from the stronger, were the basis of their intercourse with each other.

We do not assert that in the case of this Convention, the rights of the minority have not been respected: our concern is with the general principles of the case.

A few words more respecting the advantages of this scheme. We have already referred to the desirableness of having respectable minorities heard through their own representatives. In a Standing Committee, a Court, or a Legislature, how important that any respectable minority of those represented, should have their interests presented and defended by men of their own choice! The voting, in such delegated bodies may be against the smaller number, but not till their cause is fully argued; and then the final action may be modified to favor their rights, in a measure at least. Again, we may observe the ease of filling up lists of those to be elected, when the first ballot fails. The minority having elected their candidates, it will be an easy task to determine the additional members of the majority part of the ticket. Two or three votes differently cast may do it. How this can be effected we need not specify.

# Art. X.—NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles.* By Paton J. Gloag, D. D., Minister of Blantyre. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 439 and 456. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co.

It may perhaps be said that no book of the New Testament makes such large and varied demands upon a commentator as the "Acts of the Apostles." It presents indeed few difficult or obscure constructions, but while the work of translation is easy, ample scope is afforded for the skill and learning of the interpreter. Its theme is the founding, early training, and the expansion of the Christian Church, which it traces from Jerusalem the capital of Judea, to Rome the metropolis of the world. It covers the whole period of transition from the old dispensation to the new, and details those providential measures by which the infant company of believers attained its independent organization, was gradually released from the shackles of the past, was brought to a consciousness of its true character and mission, and was fairly embarked upon its new career, equipped for its work and secure of its destiny. The proper interpretation of this book necessarily involves an intelligent appreciation of the vast movement here described, and a correct apprehension of the bearing of each successive act or incident upon the ultimate result.

And then the peculiar position of this book as a link uniting the past with the future, renders its adjustment with the preceding and following portions of divine revelation, a task of unusual delicacy and importance. There are special difficulties,—chronological, historical, and exegetical,—which grow out of the frequent allusions to or citations from the Old Testament. It is in form a sequel to the gospel written by the same author, who thus intimates the close connection between what is here narrated and the personal ministry of Christ. And it stands in almost perpetual relation with the epistles, upon whose occasion and design it sheds much welcome light, while receiving from them incidental corroboration of many of its statements, and important aid for the more exact understanding of others.

Again, one of the most striking features of the Acts, in which it contrasts remarkably with the other New Testament writings, is its numerous points of contact with general history and what we know from uninspired sources. While the gospels are limited to the narrow territory of Palestine, the Acts traverse not only Syria but Asia Minor and Greece, finally conducting us to Italy and Rome. The mention of cities and provinces, of their governors, and of facts and usages, affords opportunity for abundant illustration from multiplied sources, from Greek and Roman writers, from ancient monuments and coins and works of art, and from the investigations of modern travellers. Recent research has col-

lected a vast mass of materials which can be usefully employed in the elucidation or vindication of the sacred narrative.

And finally this book has been subjected to the minute and searching criticism of modern times. Men of great learning and acuteness have been employed in its investigation with the view of ascertaining all that can be known or legitimately inferred of the circumstances of its origin, the design with which it was written, its plan and the relations of its several parts. They have worked each from his own stand-point as believers or as unbelievers, with a just or a perverted view of the work which they were thus carefully examining. And this laborious scrutiny, even when undertaken with mistaken conceptions or prosecuted with pernicious designs, has resulted either in directly developing what is of real value or in inciting others to investigations of lasting importance. So that whether it has been from envy and strife or with good will, we may nevertheless rejoice that the issue has been to promote the cause of truth.

Of Dr. Gloag's commentary we cannot speak otherwise than in terms of high commendation. His previous labors as translator of the Commentary on the Acts in the Edinburgh (not the American) edition of Lange's Bibelwerk, formed an excellent preparation for the independent task which he has now undertaken, and which he has executed with distinguished ability. There is little perhaps that is positively new or original in these volumes. But what is of vastly greater consequence than any novelties of interpretation, the author has brought together in a brief and manageable compass, lucidly arranged and clearly stated, whatever has been developed in the various lines of investigation above recited, that is of consequence for the understanding of this book. He has furnished, however, not a congeries of other men's opinions, but the matured results of extended study, a well-balanced judgment and a devout spirit full of reverence and love for the holy oracles. There is throughout these volumes a delightful combination of candor, good sense, and evangelical sentiment. We might not acquiesce in every opinion expressed. Statements are occasionally made that require modification or qualification. We may instance the remark, Vol. I., p. 140, respecting the Sadducees: "They rejected the traditions of the Fathers: the written word, according to them, was the only rule of faith and doctrine; and all the supposed traditions derived from Moses were spurious." This allegation, though so frequently made and apparently sanctioned by the words of Josephus, is yet shown by the latest researches into native Jewish authorities, to be not entirely correct. Geiger (Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel, p. 133) and Derenbourg (L'Histoire de la Palestine d'après les Thalmuds, ch. viii.) have shown that while the Sadducees rejected the traditions current among the Pharisees, they had others of their own to which they adhered with equal reverence. While retaining, however, the liberty of occasional dissent, we see no cause to retract or modify the favorable judgment already given respecting these instructive and excellent volumes.

*The Elements of the Hebrew Language.* By Rev. A. D. Jones, A. M. 8vo, pp. 163. Andover. 1870.

This grammar professes to be one for beginners, to whom in spite of some defects it may prove useful. It contains a brief statement of grammatical principles, and is accompanied by exercises for translation, and a vocabulary. Its exercises

for pronunciation are borrowed without acknowledgment from Willard's grammar of 1817, from which the classification of irregular verbs and the antiquated declension of nouns and pronouns by the Latin cases are likewise taken, this last being as appropriate as the same thing would be in English grammar, only aggravated by the fact that what is given as the genitive is not so used in the Biblical Hebrew at all. An innovation is made in the verbal paradigms, which can scarcely be other than confusing to beginners, the persons of the preterite being arranged in a different order from those of the future, and those of the preterite of the substantive verb, p. 74, differently from the preterites of other verbs. Terms are also employed in strange and novel senses, and this without definitions or even self-consistency. Thus on p. 14: "All the letters can be *quiescent;* but only the four א ה ו י can be *imperceptible;* hence they are called *mutes.*" Here "mutes" has a meaning which is certainly different from that to which learners are accustomed; "quiescent" a meaning which is neither explained in this connection, nor could it be divined from pp. 22, 78, where the same word recurs, but in totally different senses; and "imperceptible" is incorrectly applied.

*Crowned and Discrowned; or, the Rebel King and the Prophet of Ramah.* By Rev. S. W. Culver, A. M. 16mo., pp. 149. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. For sale by Smith, English & Co.

A series of brief paragraphs on striking passages from the life of Saul, tersely written and with much vivacity and force, and showing no little vigor and freshness of thought. Where the writer stands on the platform of our common Christianity, he says much that is just and impressive. When he retreats to the narrow corner of sectarian exclusiveness, and rails against infant baptism, and charges those who profess to baptize, yet do not immerse, with "uttering an untruth," with "renouncing the authority of God, impeaching the wisdom of the Saviour, mocking God, deceiving their fellow-men, and perverting the ordinances of the church and the truth of the gospel," we can scarcely be expected to accord to him our approbation.

*A Manual of Church History. Mediæval Church History.* A. D. 590–A. D. 1073. By Henry E. F. Guericke, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Halle; translated from the German by William G. T. Shedd, Baldwin Professor in Union Theological Seminary. Andover: Warren F. Draper.

Church history owes much to the Lutherans, perhaps more than to any other body of Christians. Rationalists and orthodox alike have labored, for the most part with a singleness of purpose, which is eminently German, to ascertain and present correctly the facts of the church's progress. In English, things take a controversial turn, and when a man writes history, it is with a view to defend some party interest in religion or politics; a German, usually, goes into his work with little concern what conclusion may come out of it, provided only he gets what seems to himself coherent and truthful. At the same time it is not possible that he should not be biased, more or less, by his own habitual way of thinking. Guericke is an orthodox Lutheran of the most uncompromising type, and can see nothing at variance with the faith and practice of his own denomination. A worthy representative of the piety of Halle, he is an opponent of all rational-

ism, "is in hearty sympathy with the truths of revelation, as they have been enunciated in the symbols, and wrought into the experience of the Christian church from the beginning. Belonging to the High Lutheran branch of the German church, and also sharing, to some extent, in its recent narrowness, whenever he approaches the points at issue between the Lutherans and Calvinists, he cordially adopts all the cardinal doctrines of the Reformation," and "stands upon the high ground of supernaturalism in reference to the origin, establishment, and perpetuity of the Christian religion."

Thirteen years ago, Prof. Shedd translated the first volume of Guericke's work, bringing the history down to the end of the sixth century. The volume now published continues it to the accession of Pope Gregory VII. in 1073.

Following the footsteps of Neander, Guericke labors to compress his narrative into the smallest possible space, the present volume contains only 160 octavo pages, His sentences are packed full of information, but often awkward and harsh. His style is much improved by passing into the English of Professor Shedd.

*The Typology of Scripture, viewed in connection with the whole Series of the Divine Dispensations.* By Patrick Fairbairn, D. D., Principal and Professor of Divinity, Free Church College, Glasgow. Fifth edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

These two large and well-printed octavo volumes show the great value and enduring vitality of a work which, after a lapse of some twenty years since its first publication, reappears in a fifth edition, besides having been republished, we believe, in other editions in this, if not in other countries. We find in this a confirmation of the impression made on our mind, as we perused and examined it when first made accessible to us years ago. We have read few books which have helped us more to a true insight into the most significant and germinant portions of Scripture, and some most important aspects of exegetical, doctrinal, and practical theology. It is full of the "seeds of things," and eminently suggestive, quickening, and informing to the student of divinity and the preacher.

The view of the Scriptural types with which the Old Testament abounds, is rescued from the extravagance of the extreme typical school on the one hand, and from rationalistic destructiveness on the other. They are treated in their living relations to the Great Antitype, and to the whole of revealed truth which centres and culminates in the Alpha and Omega of all divine revelations and dispensations.

The author avails himself of all the light of modern research and German learning in the construction of his work: refuting them when destructive or groundless, but incorporating them when they elucidate his great theme. This was done in the original edition not only, but more fully in this, so far as new contributions to the discussion have been since made. He has given it a general revision, carefully making any emendations and improvements, suggested by the experience and the criticisms of the period that has elapsed since its first publication, thus furnishing us a worthy illustration of the maxim of Augustine quoted in the title-page: *In vetere Testamento novum latet, et in novo vetus patet.*

*The Dogmatic Faith: An Inquiry into the Relation subsisting between Revelation and Dogma, in Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the year* 1867, *on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M. A., Canon of Salisbury.* By Edward Garbett, M. A., Incumbent of Christ Church, Surbiton. With an Introductory Note by William G. T. Shedd, D. D., Baldwin Professor in Union Theological Seminary, New York City. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1870.

No book could appear at the present time more urgently needed, or better fitted to accomplish the end at which it aims. Christendom is flooded with all kinds of assaults against Christian doctrine, or the idea that Christianity involves any system or body of truths, any series of definite propositions, the belief of which is essential to the Christian faith, the denial of which is a negation of Christianity. We are told that Christianity is not a doctrine but a life, as if a Christian life were a negation of Christian truth, or could exist in ignorance, hatred, or rejection of, or non-conformity to, that truth. Others, like Colenso, perverting and overstraining the contrast between letter and spirit, represent Christianity as some ethereal and impalpable spirit diffusing itself somehow through the language of the Bible, but not definitely articulated or determinately expressed by it. Dogma is the great scandal of all who do not like the distinctive doctrines of Christianity, and try to rationalize them away. We have even known one of the most popular but erratic of preachers in orthodox ecclesiastical connections, ridiculing dogma by such small punning as writing it *dog*-ma.

On the other hand, our author shows, against all those who would thus evaporate Christianity into nihilism, that, however the word "dogmatism" may sometimes mean a disposition in men to force assent to their own doctrines by the groundless assumption of divine authority for them, yet "dogma" means a truth declared and attested by the word of God; that there is a body of such truths capable of definite statement which constitutes Christianity; that these have been held in the church continuously downward from apostolic times; that the rationalists and papists are alike at fault in setting up a standard and arbiter of faith outside of and above the written word: that the natural conscience, although the guiding moral faculty in man, yet shares the corruption of his whole nature, and requires itself to be guided by the light of revelation. These and cognate truths are set forth and vindicated with a light and power, a judicial insight, a dialectic skill, a fulness of learning and ripeness of culture which the task requires, and which have given such value to many courses of the Bampton lectures. We quote the following as a fair sample of the whole book—pp. 32–4:—

"But the error reaches beyond this. For the claims of the church, deprived of their historical basis in the Word, become a mere form of human speculation, instead of a divine ordinance. They are thus regarded by the disciples of rationalism, as standing on precisely the same footing as other modes of thought, with the authority of the understanding, and nothing else, for their ultimate basis. In the supposed absence of a divine revelation, the rationalist, it appears to me, is unquestionably right. The Church of Rome, for instance, has been accustomed in times past, to accept the true inspiration of the Scriptures, and only since she has been pressed by the arguments of the Reformers has she found it her policy to depreciate their authority. But she teaches that the rule of faith is in herself, and that she gives authority to the Scriptures, not derives authority from them. When, therefore, she is asked for her credentials, she has none to give beyond

herself. She affirms herself to be the depository of the authority of Christ upon earth, but she has no evidence to offer beyond her own affirmation. The old argument of antiquity and universality she has practically given up, and taken the theory of development in exchange. The breach between her and all Christian antiquity consequently becomes wider day by day. Hence she possesses no evidence for her asserted authority save her own affirmation of its existence. But this is exactly the ground of the theist, the pantheist, and even the atheist. The instruments of discovery used by these several schools of thought are different. With one it may be a natural sentiment, with another a mystical intuition, with a third the speculative intellect; but in each case the process is equally internal and subjective. They have no historical basis, and if the existence of the inspired records of the faith be denied or forgotten, the church sinks into exactly the same position. In such a case the most dogmatic creed, philosophically considered, becomes a form of human speculation and nothing more."

*American Political Economy: including Strictures on the Management of the Currency and the Finances since* 1861, *with a Chart showing the Fluctuations in the Price of Gold.* By Francis Bowen, Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity in Harvard College. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870.

This is partly a recast of a treatise on Political Economy, published years ago by the author, and partly a searching review and criticism of the financial measures of the government during and since the late war. We have been accustomed to read with high interest and appreciation the publications of Prof. Bowen in the department of mental and kindred sciences. Whether we agree with them or not, they are always able, thorough, and scholarly. We quite agree with Dr. McCosh, that his work on Logic, is the most perfect unfolding of the Kantian and Hamiltonian Formal Logic that has yet been produced.

In this volume the author presents the elementary principles of Political Economy, with his wonted clearness and force. He, however, appears, in his Preface, to set small value on these generalities or the universal and ultimate laws of the science. He rather magnifies the importance of its concrete applications and phenomena in particular nations, "Here in America as it seems to me, we need an American Political Economy, the principles of the science being adapted to what is special in our physical condition, social institutions, and pursuits."—P. 5. His illustrations, however, are, in about the usual proportion found in American authors, derived from foreign countries, especially Britain, till he comes to the subject of money, more particularly as connected with the financial measures of our government since the outbreak of the war. This is the feature of the book, makes up about half of it, constitutes the principal addition to his former work, and specially earns for it the title of "American Political Economy." We detect here, as elsewhere in the author's writings, vigor, keenness, clearness, and many valuable suggestions new and old. But we are sorry to say that we meet with much that, with all respect, we must regard as betraying too much of the narrowness of special pleading, and less of judicial breadth and impartiality than we had looked for.

What most surprises us is the chapter on the National Banking system. It would require an extended article to point out all the fallacies of this chapter. One is that it was initiated in a state of war, and that this is no time for instituting new systems. This is only a half truth. It is not the time for innovations that can and will be better made in quiet times. But it is the very time

for great and needed revolutionary measures, that never would be otherwise adopted, such as the abolition of slavery, and the resumption by the national government of its constitutional function of controlling all issues of money, or whatever, by any governmental authority, circulates as money; so that, instead of being multiplied endlessly at the pleasure of some forty States, at once flooding the country, and having a mere local credit, we may have a currency issued by the national authority, and gladly received for the value of its face in the remotest nook and corner of our country. Prof. Bowen tells us, that "the great advantages of these local peculiarities (of State Banks) is, that the local currencies stay at home, bank-bills circulate only in the neighborhoods where those who receive them are well acquainted with the character and management of the issuing institution," etc. (p. 371). For ourselves, and we think we speak for ninety-nine out of every hundred, we have had enough of the benefits of these "local currencies," which could not be sent in a letter from Massachusetts to Minnesota, without incurring a heavy percentage of loss; which often caused a loss to merchants, amounting to a heavy percentage of their profits, in procuring their redemption; which supported great banks, and banking-houses in all our great cities, in the business and profits of redeeming them; which caused an annual heavy loss to all periodicals, and others receiving their dues in small sums by mail. Do travellers wish the return of this "local currency?" We have ourselves had bills of specie-paying banks in New Jersey, refused by hotel-keepers in Massachusetts, and specie demanded. The very thought of pleading the superiority of State to National Bank currency, seems to us unaccountable.

And it is not in keeping with this when the author tells us (p. 381), "It was a great mistake to take away the whole bank edifice from *its solid foundation on private commercial credit* and place it on *the morass, the quaking bog, of national stock*, which may be selling at par to day, and 70 or 80 next week?" Indeed? Do not banks and bankers, after all, prefer the security of this "quaking bog" to private commercial credit for their loans? And do not the people likewise prefer the same for their bank-bills? But says Prof. Bowen:—

"Still it may be said that here is no real ground of complaint, for it is the very essence and excellence of the system that one bill shall be as good as another anywhere. Let us see. A depositor once had occasion to have a small check cashed at a bank which never, under the old system, paid him any thing but its own bills. This time it paid him four bills, one from some town unknown to him in Pennsylvania, a second from some place equally unknown in Michigan, a third from New York, and the fourth was an old State Bank bill. Now the National Bank bills, though legal tender to and from the United States, except for the payment of duties or interests on national stocks, are not legal tender between man and man. Suppose the person had occasion for some greenbacks, which, at present and for some indefinite time to come, are 'lawful money,' in order to make a tender for the discharge of a debt. His own local bank is not bound to obtain them for him, for he has none of its own bills to present for them. He must write to some friend, if he can find one, either in Pittsburgh or Philadelphia, to another at Chicago, to a third at Albany or New York, and ask them to present these bills for redemption at the proper places; and then, after considerable delay, and some expense in writing letters, and for postage, and some risk in transmitting money by mail, he will receive lawful money in exchange for his little share of Mr. Chase's uniform National Currency."—Pp. 373–4.

One simple fact finishes this operose illustration. Every bank is bound to pay the checks of its depositors in "lawful money," *i. e.*, legal tender or coin

if demanded. Does not the author say in this very paragraph, that National Bank bills are "not a legal tender between man and man?" Certainly not then between banks and men.

These are fair specimens of the author's whole style of dealing with this great subject. What he says about the profits and privileges involved in the circulation of the National Banks, is equally mistaken. We much regret that so good a book should suffer from such blemishes.

*The Sublime in Nature; compiled from the descriptions of travellers and celebrated writers.* By Ferdinand de Lanoye. With large additions.

*Wonders of Glass-Making in all Ages.* By A. Sanzay. Illustrated by sixty-three engravings on wood.

*The Sun.* By Amédée Guillemin. From the French, by A. L. Phipson, Ph. D. With fifty-eight illustrations.

The above are three additional volumes of the "Illustrated Library of Wonders," in course of publication by Messrs. Charles Scribner & Co. We have already brought some of the preceding volumes to the favorable attention of our readers. As the series goes forward we confess that we are more and more impressed with its excellence. It is seldom that any set of reading books appear that so happily combine the entertainment of the novel with the choicest practical and scientific instruction, fitted alike for the old and the young, the cultivated and uncultivated, the individual and the family. The graphic sketches and pictorial illustrations are equally useful and fascinating. The descriptions of the great mountains, volcanoes, rivers, and cataracts of the globe in the first of the volumes above noted are derived from the best sources.

The second on the wonders of Glass-Making is quite unique, and there are few who will not be charmed by the descriptions and illustrations of the processes and products of human art in the various forms of this most useful and beautiful substance in different countries and ages.

The third volume on the "Wonders of the Sun," is still more remarkable in the grandeur, magnificence, and utility of its unfoldings. It expands and rises with the vastness and sublimity of its object. The great discoveries of modern science are brought within the reach of the ordinary reader, in a way to inform, astonish, and delight him. We append one or two extracts from this volume.

"THE FUNCTIONS OF HEAT AND LIGHT.

"Heat cannot supply the place of light in the important function of vegetation. A plant which is shut up in a dark place, even when there is a sufficient degree of temperature, becomes chlorotic; its green color disappears; it only lives and grows at the expense of its own substance. M. Boussingault has recently studied the phenomena of vegetation in the dark; his experiments prove that if the young plant raised from a seed be developed out of all contact with light, the leaves do not act as a reducing apparatus; a plant born under such circumstances emits carbonic acid constantly, as long as the substance of the seed can supply any carbon, and the duration of its existence depends upon the weight of this substance. It is a singular fact that a plant, developed in complete darkness with stalk, leaves, and roots, performs functions like an animal during the whole period of its existence. 'It is only under the influence of light that leaves are sensitive, endowed with periodic movements, and capable of motion. In the dark they are rigid and appear to be asleep.' (J. Sachs, 'Vegetable Physiology.')

"Finally, if the development of the various colors of flowers be independent of the local action of light, the latter is no less indirectly the indispensable agent both of the formation and of the colors of flowers, since the corolla and the staminæ can only grow and subsist at the expense of substances formed in the leaves by the action of light.

"THE RAYS OF THE SUN THE FIRST CONDITION OF EXISTENCE FOR ORGANIZED BEINGS.

"The rays of the sun are, therefore, from every point of view, the first condition of existence for organized beings on the surface of the Earth. They supply them with heat, without which life would soon be extinguished; with light, which presides over the nutrition of plants, and consequently over the lives of every being in the animal world; at every moment they determine numerous chemical combinations and decompositions. They constitute an incessant and periodically renewed source of movement, power, and life. Men of the present day profit not only by the prodigious quanity of force which the Sun annually pours upon the Earth in the form of calorific, chemical, and luminous undulations, but they are consuming also that which has been preserved for thousands of centuries. What are, in fact, the accumulated masses of coal buried in the crust of the Earth by geological action, but the produce of solar light condensed some thousand centuries ago in gigantic forests? Their carboniferous principle transformed by a kind of slow distillation amassed itself first into a peaty tissue, then into more and more compact strata, until the layers of vegetable remains were completely converted into basins of coal. At the present day in our manufactories, our locomotives, and steamers, these precious fossils give back to man in light, heat, and mechanical power, all that they had formerly acquired for thousands of years from the rays of the Sun."

Since the foregoing was written we have received from Scribner & Co. two additional volumes of the series of "Illustrated Wonders," viz.:—

*The Wonders of the Human Body.* From the French of A. L. Pileur, Doctor of Medicine. Illustrated with forty-five engravings.

*The Wonders of Italian Art.* By Louis Viardot. Twenty-eight engravings.

The former rich in anatomical and physiological instruction popularized; the latter opening to the great reading public the wealth and magnificence of art in the land of artists. We take from it the following extract:—

"MICHAEL ANGELO'S REVENGE ON BIAGIO.

"The fresco of Michael Angelo was not yet finished when it was nearly being destroyed. From the denunciation of his chamberlain, Biagio of Cesena, who considered the painting more suitable for a bath-room or even a tavern than for the pope's chapel, Paul III. had, for a short time, the wish to have it destroyed. To revenge himself on his denunciator, Michael Angelo condemned Biagio to the pillory of immortality. He painted him among the condemned under the form of Minos, and according to the fiction of Dante in the fifth canto of the 'Inferno:'

Stravvi Minos orribilmente e ringia,

that is to say, with the ass's ears of Midas and a serpent for a girdle, which recalls the lines of an old Spanish romance, on the King Rodrigo, crying out from his tomb:—

Ya me comen, ya me comen,
Por do mas pecado habia.

Biagio complained to the pope, demanding that at least his features should be effaced. 'In what part of his picture has he placed you?' asked the pope

'In hell.'—'If it had been in purgatory, we could have got you out, but in hell, *nulla est redemptio.*'"

*Annual of Scientific Discovery, or Year Book of Facts in Science and Art, for* 1870. *Exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Biology, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc. Together with Notes on the Progress of Science during the year* 1869*; a List of recent Scientific Publications, Obituaries of Eminent, Scientific Men, etc.* Edited by John Trowbridge, S. B., Assistant Professor of Physics in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; aided by Samuel Kneeland, M. D., Professor of Zoology and Physiology in the Institute; and W. R. Nichols, Graduate of the Institute. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 59 Washington Street. New York: Sheldon & Co. London: Trubner & Co. 1870.

This title-page does such justice to the contents of this great Annual, which we always welcome, that we cannot improve upon without stretching our remarks beyond a short notice to an extended article. It is quite indispensable to all who would keep at all abreast of the immense strides of pure and applied science. A prodigious amount of most valuable and interesting matter is closely packed into it. Few could read it without finding practical suggestions from which they could gain economical advantages greatly surpassing its cost. The schemes of the foundation of separate species by natural selection and by derivation, as against an origin by creation, are not dealt with quite according to their deserts.

*The Word! or, Universal Redemption and Salvation; pre-ordained before all Worlds. A more Evangelical, Philanthropic, and Christian Interpretation of the Almighty God's Sacred Promises of Infinite Mercy, Forgiveness, and Grace; reverently submitted to Christendom.* By George Marin De La Voye, a Septuagenarian Optimist. London: Whittaker & Co.; Trubner & Co. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co.

If the title-page does not sufficiently display the nebulous (is it too much to say, delirious?) magniloquence of this amiable and venerable rhapsodist, almost any page of the book will. We give our readers, *instar omnium*, the following from the first pages (48–9) at which we happened to open:—

"FIRST AND FOREMOST SALUTARY PRESENCE OF EVIL.

"It was the eternal monotheocratic Lord of all things, visible and invisible, who, having 'mentally' created Adam, upon first discovering that a self-generated incipient ether, of an extremely virulent nature, was imperceptibly but effectively contaminating the souls of his heavenly spirits and powers, besides spreading influential pestilence throughout his principalities and kingdoms, had furthermore anticipatedly composed those prophecies, revelations, and sacred warnings (including our Lord's prayer), which were in due time to constitute the most important portion of our Sacred Bible.

"Although not yet self-multiplied, our Almighty God, the ever-flowing 'Fountain of Divine Love and Grace,' combined within his all-sufficient and formidable Oneness, 'I am Alpha and Omega.—The First and the Last' all the wonderful attributes of the Three incomprehensible Gods of that godhead, which he secretly imposed, after a time, by miraculous divisions, and separations, mercifully to treble.

"Therefore, annihilating forever, by a single thought, the total existence of the

above-mentioned ethereal malefic principles of evil, Jehovah next evoked from the infernal abysses, where he had for myriads of centuries past confined him at the extremest verge of the immeasurable universe, that false Archangel he intentionally formed and endowed as a 'spiritual antidote,' perfectly subservient to his Almighty will, against the deplorable ills which he from the very beginning had foreseen and forefended."

*A History of the Free Churches of England, from* A. D. 1688—A. D. 1851. By Herbert S. Skeats. Second edition. London: Arthur Miall. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1869.

A field is here explored in regard to which there is a wide desire and need of information on historical, ecclesiastical, theological, political, and sociological grounds. The above volume is really a history of dissent from the established church in England. He traces its various forms in their origin, progress, developments, and their joint and several influence upon the religion, politics, the social, moral, educational condition of England. He shows how much that country owes to its Dissenters, for all that is most precious in the present state, privileges, and franchises of the people.

In the present agitations, which are shaking Great Britain on Establishment, Disestablishment, and Voluntaryism, this large and solid volume is a valuable thesaurus of historical information. The subject of Free Churches and the proper support of them and their ministers, has an unfailing interest in this country. Sustentation-funds yet constitute the unsolved problem of our American Voluntaryism. The English churches sketched in this volume are also of interest to American Christians, as most of our great American churches are their offspring, which have largely outgrown the mother churches whence they sprung.

We have noticed in this volume an incidental confirmation of what we have always believed, in regard to the relation, position, and agency of Wesley and Whitefield in that great religious awakening in the English Church, out of which the Methodist Church grew. It was at a later stage in organizing and shaping it, that the hand of John Wesley was most felt. Says Mr Skeats (p. 354):—

"Much, however, as John Wesley's name has been identified, and justly so, with the great religious awakening which followed from his preaching and from that of his followers, it is to Whitefield that the origin of the movement is more especially due. It was not Wesley, but Whitefield, who first awoke the people from the sleep of spiritual death; and it was not Wesley, but Whitefield, who first broke the bonds of ecclesiastical conventionalisms and laws. This occurred while the Wesleys were in Georgia."

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We have received from Scribner & Co., the publishers, Vols. IX. and X. of their cheap edition of Froude's *History of England*, from the Fall of Wolsey to the death of Elizabeth; being the 3d and 4th volumes upon the Reign of Elizabeth. This work has been so fully and frequently characterized, and its great merits specified by us in connection with the issue of previous volumes, that we deem it necessary to do no more than welcome an edition whose cheapness will render it as accessible as welcome to a greatly enlarged circle of readers.

*The Laws of Discursive Thought: being a Text-Book of Formal Logic.* By James McCosh, LL. D., President of the College of New Jersey, Princeton; formerly Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, Queen's College, Belfast. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

Those who are interested in the science of Logic, and in Dr. McCosh as a metaphysical writer, will take great pleasure in studying this volume. Although the great principles of Logic are *a priori* truths, apodictic in their nature, and as unquestionable and unchangeable as the multiplication-table, it is wonderful what a succession of able treatises is constantly appearing on the subject, each presenting it, as a whole, or in some of its sides and angles, in new aspects, which serve to promote or perfect our apprehension and mastery of it. The readers of our late book-notices must have observed the frequent recent instances of this. Dr. McCosh has in this compact volume treated this subject with his wonted clearness, freshness, and thoroughness, and with more than his usual conciseness.

He has especially laid himself out upon that first element of logic, the Notion, or, as it is sometimes called, simple apprehension, in its threefold form of Percept, Abstract, and Concept, and unfolded the whole subject with much originality, force, and justness. None can peruse this chapter without widening their insight into the subject, whether they always agree in all points with the author or not. For ourselves, we see little in it to dissent from, and much to instruct us.

The chapter on Language, with which the author closes his discussion of the Notion, though carried to an extent that is somewhat extra-logical, grammatical, or rhetorical, is, nevertheless, a legitimate outgrowth of his analysis of the Notion. We are glad that Dr. McCosh did not allow himself to be prevented, by any respect for the mere technical bounds of the science, from inserting this admirable chapter.

The volume before us runs rapidly but thoroughly through judgments and syllogisms, and concludes with copious examples for the proper exercise of learners.

It will take rank with those productions of the author which have already established his great reputation as a writer on the Mental Sciences.

*Notes on the Apocalypse; with an Appendix containing dissertations on some of the apocalyptic symbols, together with animadversions on the interpretations of several among the most learned and approved expositors of Britain and America.* By David Steele, Sr., Pastor of the Reformed Presbyterian Congregation. 16mo, pp. 323. Philadelphia: Young & Ferguson. 1870.

These notes follow with minor and unessential variations in the track of those English expositors who find in the Revelation a consecutive disclosure of the future, and who adapt its mystic symbols in regular chronological order to the events of ecclesiastical and civil history. The numerical periods are computed on the assumption that a day stands for a year, with the exception of the millennium, which is with equal positiveness and equal absence of proof declared to be one thousand ordinary years. The trumpets succeed the seals, and the vials follow the trumpets, or else "*cotemporate*" (p. 240) with the last of the series. The seals extend from the time of the Apostle John to the accession of Constantine. The trumpets betoken the utter destruction of the Roman Empire. The first four herald the fall of its western portion. The fifth and sixth bring the Saracens and Turks to overwhelm its eastern division. The seventh shall put a final end to all "immoral power," under which broad designation are included all existing

European states and American governments. The light in which the writer regards our own national organization will appear from the following (p. 171): "Speculative atheism caused the French revolution and led to the erection of the United States government; which, having openly declared independence of England, soon after virtually declared independence of God." His feeling towards "secret and sworn confederacies" appears from p. 172, where, free-masonry, oddfellowship, temperance associations, and a countless number of affiliated societies" are indiscriminately spoken of as "the offshoots of popery and infidelity," and as means or agencies by which "the dragon still assails the woman." Whether his censures of "corruptions in the matter of God's worship" p. 177, and "human inventions as means of grace," p. 205, are aimed at or designed to cover the sin of singing any thing but Rouse's version of the Psalms, we cannot say positively; but sundry expressions scattered through the volume lead us to suspect it. On the whole, if "freedom from any political bias" (p. 6), and we may venture to add ecclesiastical bias, is an important "prerequisite" to the right understanding of the Apocalypse, we fear that the Rev. Mr. Steele will fall under the same condemnation which he has passed upon all his predecessors.

*Removing Mountains: Life Lessons from the Gospels.* By John S. Hart. 16mo, pp. 306. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

This is a series of meditations upon Gospel topics written in that graceful and felicitous style, of which Prof. Hart is an acknowledged master. They are of various character, but all are full of instructive thought, or happy illustration, or suggestive application to subjects of immediate interest. The volume takes its name from the first of these brief articles, in which the attempt is made to rise to a conception of the power of faith to overcome the most formidable obstacles, as this is set forth in our Lord's familiar words: which from their very familiarity are apt to make only a vague and indefinite impression. The emblem is so vast that it requires time and reflection to apprehend it properly. Prof. Hart will not suffer it to be dismissed in a single sentence but holds it up before the minds of his readers, and assists them by successive steps to reach an estimate of what it is to remove a mountain; what it would be for a corps of engineers with all the aid of modern machinery and appliances to dig down the Alleghanies or the Rocky Mountains, and wheel them into the ocean; and what that must be that can execute a task, to which such an operation can be fitly compared.

Prof. Hart's position and experience as an educator will naturally attract attention to his views upon the relation of Christianity to our public-school system, as shown in Chapter IX.: "The Things that belong to Cæsar." And Sabbath-School teachers and others interested in promoting the efficiency of this important agency will find timely and useful suggestions in Chapter XLIV.: "Nothing but Leaves."

*History of the Presbytery of Erie.* By S. J. M. Eaton, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Franklin, Pa. New York: Hurd & Houghton.

A valuable contribution to Presbyterian Church History, undertaken by appointment of the Presbytery. It contains a graphic account of the early churches in Western Pennsylvania; this being the third Presbytery organized

west of the Alleghany Mountains. Redstone was first, 1781; Ohio, second, 1798; and Erie, third, 1801. The manners and customs of our fathers at the beginning of this century, in that region, are described with singular vivacity and justness. And it must be said of the author, in this second attempt at authorship, in this department, that he proves to be an historian of unquestionable excellence. He adds to diligence of research, accuracy of statement, and rich variety of details, a style of classic purity and beauty; full of quiet humor, and pertinent allusion.

The biographical sketches of deceased ministers, about fifty in number, make a valuable and interesting record, for the whole church. The sketches of living men, nearly seventy in number, who are, or have been members of this Presbytery, though scarcely more than statistical, in any case, and even suppressed in the statistics,—the age, for example, being commonly withheld,—are made with the manly good taste, which avoids all compliment, and even estimate of ability or service.

The third part of the book consists of an admirable register of the churches; date of organization, succession of pastors, of edifices, and distinguished members, especially young men reared for the ministry, and connection with Old or New School, in the thirty-two years of division, now terminated.

*Elocution: the sources and elements of its power.* By J. H. McIlvaine, Professor of Belles Lettres in Princeton College. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

The Introduction consists of a comprehensive estimate of the utility and importance of this great art, and a refutation of the reasons for disparaging and neglecting it. The dignity of the art is also shown, with uncommon force and beauty; so that the reader is well prepared to engage in the minutest labor, to which the author leads him; made to feel, with Herbert, in his "Country Parson," that there can be "nothing little" in the cultivation, he proposes; and to "covet earnestly" this elocution, as even foremost among "the best gifts." With rare felicity, he cites the memorable saying of Socrates, the greatest of all uninspired teachers: "I would rather write upon the hearts of living men, than upon the skins of dead sheep." In the example of our Lord Jesus himself, the dignity and value of oral teaching over book-making, appears to encourage this art; and restrain the inordinate valuation of the press in our day, as the best means of greatness, and permanent influence for good.

The book is then divided into two parts: I. *The sources of power in delivery.* II. *The elements of power in delivery.*

THE SOURCES are *ten* in number: viz., *Thought*, *Feeling*, *Earnestness*, *Direct Address*, *Sympathy*, *Mastery of the Subject*, *Facility of Remembering*, *Familiarity with the Manuscript*, *Vitality of the Physical Man*, and *Self-control*. This part of the work is exhaustive and profound. It ranks the author fairly with Fenelon, Campbell, and Vinet, in the great philosophy of rhetoric; and elevates the study to an intellectual importance, which is second to no other in scope; and transcends every other, in the permanency of its form, and the obvious value of its principles.

The Second Part is also divided into *ten* chapters, viz.: *Articulation*, *Accent*, *Pronunciation*, *Qualities of Voice*, *Powers of Voice*, *Pitch and Inflection*, *Time and Pause*, *Force*, *Emphasis*, and *Gesture*.

Since the production of that original and matchless work of Dr. Rush on the human voice, it may be safely affirmed that these pages of Dr. McIlvaine are the best contributions to the scientific side and true mastery of elocution. The combination of philosophical analysis with the practical details of the school-room is wonderful. The directions, given with ever so much minuteness and specialty, are never trivial. The rules, however positively furnished, are perfectly saved, by principles on the one hand, and facts on the other. A judicious compilation of the best instruction hitherto afforded, is accompanied, all along, with much independent and fresh exposition of the resources and means of public speaking.

On the whole, we heartily recommend this work as the best book we have yet seen for use as a text-book on elocution in schools and colleges. The blemish of the page to a cursory reader, in being cut up into so many parcels of black letter and italics, only enhances its value to the teacher and the student in recitation—blending admirably science, catechism, and praxis. The vast amount of diligence and painstaking this little volume must have cost the author, deserves all praise and substantial remuneration. Dr. McIlvaine has been well known as a massive thinker and powerful speaker in many another department. But we are now to appreciate him for minute labor, and patient pains, and generous toil, in the service of education—a higher meed, after all, than any personal gifts with which he has been endowed. Whilst we may not concur in every particular lesson of the book we now recommend, we must regard it as faulty in nothing to hinder its usefulness in the noble accomplishment to which it invites the youth of our day.

*The Private Life of Galileo.* Compiled principally from his Correspondence and that of his eldest daughter, Sister Maria Celeste. Boston: Nichols & Noyes. 1870.

Not only will astronomers and men of science look into this book with deep and tender interest. Those who take an interest in the progress of science and its relations to religion, and in the life and character of one of the greatest but most unfortunate and abused of men, will read it with melancholy satisfaction. This volume contains his letter to Castelli, on the Copernican system, which brought him before the Inquisition, and subjected him to its terrible fulminations because they found that he held as true, "the false doctrine taught by many, that the sun was the centre of the universe, and immovable, and that the earth moved and had also a diurnal motion." The narrative of the trial has been enriched and enlivened by new matter, which researches among the archives of the Vatican have disentombed.

The volume also contains correspondence between Galileo and his daughter, of a very significant character, and has all the charm of the simple domestic affection cherished by the illustrious astronomer, alike when scaling and measuring the heavens and under the screws of the Inquisition.

*Warp and Woof. A book of verse.* By Samuel Willoughby Duffield. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1870.

This book shows a fair degree of poetic power, with a promise of still better things, as age shall strengthen and inspire the young poet for higher flights.

ΙΧΘΥΣ—*Christ in Song. Hymns of Immanuel, selected from all ages, with notes.* By Philip Schaff, D.D. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 1870.

This fine contribution to our hymnology has already reached the present, which is its fourth, edition. Although issued in good style of paper, type, and binding, it is made less expensive than former editions in accommodation to the popular demand. Its price is $2.25. The fact that it is collected and edited by Dr. Schaff is a sufficient guaranty for the exclusion of whatever is undevout, unclassical, unpoetical, or without some breathing of faith, love, or adoration for Him who hath a name that is above every name. Not only so, but the book is very rich in the choice hymns of all the ages and churches which magnify Christ in his Person, Incarnation, Agony, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, Enthronement, Dominion, Mediation, Intercession—in all his offices and ministries of love, and the responsive trust, love, gratitude, devotion of his people. We notice that the post-reformation hymns are not more decided, but more full and emphatic than those of preceding ages, on the relation of the piacular character of Christ's death to Christian experience and life.

*The Life of our Lord.* By Rev. William Hanna, D. D., LL. D. In six volumes. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

We have received the four remaining volumes of this scholarly, beautiful, and devout work, which bear the characteristics we ascribed to the first two volumes, in our last number. The critical press on both sides of the ocean has spoken with one voice, not in vague, but in discriminating commendation of this excellent Life of our Lord. The four volumes now before us are the 3d, on the Close of his Ministry; the 4th, on Passion Week; 5th, on the Last Day of our Lord's Passion; 6th, Forty Days after the Resurrection: each topic of the profoundest moment and interest.

*The Life of James Hamilton, D. D., F. L. S.* By William Arnot, Edinburgh. Second Edition. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

It is rare that so fine a subject, endeared to the literary and religious English speaking world by a series of the best specimens of our religious literature, finds so capital a biographer. Dr. Arnot, now on a visit to this country, and delegate to our Assembly, has shown everywhere that aroma of refined culture, piety, and fervid Christian eloquence which fitted him to be the confidential friend and biographer of Dr. Hamilton. He has given us a beautiful and life-like portrait, which has met a wide and ardent welcome.

*Memoir of the Rev. Wm. C. Burns, M. A., Missionary to China from the English Presbyterian Church.* By the Rev. Islay Burns, D. D., Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Glasgow. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

This biography of one heretofore less known than Dr. Hamilton, in no way falls below that of the latter in the worthiness of the subject, the points of interest in his life, or the success of its execution. Dr. Burns, the great preacher, evangelizer, and missionary, is well portrayed to us by Dr. Burns the biographer. His eventful but noble and useful life as preacher, often amid revivals in Dundee,

Perth, Aberdeen, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Dublin, in the mountains, and in Canada; his call to China and labors there; at Canton, Amoy, Shanghae, etc. form a thread for sketching a life full of great evangelistic achievements, and invested with a more than romantic interest.

*Expository Thoughts on the Gospels, for Family and Private Use. With the Text Complete. St. John. Vol. II.* By the Rev. J. C. Ryle, B. A., Christ's Church, Oxford, Vicar of Stradhope, Suffolk, England. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

Mr. Ryle has long been known as one of the thoroughly evangelical ministers and authors of the Anglican Church. His commentaries on the Gospels have now reached the sixth volume, which ends with the sixth chapter of John. He grows voluminous as he advances, having expanded his notes on Luke to two volumes, and promising three, if not more, upon John. The plain, practical, devout, but not unlearned, character of the preceding volumes appears in this. The true spiritual meaning is evolved and applied to the life. Difficulties are not evaded nor trifled with. It will be found profitable and acceptable to ministers and Christians.

*God is Love; or, Glimpses of the Father's Infinite Affection for His People.* From the Ninth London Edition. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

This is one of those reprints of standard devotional books first published abroad, which form so much of the staple of the Carters' publications. All the rays of the divine beneficence are gathered up and focalized so as to show that in very essence GOD IS LOVE.

*Our Father in Heaven: The Lord's Prayer explained and illustrated. A Book for the Young.* By Rev. J. H. Wilson, M. A., Barclay Church, Edinburgh, Scotland. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1870.

This is another of the innumerable expositions and applications of the Lord's Prayer, which show its inexhaustible riches, and are no mere repetitions of previous expositions. By its pictorial and other illustrations it is specially fitted for the young, in whose interest it is prepared.

*The Bible in Public Schools, Arguments in the case of John D. Miner, et al. versus The Board of Education of the City of Cincinnati et al. Superior Court of Cincinnati. With the Opinions and Decisions of the Court.* Cincinnati: Robert Clark & Co. 1870.

One of the great arguments contained in this volume,—that by Judge Matthews against the use of the Bible in Common Schools,—we noticed in our last number, with several other recent publications on the common school question. This was all of it that we had then received. We are glad, now, to receive this large and handsome volume. It presents all the papers, documents, arguments, and judicial deliverances in a case which will take rank with the few great historic and formative legal cases of the country, that serve at once to evoke and shape the sentiments and policy of the people, whether discordant or accordant with it. It is in this respect like the great Dartmouth College, United States Bank, Dred Scott, and Legal Tender cases of the Supreme Court of the

United States. This book is a most valuable contribution to the literature of the subject, and presents the issues of the controversy which is beginning to convulse the country, in the clearest light in which the ablest counsellors and judges can put them.

*Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic War; with Explanatory Notes, a Copious Dictionary, and a Map of Gaul.* By Albert Harkness, LL. D. New York: D. Appleton & Company. 1870.

Professor Harkness' Series of Classical Text-Books is marked by great practical excellencies. They give the results of large experience in teaching. The present work is supplied with the best illustrations in the way of maps and plans. The notes give judicious help to the students on points of construction by numerous references to the author's Grammar, and are especially fitted to cultivate a habit of close, yet tasteful and idiomatic translation—an object so important to be secured from the outset in the study of the classics. We regard this as the best edition of Cæsar for the Preparatory Course.

*The Spencers, a Story of Home Influence.* By Stephen H. Tyng, D. D., Rector of St. Stephen's Church, New York. American Tract Society, New York.

This is a collection or series of tales founded on facts within the venerable author's knowledge, which were originally published in the *New York Ledger*, and were perused with satisfaction and profit by the thousands of readers of that unique and entertaining journal. The Publishing Committee of the Tract Society have wisely judged that they would do good service in a more permanent form. Mr. Bonner, who, with all his efforts to amuse, seeks also to benefit his fellow-men, has kindly consented to their publication in this form. The author, the matter, the occasions and circumstances of the book, cannot fail to win for it a large number of readers.

*Pearls of Wisdom: A Text of Scripture, with an Appropriate Selection from various authors for every day in the year.* By Rev. Samuel Hutchings. American Tract Society, New York.

The selections of Scripture texts, and fitting extracts from various authors to accompany, expound, or apply them, are happily made, and make this little volume a good *vade mecum*.

*Beginning of Life. Chapters for Young Men on Religion, Study, and Business.* By John Tullock, D. D., Principal and Primarius Professor, St. Mary's College. American Tract Society, New York.

Principal Tullock has long been well known as a Christian writer, and especially by his prize essay in defence of theism. He has in this volume undertaken a very different task. He has given a series of instructions and counsels to young men, which covers the whole ground from the first foundations of faith in the supernatural to the most practical instructions in regard to business, reading, culture, enjoyment. The religious and Christian element in the book is of course the most important. But the chapters teaching what to do and how to do it, what to read and how to read it, what to enjoy and how to enjoy it,—if not showing what is religion, show what is necessary to its best exemplification, and what it is of inestimable importance to young men to know and realize.

The following issues of the Presbyterian Board of Publication for Sunday-School libraries and family reading are above the average standard of this kind of literature:—

*The Fountain Cloof; or, Missionary Life in South Africa.*

*Vivian and his Friends; or, Two Hundred Years Ago.* By the author of "The Story of a Pocket Bible."

*The Story of the Faith in Hungary.* By the author of "From Dawn to Dark in Italy."

*Sunday Evenings at Northcourt; Jessica's First Prayer*, and *Jessica's Mother.*

*Honor Bright; or, The Faithful Daughter.* By the author of "Cornelia's Visit to Roseville," "Kitty Denison and her Christmas Gifts," etc.

*Fred Wilson's Sled.* By Nellie Grahame.

After our regular Book Notices had gone to press the following works were received:—

*A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek, regarded as the Basis of New Testament Exegesis.* By Dr. G. B. Winer. Translated from the German, with Large Additions and Full Indices, by Rev. W. F. Moulton, M. A., Classical Tutor Wesleyan Theological College, Richmond, and Prizeman in Hebrew and New Testament Greek in the University of London. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co., 654 Broadway. 1870.

The pre-eminence of Winer's Grammars over all others upon New Testament Greek has long been understood and conceded by scholars and exegetes. This admirable edition, in English, will be duly appreciated by all students of the original Scriptures.

*Manual of Historico-Critical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament.* By Karl Friedrich Keil, Doctor and Professor of Theology. Translated by George C. M. Douglas, B. A., D. D. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

*An Introduction to the New Testament.* By Friedrich Bleek. Edited by Johannes Freidrich Bleek, Pfarrer. Translated from the German, by Rev. Wm. Umick, M. A. Vol. II. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

The characteristics of both of the above standard works were set forth in careful notices of the first volumes of each in our January number of the current year.

*Superstition and Force. Essays on The Wager of Law—The Wager of Battle—The Ordeal—Torture.* By Henry C. Lea. Second Edition. Revised. Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea. 1870.

Mr. Lea has shown an unusual aptitude and taste for producing historical monographs. They are very exhaustive, and replete with information not other-

wise accessible. A considerable part of the present volume has been published already in the *North American Review*. Like his *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy*, this is invaluable as a thesaurus of well-attested facts. His reasonings upon them, though often sound, are not always reliable. He does not always draw the line correctly between superstition and true religion.

*The Sinlessness of Jesus: an Evidence for Christianity.* By Carl Ullman, D.D. Translated from the seventh altered and enlarged edition by Sophia Taylor. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

The very title of this volume, which we have not been able carefully to examine, invests it with special interest. It has high theological value.

*The Writings of Quintus Sept. Flor. Tertullianus.* Vol. II. Translated by Peter Holmes, D.D., F.R.A.S. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

This is vol. XV. of the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, by those enterprising Christian publishers the Clarks of Edinburgh. Next to Augustine, no patristic writer is more instructive to the theologian, or prized by the church, than Tertullian.

*Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelations.* Translated by Alexander Walker, Esq., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools for Scotland. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co. 1870.

This complete collection and thorough translation of these curious documents now render them accessible to all who love this sort of antiquarian studies, and to compare the true word of God with the various apocryphal substitutes for it.

*The History of Rome.* By Theodor Mommsen. Translated by the Rev. William P. Dickson, D.D., with a preface by Dr. Leonard Schmitz. Vol. III. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 654 Broadway. 1870.

Another volume of this standard work, whose merits we have already set before our readers.

*A History of Christian Doctrine.* By William G. T. Shedd, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in Union Theological Seminary, New York. In two volumes. Third edition. New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 654 Broadway. 1870.

We are glad to see the third edition of this solid and valuable work, whose characteristics we set forth in an extended article, on its first publication, in our number for January, 1864.

*Homiletics and Pastoral Theology.* By William G. T. Shedd, D.D. Eighth edition. New York: C. Scribner & Co., 654 Broadway. 1870.

Dr. Shedd was once professor in this department at Auburn, and the merit of his treatise on the subject is evinced by the number of editions through which it has run. He raises sacred rhetoric above the low level of mere conventialisms of style, and founds eloquence on truth, force, and earnestness.

*Wonders of Architecture.* Translated from the French of M. Lefevre. To which is added a Chapter on English Architecture by R. Donald. New York: C. Scribner & Co. 1870.

One of the series of "Illustrated Library of Wonders" we have so often noticed, and not unworthy of its predecessors.

*Lifting the Veil.* "Which veil is done away in Christ."—2 Cor. iii. 14. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870.

A beautiful little volume, full of earnest Christian thought and feeling.

*The Church of Christ; a Treatise on the Nature, Powers, Ordinances, Discipline, and Government of the Christian Church.* By the late James Bannerman, D.D., Professor of Apologetic and Pastoral Theology, New College, Edinburgh, author of "Inspiration: the Infallible Truth and Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures." Edited by his Son. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1868.

We gave a commendatory notice of this great work on its first publication. We have been hoping ever since to find time to give an extended review of it, but have thus far failed. Meanwhile, we desire again to call attention to it as one of the most thorough and satisfactory treatises on the subject known to us.

## PAMPHLETS AND PERIODICALS.

*An Outline History of the Presbyterian Church in West or South Jersey, from* 1700 *to* 1865. *A Discourse delivered October* 3, 1865, *in the First Presbyterian Church, Bridgeton, New Jersey.* By Rev. Allen H. Brown, by appointment of the Presbytery of West Jersey. With an Appendix. Philadelphia: Alfred Martien. 1869.

This is a valuable contribution to the history of Presbyterianism, for which we are under special obligations to the author, to whose great and unrequited labors our church as well as its recorded history owe so much.

*Lay Preaching. Sermon at the first anniversary of the "New York Baptist Lay Preaching Association," held in the Madison Avenue Baptist Church, New York City, Sunday Evening, November* 14, 1869, *with an abstract of the proceedings at said anniversary.* By Rev. Wayland Hoyt, Pastor of the Strong Place Baptist Church, Brooklyn. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society.

We are glad that the subject of lay preaching, *i. e.*, the proclamation of the Gospel by laymen in public and in private, is receiving increased attention. We believe that without invading at all the proper sphere of clergymen.

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The Rev. W. L. Gage, of Hartford, Conn., has published an excellent raised map of O. T. Palestine, showing its mountains and valleys in relief, to be followed by others of N. T. Palestine, etc. It may be had by mailing one dollar to him without further expense.

*The American Catalogue of Books for* 1869, *containing complete monthly lists of all the books published in the United States during the year* 1869, *with statement of size, price, place of publication, and publisher's name, to which are prefixed an Alphabetical and a Classified Index.* New York: Leypoldt & Holt. 1870.

This well-executed catalogue supplies a great desideratum to all booksellers and publishers, bibliophilists, librarians, literati, and biblomaniacs.

# ART. XI.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

## ENGLAND.

The valuable "Ante-Nicene Christian Library," published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark is approaching completion. The 15th and 16th volumes of the series are, Vol. II. of Tertullian, and the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelation. In their Foreign Theological Library, Bleek's "Introduction to the New Testament," and Keil's "Introduction to the Old Testament," are completed by the publication of the second volume of each.

The revision of the authorized version has recently been acted on by Convocation, and the committee who are to act with the committee of bishops in accomplishing the proposed work, includes such names as Alford, Stanley, Rose, Selwyn, Blakesley, Jebb, and Kay. Among the bishops are Wilberforce, Thirlwall, Wordsworth, and Ellicott, and among those whose counsel and co-operation are solicited are, for the Old Testament, scholars like W. L. Alexander, Davies, Fairbairn, Ginsburg, Leathes, Perowne, Pusey, and the Wrights; and for the New Testament, Trench, Angus, Eadie, Lightfoot, Newman, Scrivener, Westcott, and others. A Sermon on the subject of Biblical Revision, preached in St. Paul's a few weeks since by Dean Alford, has just been published, and a discussion by Bishop Ellicott was to appear before this time.

The Cambridge "Paragraph Bible," carefully edited for the University Press, by Rev. F. H. Scrivener, a thorough and competent scholar, is in part published: Part I. includes the Old Testament to Solomon's Song.

To Biblical exegesis the chief contributions of the last quarter are Dr. Gloag's "Commentary on Acts" (2 vols., T. & T. Clark); Dr. J. Morrison's "Commentary on Matthew;" Bingham's "Gospel according to Isaiah" (Lectures on the 53d Chapter); Kelly's "Lectures on Matthew;" Windle's "Lectures on the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia;" Vol. V. of "Leighton's Works" (Expository Lectures); Vol. I. of a second improved edition of Perowne on the Psalms; Vol. I. of Spurgeon's "Treasury of David" (a Commentary on Psalms 1–26); a third thoroughly revised edition of Dr. C. J. Vaughan on Romans; and Lloyd's "Analysis of the first eleven chapters of Genesis" (grammatical, critical, and explanatory). Green's "Handbook to the Grammar of the New Testament" (with a Vocabulary and an Examination of the Chief Synonyms—published by the Religious Tract Society), and J. F. Smith's translation of Ewald's "Introductory Hebrew Grammar," from the 3d German edition, are promising auxiliaries.

The more important discussions of Christian doctrine, and the various scientific and practical relations of Christian faith are Rev. H. Martin's "Atonement in its relations to the Covenant, the Priesthood, and the Intercession of our Lord;" W. Paul's "Scriptural Account of Creation vindicated by the teaching of Science;" Matthew Arnold's "St. Paul and Protestantism;" Warrington's "Week of Creation;" German's "Athanasian Creed and Modern Thought;" "Judged by his

Words"—an attempt to weigh a certain kind of evidence respecting Christ; Llewellyn's "Mystery of Iniquity;" "Science and the Gospel;" Venn's "Hulsean Lectures on some of the Characteristics of Belief, Scientific and Religious;" J. Miller's "Christianum Organum, or the Inductive Method in Scripture and Science;" Vol. 2 of Edward Irving's prophetical works; Ullman's "Sinlessness of Jesus," translated from the 7th revised German edition; a fifth edition of Fairbairn's "Typology;" a revised edition of Young's "Creator and the Creation;" and a revised edition of Archbishop Thomson's "Life in the Light of God's Word."

Probably the most memorable book of the quarter (as it is certainly the one attracting most immediate and general attention) is Dr. J. H. Newman's "Grammar of Assent." It contains the results of many years of the author's profoundest thinking, and is put forth in his best style. It is published in this country by the Catholic Publication Society. The "Burney Prize Essay" for 1868, which is just published, is by G. G. Scott, Jr., on "The Argument for the Intellectual Character of the First Cause, as affected by recent Investigations of Physical Science."

In the Ecclesiastical and Sacramental departments of theological literature we observe the recent publication of "England or Rome—the Reunion of Christendom" (a layman's reply to Ffoulkes); Heywood's edition of "Bishop Gardiner's Oration on True Obedience;" Rhodes's "Visible Unity of the Catholic Church;" Ryle's "Church Reform;" Meyrick's edition of Bishop Cosin on "The Religion, Discipline, and Rites of the Church of England;" Cox's "Latin and Teutonic Christendom;" and Biddle on "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper." Of a more miscellaneous religious character are Prof. Plumptre's "Biblical Studies;" L. H. Wiseman's "Men of Faith" (Sketches from the Book of Judges); J. Thompson's "Life-Work of the Apostle Peter;" Drs. Guthrie and Blaikie's "Saving Knowledge;" Bruce's "Life of Gideon, illustrated and applied;" Anderson's "Filial Honor of God by Confidence, Obedience, and Resignation;" Ritchie's "Religious Life of London;" Sibree's "Madagascar and its People;" and Dr. J. Stoughton's "Daily Prayer Book" (prepared by the editor with the aid of Binney, Allon, Dale, Pulsford, Vaughan, and others).

Questions of politics suggested by the condition of Ireland and national education have added considerably to the number of recent publications. Godkin's "Land War in Ireland;" Kirk's "Social Politics in Great Britain;" Sproat's "Education of the Rural Poor;" Patterson's "The State, the Poor, and the Country;" "Systems of Land Tenure in various Countries;" Murphy's "Ireland,—Industrial, Political, and Social," are samples of this class of works.

Willis's "Life, Correspondence, and Ethics of Spinoza;" Taine's "English Positivism, a study of John Stuart Mill;" Bain's "Logic, Deductive and Inductive;" a new edition of Maurice's "Mediæval Philosophy;" A. R. Wallace's "Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection;" Winchell's "Sketches of Creation;" and Rolleston's "Forms of Animal Life," are among the latest works in Philosophy and Natural Science.

Dixon's "Free Russia;" Dicey's "Morning Land;" Hamilton's "Sketches of Life and Sport in South-Eastern Africa;" a new edition of Porter's "Five Years in Damascus;" Mattheson's "England to Delhi;" Denison's "Varieties of Vice-Regal Life;" Wilmot and Chase's "History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope;" Watson's "Biographies of Wilkes and Cobbett;" Markham's

"Life of Lord Fairfax;" a new edition of G. H. Lewes's "Life of Goethe;" Lord Stanhope's "History of England (from 1701 to 1713);" Vols. 3 and 4 of the translation of Von Sybel's "History of the French Revolution;" Ellis's "Asiatic Affinities of the Old Italians;" Cox's "Mythology of the Aryan Nations;" Lacroix's "Arts in the Middle Ages;" Part 2 of Stirling's translation of Bastiat's "Harmonies of Political Economy;" Prof. Montague Bernard's "Neutrality of Great Britain in the American War;" Quain's "Defects in General Education;" and a new volume of Hugh Miller's "Miscellanies," complete our present survey.

## GERMANY.

Prof. Tischendorf has replied to the strictures of the *Civiltà Cattolica*, in a pamphlet entitled "Responsa ad Calumnias Romanas," adding some corrections of his edition of the Codex Sinaiticus, especially in its references to the Cod. Vat.

Exegetical literature has been enriched by few important additions. In Keil and Delitzsch's Commentary, a new number contains "Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy." We add only Vol. I., Part 2, of Bachmann on "Judges;" Thiersch's "Genesis in its moral and prophetic import;" L. Harms on "I. Peter;" and a pamphlet of Hitzig's on "Paul's Epistles."

In theology and ethics there is more to arrest attention. Part 1 of Vol. II. of Rothe's "Dogmatic;" Part 2 of Schultz's "Theology of the Old Testament;" H. Steinthal's "Myth and Religion;" Bade's "Christotheology;" an anonymous work entitled "Christ—the suffering and risen Christ exhibited according to the four Gospels;" Koopmann's "Justification through Christ alone, presented in the light of modern theology;" Part 1 of F. Nitzsch's "Outline of the History of Christian Doctrine" (to be completed in three parts); Vol. I. of Paria's edition of "Toletus on the *Summa Theologiæ* of Thomas Aquinas;" J. Delitzsch on the "System of Divinity of Thomas Aquinas;" a revised edition of Christlieb's "Modern Doubt as to the Christian Faith;" Schöberlein on the "Holy Sacrament, in doctrine and practice;" Book 2 of Vol. II. of Otto's "Evangelical Practical Theology;" Vol. VIII. of Calvin's "Works in the *Corpus Reformatorum;*" Sepp's "Propositions for Ecclesiastical Reform, beginning with the revision of the Biblical Canon;" Luthardt's "Ethics of Aristotle contrasted with the Morality of Christianity;" a Prize Essay on War, by Wiskemann (under the auspices of the "Hague Society for the Defence of the Christian Religion"); and Wünsche's "Sufferings of the Messiah in their agreement with the doctrine of the Old Testament, and the sayings of the Rabbis," make up a list of very considerable variety and value.

In philosophy the system and influence of Leibnitz are the subject of much discussion. To the works named in our last number we add Pfleiderer's "Leibnitz as Patriot, Statesman, and Educator," Von Benoit's "Comparison of Locke's Theory of Knowledge, with Leibnitz's criticisms," and Vol. II. of Pichler's "Theology of Leibnitz." Ueberweg's edition and annotated translation of the "*Ars Poetica* of Aristotle;" Part 1 of Oncken's "Politics of Aristotle;" Zimmermann's "Studies and Criticisms in Philosophy and Æsthetics;" Reichlin Meldegg's "System of Logic;" Hebler's "Philosophical Propositions;" Werner's "Speculative Anthropology;" Brasch's "Spinoza's System of Philosophy;" C. H. Weisse's "Psychology, and the Doctrine of Immortality, etc.;" the new edition

of Madvig's "Cicero de Finibus;" with Vol. III. of Wirth's "Outlines of National Economy," are the chief contributions of the quarter to this department.

In history, ecclesiastical and secular, we chronicle Riezler's "Crusade of the the Emperor Frederic I;" Hartmann's "Erhart Schnepff, the Reformer in Swabia, Nassau, Hesse, and Thuringia;" Sickel's "Contributions to the History of the Council of Trent;" Gröne's "Compendium of Church History;" Busch's "Outline of Early Oriental History" (three vols.); Huyssen's "Discourses and Studies on the Relation of Christian Archæology to Heathen;" Von Maurer's "History of Municipal Constitutions in Germany," Vol. I.; Pallmann's "Cimbri and Teutones;" Freytag's "Tiberius and Tacitus;" Part 1 of Vol. III. of Rossbach's "History of Society;" and Dederich's "Campaigns of Drusus and Tiberius into Northwestern Germany."

In biography we have Vol. I. of Dilthey's "Life of Schleiermacher;" Vol. I. of Springer's "Life of Dahlmann;" Janssen's "Life and Views of J. F. Böhmer;" and Schultz's "Life and Work of Luther."

We group more miscellaneously Braun's "Pictures of the Mohammedan World;" Part 1 of Vol. II. of Böcking's "Ulrich von Hutten;" Maltzahn's "Travels in the Regencies of Tunis and Tripoli;" Vol. II. of the new edition of Overbeck's "Greek Plastic Art;" Zahn's edition of Burkhardt's "Cicerone;" Vol. I. of Berg's edition of Jonkbloet's "History of the Literature of the Netherlands;" Nissen's monograph on the Ancient Temple; Merguet's "Development of Latin Inflection;" T. Bergk's "Contributions to Latin Grammar;" Vol. I. of O. Müller's "Statius;" Keil's "Letters of Pliny the Younger;" and Geiger's "Hebrew Studies in Germany, from the end of the 15th to the middle of the 16th Century."

## FRANCE.

In addition to the numerous discussions called out by the Council of the Vatican, there are a few theological treatises worthy of record. Among these are Bishop Landriot's "Symbolism;" Thomas's "Resurrection of Jesus Christ;" Waddington's "God and Conscience;" De la Bouillerie's "Eucharist and the Christian Life;" Kruger's "True Orthodoxy;" the Abbé Michaud's "Spirit and Letter in Religious Morality;" Vacherot's "Science and Conscience;" Veuillot's "Life of Christ;" Saisset's "Origin of Worships and Mysteries;" Laneyrie's "Systematic Exhibition of Christian Doctrine;" Lorgueilleux' "Studies on Revelation, from the Stand-point of 1789;" Emmanuel on "The Psalms, considered from the Threefold Stand-point of the Letter, the Spirit, and the Liturgical Use;" and Vallotton's "True Saint Paul."

In ethics and philosophy we notice Desjardins' "French Moralist of the 16th Century;" Barthélemy Saint Hilaire's annotated translation of "Aristotle's Rhetoric;" H. Taine on "Intelligence;" E. Charles's new edition of the "Port Royal Logic;" Chevreuil on the "Experimental *a posteriori* Method, and its Applications:" Pellissier's "Complete Course of Elementary Philosophy;" Pommier's "Monologues of a Recluse (Philosophical and Ethical Studies);" Ribot's "Contemporary English Psychology;" Rognon's "Miscellanies,—Philosophical, Religious, and Literary;" Bunot's "Elements of Christian Philosophy;" Joly's "Instinct, its Relations to Life and Intelligence;" and Pérès' Philosophy of Human Society."

The contributions of the quarter to general and special history, are as usual quite numerous. Some of the more noteworthy are Louis Blanc's "History of the Revolution of 1848;" Vol. IV. of Lanfrey's "History of Napoleon I.;" Mabille's "Kingdom of Aquitania and its Marches under the Carlovingians." Français' "Studies on the Byzantine Historians;" Garat's "Origin of the Basques in France and Spain;" Hamel's "Outline of the History of the French Revolution;" Juste's "Uprising of Holland in 1813, and the Foundation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1806–'17;" Schaeffer's "Huguenots of the 16th Century;" Baschet's edition of the "Journal of the Council of Trent;" Weil's "Judaism, its Doctrines and Mission;" Des Mousseaux' "The Jew, Judaism, and the Judaism of Christian Nations;" Mestral's "Tableau of the Christian Church in the 19th Century;" Bernard's "Origin of the Church of Paris;" Vols. I. and II. of Gillon's "Outline of the History of France;" Part 1 of Ollivier's "Pope Alexander VI., and the Borgias;" Part 1 of Peyrat's "History of the Albigenses;" Part 2 of Hubbard's "Contemporary History of Spain;" Vol. IV. of Schnitzler's "Empire of the Czars;" Loyson's "Assembly of the Clergy of France in 1682;" Part 2 of Léon Pagès' "History of the Christian Religion in Japan;" Vol. I. of Hennebert's "History of Hannibal;" Winterer's "History of Saint Odile, Alsace in the 7th and 8th Centuries;" Mickiewicz' "Politics of the 19th Century;" Part 1 of Vol. I. of Theiner's "History of the Two Concordats of the French Republic, and the Cisalpine Republic;" Vol. II. of Schmidt's "Tableaux of the French Revolution;" Beulé's "Titus and his Dynasty;" a new edition of Duruy's "Roman History;" Vol. II. of Langlois' "Collection of the Ancient and Modern Historians of Armenia;" the commencement of a new edition of Michaud's "Universal Biography" (to comprise 45 volumes); and Parts 1 and 2 of an "Archæological Dictionary of Gaul, in the Celtic Epoch." Baron Hubner's "Sixtus V.;" Foisset's "Life of Lacordaire;" Delaborde's "Life, Works, etc., of Ingres;" and Favre's "Pasquier, Chancellor of France," belong to the department of individual biography.

In archæology and philology a few items should be noticed, such as Vol. I. of a revised and enlarged edition of Garcin de Tassy's "History of Hindoo and Hindostani Literature;" Agnel's "Influence of Popular Language on the Form of Certain French Words;" Halévy's "Letter to M. d'Abbadie on the Asiatic Origin of the Languages of North Africa;" Chabas' "Calendar of the Egyptian Year;" and Boutmy's "Philosophy of Architecture in Greece."

We add only Edgar Quinet's "Creation;" Merlet's "Saint Evremond;" Parieu's "Principles of Political Science;" Renan's "Constitutional Monarchy in France;" Esquiros' "Emile of the 19th Century;" Lavergne's "French Economists of the 18th Century;" and Robert's "Popular Education."

THE

# PRINCETON REVIEW.

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No. IV.

## Art. I.—*Rénan's St. Paul.**

This is the third instalment of the work which M. Rénan seems to regard as his special calling, and for which he would seem to have the necessary leisure, since his public duties as Membre de l'Institut have ceased. It followed the second division, "The Apostles," nearly after the same interval as this had followed the first, "The Life of Jesus." The book before us breathes exactly the same spirit as its two predecessors, and no one that has read with some care the first two productions of this fertile mind, could be at a loss as to the paternity of "St. Paul," even if it did not bear on its title-page the name of its author. This spirit is rather unique, and it is, accordingly, difficult, if not impossible, to rank Rénan with any school that pursues or has pursued the same end. This spirit is not that of the English Deist of the last century, nor that of the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist, both of whom saw in the Gospels and the other writings of the New Testament nothing but a tissue of lies; nor is it that of the Rationalismus

* *Saint Paul.* By Ernest Rénan, Membre de l'Institut. Translated from the original French. New York: G. W. Carleton. 1869.

Vulgaris of Germany, which saw in the writers of the New Testament honest, but mistaken and ignorant men, who suffered themselves to be carried away by the lofty appearance of Jesus, and converted natural phenomena or uncommon acts of their Master into miracles; nor is it identical with mythicism, since Rénan assumes too short a time between the occurrence of the events narrated and the composition of the narratives, to admit of the formation of myths, all the books of the New Testament, most of which he recognizes as genuine, having been written, according to him, within the first century of the Christian era. Rénan's writings differ in still another respect from most other works of a destructive tendency; while reading some of these, the reader is compelled to task his mental powers to the utmost in order to be able to form an independent judgment on what he reads; he has to read again and again certain passages, and to compare them with previous ones, in order to understand the writer's position; he has to read the passages criticised in the original in order properly to estimate the criticism offered,—in short, he finds the reading of these works one of the hardest tasks imaginable. Not so with the writings of M. Rénan; here every thing is plain and easy; the reader understands his author without having to put forth any great mental effort, and the account of the subject treated is such that it leaves no doubt whatever as to the author's conviction that he is right, and he alone,—that all other interpretations of the documents extant are false or imperfect. M. Rénan approves the *αὐτὸς ἔφα* of the Pythagoreans. Hence he does not stop to discuss, much less to controvert or disprove, a position of an opponent, and regards it as a great defect in "St. Paul's" character that that he did not act in accordance with Rénanian principles. And now, what is the lofty position of this man that distinguishes him so much from all other writers, and enables him to look calmly from his height down upon the jarring opinions, strifes, and contentions of other mortals? This is the first question which the reader must answer for himself, and that correctly, in order to understand and to appreciate his author. Whoever would judge M. Rénan by individual passages, apostrophes, etc., would find it absolutely impossible to come

to any thing like a settled opinion on this point. In his "Life of Jesus" we read these words, addressed to his dead sister, Henriette: "Thou rememberest, in the bosom of God where thou restest, the long journeys . . . Reveal unto me, O good genius, unto me, whom thou lovedst, those truths which rule over death, dispel the fear of it, and make it almost lovely." Whoever would draw from these words the natural inference, that M. Rénan believes in a self-conscious existence of the disembodied soul, or in an intercommunion of the departed and the living, would be sorely mistaken. Before having read many passages of his works, the reader knows in what kind of immortality Rénan believes, which does certainly exclude a self-conscious existence after death. In his "St. Paul" he calls Jesus repeatedly "God," and "Son of God;" but whoever would infer from this that Rénan sees in Jesus any thing more than mere man would be equally mistaken. Hence it is absolutely necessary for the readers of Rénan's works to understand his philosophical and theological position, because his language must be interpreted by this standard, and from this alone it can be correctly understood.

Rénan's position is that of the Pantheist. Hence there exists for him no personal God, no Creator and Preserver of the Universe; in man this Pan comes to self-consciousness, so that every man is in reality a son of Pan or God, by whom he is re-absorbed in death. That no self-revelation of God to man, no influence exerted by the Deity on the human soul, no miracle as an attestation of a divine messenger is possible, not to say real, is for M. Rénan an *à priori* truth. The stand-point that admits such possibility, M. Rénan has long ago left behind. M Rénan, though not formally a positivist, or materialist, yet agrees with Büchner's Force and Matter in essentials. Matter is to both eternal, is inseparably connected with Force, and the whole Universe is but the necessary outgrowth of the unchangeable laws of matter. To all the writers of the various books of the Bible in general, and to St. Paul in particular, Rénan denies all correct ideas about matter and its laws, granting a partial insight into the laboratory of nature to only a few of the old Greek philosophers. Yet Christianity, the religion established by Jesus, and pro-

mulgated by Paul and his co-workers, presents itself to M. Rénan, as it does to every other thinker, as a power, as *the* power which has wrought, not only in the feelings and thoughts of men, but also in their outward conduct, in society, in arts and sciences, in fact in every relation of life in which man can be placed, greater changes than any other cause, or all other causes combined, that have ever exerted an influence upon man. This is a fact which cannot be denied: it must be accounted for; and M. Rénan, like many others before and with him, considers himself adequate to the task.

Even the most hasty reader of Rénan cannot but perceive that he works hard to represent himself, not as the enemy, but as the decided friend and advocate, of the Christian religion, which he fully understands,—knowing how to separate the kernel from the shell, the truth from errors that have united with it either through the incompetency of its author and first propagators, or through the perversion of others in the course of centuries. But these very efforts of Rénan do not increase our respect for him as an honest man, or a man of veracity, who loves the truth and fearlessly proclaims what he considers as truth. He himself finds fault with German university professors for pretending to be atheists, a thing which he seems to regard as an impossibility, but we are free to declare, that we regard the censured conduct of these Germans in a far more favorable light than Rénan's, and "Paul, the Fool," we should consider a more appropriate title of his book than "St. Paul." "St." Paul, the other Apostles, and even Jesus himself, are to M. Rénan, at the very outset, in fact, can be for him, only *mere* fallible men, more or less well-meaning, but ignorant, devoted to an idea, to maintain and propagate which they considered as the work of their lives, and in the prosecution of which they shunned not labor, toil, sacrifices, dangers, yea, not death itself; shrinking, however, at the same time, from the use of no means whatever; practically carrying out the maxim which the Jesuits are charged with having invented, that the end justifies the means. So we are plainly told in the "Life of Jesus," that the miracle of the raising of Lazarus from the dead was the result of the collusion of Mary and Martha, the

sisters of Lazarus, and that if Jesus had no hand in laying the plot, he, at least, connived at it, knew all about it, and claimed the credit of having wrought a stupendous miracle, while he knew very well that no miracle whatever had been wrought, and this Jesus, this moral monster, M. Rénan calls repeatedly a "God;" to this Jesus he traces the greatest and grandest movement that has ever taken place on this our planet! That "St. Paul" was still less scrupulous in the choice of means he indicates may be presumed, and that the presumption will be abundantly sustained by the examination of the work.

Another difficulty of a somewhat unusual character presents itself to the reader of M. Rénan's works, which we had better mention at once. As in its predecessors, so he tells us also in the third work—and we do not doubt this his word—that he visited (in company of Cornelia Scheffer) Ephesus and Antioch, Philippi and Thessalonica, Athens and Corinth, Colosse and Laodicea, the localities where the main facts of his hero transpired. "At Seleucia," he says, "upon the disjointed blocks of the old wall, we somewhat envied the Apostles who set out from there to conquer the world, filled with so fervent a faith in the speedy coming of the Kingdom of God." The firmest believer in the divine origin of the Bible, the most enthusiastic Bible-student, what could he do more in order to acquire the necessary information enabling him to enter into the spirit and full meaning of the sacred records? Scarcely any of the many learned commentators or expositors of the Bible has done this on so large a scale as M. Rénan, and he was persuaded at the time he made these tours, yea, before he set out on them, that his heroes were, on the whole, deluded and deluding men! Did he, perhaps, visit these localities in order to gather proofs, that the Scripture records are not true? *Lucus a non lucendo.* Or had he some other object in view in making these extensive tours? Sprenger is writing a life of Mohammed with uncommon care, turning to good account many hitherto neglected sources of information, starting new theories in order to account for certain facts in the prophet's life. To finish the work, according to the author's original plan, may occupy almost a life-time. Sprenger's

object is evidently not to give currency to Mohammed's doctrines, but to acquire a reputation as an author, as an historian, as a critic, and last, though not least, to make money; but he has not visited the sacred places of Islam, neither Mecca nor Medina, nor the sacred Alcaaba. Is the Frenchman ahead of the German in disinterested enthusiasm?

Rénan's "St. Paul" opens with a critical notice of original documents. Of all the epistles ascribed to the Apostle Paul, he considers the four that stand first as unquestionably genuine,—all the others as *possibly* genuine, with the exception of the pastoral letters to Timothy and Titus, which he considers as spurious. The Apocalypse, which was written, according to him, by the Apostle John about A. D. 68, and the Epistles of James and Jude, which figure largely in the work, he considers as genuine, and from these documents he draws the following traits of the character of his hero (page 325, etc.):

"One man (Paul) has contributed more than any other to the rapid extension of Christianity. This man has torn off that sort of light and fearfully dangerous swaddling-clothes in which the child was wrapped from its birth. He has proclaimed that Christianity was not a simple reformed Judaism, but that it was a complete religion, existing by itself. To say that this man deserves to occupy a very high rank in history, is to say a very evident thing; but he must not be called a founder. It is in vain for Paul to talk; he is inferior to the other Apostles. He has not seen Jesus; he has not heard his word. The divine λόγια and the parables are scarcely known to him. The Christ who gives him personal revelations is his own phantom—it is himself he hears when thinking he hears Jesus."

And this character, every trait of which is either a fiction or a perversion, is claimed to be drawn from history. But it is well that we meet M. Rénan on this ground. Although we are fully persuaded that this picture is an *à priori* construction, that it is drawn from another source than history, that history only furnishes the drapery; we cannot follow, at least not in these pages, our author to the real source from which he has drawn his "St. Paul" and his "Jesus." What Neander says on the "Life of Jesus," by Strauss, applies also to the subject before us; his words are: "The chief points of controversy turn upon essential differences of religious thought and feeling. These essential differences are to be found chiefly in opposing views of the

relation of God to the world, of the personality of the spirit, of the relation between the here and the hereafter, and of the nature of sin. The controversy does not lie between an old and a new view of Christianity, but between Christianity and a human invention directly opposed to it. It is nothing less than a struggle between Christian theism and a system of world and self deification." What Neander says of Strauss in the same connection, viz.: "I cannot but rejoice to find that my treatment of the subject, with that of others engaged in the controversy, has induced Dr. Strauss to soften down this mythical theory of the life of Christ in various points, and to acknowledge the truth of several results arrived at by my historical inquiries," can, alas! not be applied to M. Rénan. He occupies so lofty a position, that he can afford to look with perfect equanimity down on all below—he is so firmly persuaded of the correctness of his position, that he would consider every word as lost that he should utter in defence of it—he considers it, moreover, morally wrong in Paul to defend his position, and he, therefore, abstains consistently enough from effort in this direction. As we intimated already, Rénan is a stranger to the pains taken by the Tübingen school to prove that the Gospels were written not anterior to A. D. 150, and pass, naturally enough, as the Gospel according to Matthew, Mark, etc., although these men did not write them; nor is he under any necessity of doing so, since he allows the first two Gospels to have been written by the men whose names they bear, prior to A. D. 70, the third Gospel by Luke, shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem. Even the fourth Gospel he regards as genuine, having been written either by John himself in his dotage, or still during his life-time by some of his disciples about A. D. 98, although it is not a sober history of facts, but is based upon little incidents, around which great imaginary interests are made to centre, and which are, therefore, magnified into stupendous miracles, calling forth long discourses which Jesus did not deliver, but John or the compiler manufactured to suit his own notions as to what the new religion was or should be, just as Plato makes Socrates deliver learned discourses which the simple tanner never dreamed of. In only

one thing Rénan takes great pains, viz.: in describing natural scenery, the culture and way of religious thinking in the several cities and countries, so that nothing is wanting in his works to make them novels, historical romances, or philosophical disquisitions—they are any thing but history.

We shall now furnish the proof of what we have said. As a specimen of the novelistic character of the work we are reviewing, we quote from page 48, on the journey of St. Paul to Cyprus, to wit: "It is a short day's journey from Antioch to Seleucia. The route follows at a distance the right bank of the Orontes, rising and falling on the last undulations of the mountains of Pieria, and traversing by ford the numerous streams which flow down from them. On all sides there are myrtle underwood, arbutus, laurels, and green oaks; rich villages are suspended in the sharply-cut crests of the mountains. On the left plain of the Orontes spreads out its high cultivation. The wooded summits of the mountains of Daphne shut in the horizon in the south. We are now no longer in Syria. This is a classical, fertile, pleasant, civilized land."

In what light our author himself looks upon the documents from which he draws his information, and upon the theme of his story, he tells us with great *naïveté*, p. 53: "The Acts of the Apostles, an expression of this first transport of the Christian conscience, compose a book of joy, of serene ardor. Since the Homeric poems, no work had been seen full of such fresh sensations. A breeze of morning, an odor of the sea, if I dare express it so, inspiring something joyful and strong, penetrates the whole book, and makes it an excellent *compagnon de voyage*, the exquisite breviary for him who is searching for ancient remains on the seas of the south. This is the second idyl of Christianity. The Lake of Tiberias and its fishing barks had furnished the first." Our author, being so completely captivated with scenery, idyllic beauty, can naturally pay but little attention to the nature of the work of his hero.

We come now to the narrative itself, and in the treatment of the first incident we find every charge made by us more than sustained; the incident is the conversion of the Pro-

consul Sergius Paulus, at Paphos, recorded Acts xiii. 6–12. What has our author to say of this event, narrated by the sacred historian in language as brief as it is simple and unadorned? He devotes pp. 54–56 to it.

In the first place, we are told that S. Paulus was of an illustrious Roman family, which statement is evidently made for a certain purpose, since in point of fact it is altogether gratuitous. He is represented as a scion of an illustrious family, in order to make it appear probable that he shared the scepticism of many of his contemporaries belonging to the higher classes, and thus to justify the assertion, which gives the lie to Acts, that "the conversion of a Roman of this order, at this period, is a thing absolutely inadmissible." But where is the proof of the asserted nobility of birth? The fact that he was proconsul of so unimportant a province as Cyprus does certainly not furnish it. The event took place toward the close of the first half of the first century; Claudius was emperor—Pallas, his freedman, was one of the most powerful men of the empire, and men of this class, favorites of the emperors, held far more important offices than members of the old patrician families. Felix was the brother of this Pallas, who remained in power for some time under Nero. This madman did, from the second half of his reign, all he could to degrade the ancient noble families, and to deprive them even of all self-respect. (See *Sat.* III. of Juvenal.) S. Paulus is called an *ἀνὴρ συνετὸς*, which has nothing to do with his birth. We do, however, not say that he was *not* of illustrious descent, but only that we know nothing about this, and M. Rénan does, in this instance, know not more than we do. We pass by the infamous remark (p. 55), "Probably the illusions, to which it is unfortunately permitted us to think that Paul and Barnabas sometimes had recourse, appeared to him more striking and greater than those of Bar-jesus." But we ask, why "is the conversion of a Roman of this order, at this period, a thing absolutely inadmissible?" Paul writes (Gal. iv. 4), that when the fulness of time was come, *i.e.*, when the world was prepared both positively and negatively, God sent his Son. The views of a man like Paul have, as a matter of course, little weight with Rénan, but what

says history? What was the religious condition of the Roman-Grecian world of those days? had not the old religious of state outlived themselves? had not the belief in the national deities almost entirely given way so as to create a fearful vacuum in the human breast? was not the necessity of something new and better felt keenly and painfully? There were, indeed, philosophers, Stoics, Epicureans, and others, to whom might, at least at times, apply what Rénan says of the higher classes as a whole. But were these all philosophers? what portion of the whole population did the sceptic philosophers constitute, especially in a nation so emphatically unspeculative and unphilosophical as the Romans? Was there one philosopher to every 100,000 souls? We trow not. That under these circumstances the mass of the people, high and low, were ready to receive new religious teaching, may fairly be taken for granted, and is fully corroborated by the many converts to Judaism, both proselytes of the gate and proselytes of righteousness. The almost universal expectation of a deliverer coming from the East exerted, likewise, a powerful influence in the same direction. (See Tacitus, *Hist.*, V., 13; Suet., *Vesp.*, 4.) Cicero already (*pro Flacco*, 28) complains of the great number of conversions of Greeks and Romans to Judaism; so do Juvenal, Tacitus, Seneca. Juvenal (XIV., 96, etc.) uses this language: "Some that happen to have Sabbath-fearing fathers, worship nothing but the clouds and the sky; soon they submit to circumcision, but, accustomed to despise the Roman laws, they learn by heart, observe, and fear the Jewish laws whichsoever Moses has handed down in a secret volume." Tacitus says (*Hist.*, V., 5): "The other Jewish rites got the upper hand by the baseness of men. For all the worst despised the religion of their fathers, and carried tributes and presents to Jerusalem, whence their power increased. . . . Those that go over to them do the same things, nor do they learn any thing quicker than to despise the gods, to deny their fatherland, and to hold parents, children, and brothers in derision." Again (*Ann.*, II., 85): "4,000 freedmen, seized with the same superstition (Jewish belief), were sent to the island of Sardinia." Seneca (*De Superst.*) says: "The Jewish religion spreads over the whole earth—the con-

quered gave laws to the conquerors." Dio Cassius (XXXVII., 17) says: "Among the Romans also is this race"—the Jews—"indeed, often persecuted, but they increased to such an extent, that they express their belief without any fear." With regard to Antioch, says Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, VII., 33) that the married women were nearly all observers of the law —so of Damascus. Helen and her royal son Izates turn Jews (*Antiq.*, 20); Vespasian's nephew suffered death for his inclination toward Judaism. The smaller number of these converts were proselytes of righteousness; the vast majority were proselytes of the gate, and these as well as the women were most ready to embrace Christianity. And in the face of these facts of history, M. Rénan dares to say, that the conversion of S. Paulus to Christianity in those days was a psychological impossibility! Paul and Barnabas must have recourse to trickery, and the illustrious Roman must have seen in a miracle only a trick for amusement, or the proof of the presence of a god (p. 55). "If S. Paulus had really believed in Paul's miracles, he would have reasoned as follows: 'this man is very powerful, perhaps he is a god,' and not, 'the doctrine which he preaches is true'" (p. 56). To this we reply by merely asking M. Rénan, whether he thinks that S. Paulus would have taken the words of a presumed god for a lie?

Or as the transaction under consideration bears some resemblance to Peter's encounter of Simon Magus (Acts viii.), distorted in the Clementines a whole century later so as to make it almost unrecognizable, it is, according to Rénan, possibly a mere version of the Peter story, without any historical basis, with a view of glorifying Paul. And such a wilful mutilation of history we are called upon to accept as the quintessence of truth! Very pathetically says Rénan at the close of the volume under review: "O humanity! certain of thy judgments are just," to which we would add: "O history! certain of thy pages are comically defaced by designing men!"

We cannot possibly follow our author step by step through the whole work, as we should have to write not a review, but a work larger than the work reviewed, and we shall,

therefore, content ourselves with calling attention to one or two more prominent points, and this we can do with the greater propriety, as our author has followed in his sketch the commonly received opinions, has started no new theory or hypothesis, and has brought forward no new argument in support of his views. Nor has he attempted to give us something like a system of Paul's teaching, as he was bound to do, in order to establish the truth of what he asserts as to the unrelenting opposition of some of the older Apostles to Paul, especially of James and John. For if there is no radical difference between Paul's teaching and that of his reported enemies and persecutors proved to exist, however widely they may differ in terminology and even on minor points of doctrine, the allegation, that men who once have recognized Paul as the Apostle of the Gentiles, and had given him the right hand of fellowship, afterward turned his unrelenting enemies, is nothing but an empty assertion, and unworthy of any intelligent student of history.

It is true we have in the book before us very lengthy extracts from the writings of Paul, but in no case are these extracts given with a view of systematizing Paul's doctrine, or of proving and elucidating certain points of his doctrine. So we have (pp. 193–201) the whole Epistle to the Galatians transcribed, apparently for no other purpose than that of swelling the size of the book, for the few comments are puerile and worthless; pp. 229–233 we have lengthy extracts from 1 Cor., but likewise for no other purpose, as it would seem; p. 244 we have 1 Cor. xiii. transcribed, introduced, indeed, with the compliment: "Borne along by a truly prophetic inspiration beyond the mingled ideas and aberrations, Paul wrote this admirable page, the only one in all Christian literature which might be compared with the discourses of Jesus." But the additum reads: "Had he been versed in experimental psychology, Paul would have proceeded a little further. He would have said, 'Brethren, put away illusions. These inarticulate stammerings, these ecstasies, these miracles, are the dreams of your childhood. But what is not chimerical—what is eternal—that I have just been preaching to you;'" pp. 248–249, we have the greater

portion of 1 Cor. xv. transcribed, followed by what? by an effort to systematize Paul's eschatological teaching? Alas! no; but by "the Christ did not come. All of them"—the believers—"died, one after another. Paul, who had believed himself to be one of those who would live until the great coming, died in his turn."

The few points more, to which we wish to call attention in these pages, are the first synod held at Jerusalem, as recorded in Acts xv. and Gal. ii., and the alleged persecution of Paul by James and John.

The whole so-called Tübingen school maintains and labors hard to prove that there are irreconcilable differences, positive contradictions, between the record of Acts xv. and what Paul writes in the Epistle to the Galatians. M. Rénan does, indeed, not maintain this absolute contradiction, but from his lofty stand-point he is not under the necessity of doing so. For whenever a difficulty presents itself, he solves it by asserting that Paul accommodated himself to circumstances; that, whenever he needed authority for any thing he said or did, he claimed or *manufactured* a revelation, he claimed a miracle, played a trick; and a man who takes such liberties can scarcely ever be at a loss how to justify his conduct. According to Acts xv. (and in this case Rénan gives the preference to this document), the church at Antioch sends Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem in order to have the question about circumcision settled there. Paul (Gal. ii. 2) says, that he went by *revelation*. That the two statements are perfectly consistent with each other Rénan does not seem to think of, at least does not intimate by a single word. Again, the conclusions arrived at by the synod and embodied in a letter carried by Barnabas and Silas to the church at Antioch, as recorded, Acts xv. 23–29, "cannot have been formally adopted, certainly not been embodied in a letter, because Paul says nothing of it, and because Peter's subsequent conduct at Antioch is altogether irreconcilable with the existence of such an authoritative document."—Pp. 176–188.

But whoever reads Gal. ii. 3–10 attentively, will soon have the conviction forced upon himself, that the two statements are perfectly consistent with each other. Paul's authority to

preach the Gospel had been impugned or denied—this was no personal matter, but the Gospel itself was at stake—to submit tamely to such attacks, that imperilled the success of the Gospel, would have amounted to a denial of the Gospel itself on the part of Paul, an offence as grievous as that of Peter when he denied his Master, and infinitely more pernicious in its consequences. Paul, therefore, vindicates his authority and his conduct, and states, what is also stated in Acts xv., that the older Apostles recognized his calling to the apostleship and the legitimacy of his whole proceeding. To say in that connection, on that occasion, for the purpose he had in view,—more, to give the resolution verbatim,—would not only have been irrelevant, but would have been used by Paul's adversaries as a quasi justification of their conduct.

As to Peter's conduct at Antioch and the assumptions Rénan and others found upon it, they are based on a radically wrong view of the Apostle's inner life. The enemies of Christianity and a certain class of Christians agree on this point—they have no idea of an organic development of the Apostle's inner life and higher knowledge, as they seem to have no idea of any progress in God's self-revelation to men—all their knowledge was complete at once, and came (according to them) from without, being communicated in a mechanical manner, without any human and individual mediation, and when this view is contradicted by facts, then the enemies deny the truth of the Scripture, while the second class overlook the facts or have recourse to unnatural explanations. Many of the finest parables concerning the kingdom of God give prominence to the idea of development and expansion, not only outwardly, but also inwardly. In the individual as well as in the aggregate of believers, growth in knowledge, in an insight into the nature of the kingdom, is as much a law as growth in grace. We see this exemplified in the case of all the Apostles of whose teachings and doings we have authentic record. Without denying the higher dignity of the Saviour, he is to the Apostles of Jerusalem, at first, the servant (παίς) of God, which does, indeed, not exclude his divinity, but does not necessarily imply it either. So with regard to the admission of the Gentiles into the kingdom—the Lord had laid down principles which,

if consistently developed, would not only have led to the admission of Gentiles, but also to their admission without submitting to the works of the law, whose obligation was formally recognized by circumcision. Yet Peter needed a vision and a positive instruction from heaven on the subject, before he saw his way clear. Of the same kind was the conduct of all the disciples with reference to their belief in the death and resurrection of their Master. The Synod at Jerusalem had settled the question of the admission of believing Gentiles into the church without circumcision—this decision embodied the principle, that *circumcision was in every case something indifferent in man's justification before God;* that the partition wall between Jews and Gentiles was broken down; that all laws holding up this distinction were abrogated; that in Christ all believers are one. But did they all draw the legitimate inferences from these premises? From the accounts we have of James by Hegesippus and Josephus, it would seem that he did not draw all these inferences, at least not practically, although there is no evidence on the other hand that he relapsed, that he abandoned the principles established by the Synod and became the avowed enemy of Paul. Without the explicit narrative of Acts xxi. 18–25, we should infer from what we know of the two Apostles by other sources, that their conduct would have been essentially what it is there described, although Paul went as far in making concessions as he possibly could. Peter was less consistent and firm than Paul, and facing enemies and dangers was not among the leading features of his character. Paul charges him, on the occasion in question, with hypocrisy, implying that his actions belied his convictions, and it is very likely that Peter felt at the time the justness of the charge. Rénan charges Paul with rashness, says that he penned the Epistle to the Galatians in a state of high excitement, and would probably not have sent it at all if he had reflected but a moment on its contents, and calls it, repeatedly, rude. At the same time he recognizes the importance of the subject in dispute, admits that if Paul's opponents had prevailed, Christianity would have dwindled down into a second edition of Judaism, and would thus have been destroyed in its very infancy. And yet St. Paul's con-

duct would have met Rénan's approbation, which, as it was, it does not, if he had observed over against his adversaries and opponents, on all occasions, an imperturbable silence. That silence which is, indeed, at times, if not a virtue, at least good policy, may at other times be a crime—of this M. Rénan seems to have no idea.

As to the emissaries from Jerusalem that created the disturbance at Antioch, M. Rénan has no authority whatever to say that they were sent *by* James and acted according to his instructions. In Gal. ii. 12, it is said that τινες ἦλθον ἀπο Ἰακώβου, *i. e.*, from the place of James, from Jerusalem, not that they were sent *by* James, in which case ὑπὸ or παρά would have been used. What he says of these mischief-makers may be true—not that James established a counter-mission, which followed Paul wherever he went and tried to break up the churches founded by him, as Rénan maintains, but that Judaizers actually treated Paul as stated by Rénan, *although they did not act in concert with James.* Both Acts xv. and Galatians declare that James as well as all the others present at the Synod gave to Paul the right hand of fellowship and pronounced his proceeding legitimate; Acts xxi. James and Paul met again. This part of Acts Rénan professes to recognize as authentic, as coming from an eye-witness. The meeting was, as intimated before, exactly what we should expect it to have been, thus in the main the two Apostles agree; James only desires Paul to do certain acts in order to refute thereby reports circulated among, and believed by the Christians of Jerusalem; Paul follows the advice, most likely against his better judgment, certainly to his sorrow. This meeting took place about A. D. 60. Could James have established counter-missions, and treated Paul on the occasion in question the way he did, without being a consummate hypocrite? James dies soon afterward (A. D. 62), and, whether we follow the account of Hegesippus or Josephus, a radical change of his views had not taken place. In that interval (60–62) he penned also his epistle, which cannot have been intended for a marked attack on Paul, being addressed to readers on whom Paul had exerted no influence whatsoever. Moreover, there is no real discrepancy between that document and the doctrines of Paul. All attempts to

make James and Paul perfectly alike, appear to us, indeed, forced and unnatural; we readily admit a relative discrepancy between them, and we are persuaded that Paul would not have been likely to use James' language with regard to justification as being effected by faith *and works;* but a real contradiction between them there exists not, as every one can satisfy himself that will take the trouble to study James' system of doctrine thoroughly as well as that of Paul. The *faith* of James is in some accidental features different from that of Paul—hence their relative discrepancy. Still worse, if possible, is M. Rénan's representation of John's relation to and conduct toward Paul, or rather, his memory, doctrine, and influence.

According to our author, the Apocalypse is the work of John the Apostle, and was composed about A. D. 68. That it was no revelation from Jesus or any other higher power, is a matter of course; it was John's production exclusively. All the harsh terms applied in that book to false teachers, apostles, etc., are aimed at Paul, the oversight of whose churches in Asia Minor John had taken upon himself after Paul's death. "From that moment Paul becomes in the eyes of an entire fragment of the church, a most dangerous heretic, a false Jew, a false Apostle, a false prophet, a second Balaam, a Jezebel, a wretch who was harping upon the destruction of the temple. To tell all in two words, a Simon the magician."—(P. 188.) Of these flattering designations, "the false Jew," "false Apostle," "false prophet," and others of the same import, owe their paternity to the Apocalypse. But that John should have applied these terms to Paul, and that of "Nicolaitanes" to his disciples, should have called his visions "the deep things of Satan," the churches founded by him "the synagogues of Satan" (pp. 188–189), is not only unqualifiedly false, but not even the semblance of proof can be brought forward for this reckless assertion. These titles are applied by John to individuals still living (Apoc. ii. 9 and iii. 9, etc.); according to Rénan the Apocalypse was composed in A. D. 68, when Paul was either dead or awaiting his sentence of death in prison—did this point escape our historian? Soon after Paul's death, his churches in Asia Minor as well as elsewhere saw themselves greatly endangered by errors coming from without and from

their own midst, as Paul had often foretold, combating them wherever they made their appearance. The churches in Asia Minor, where, for a variety of reasons, the danger was greatest, entreated John to take charge of them. As Paul's doctrine was so greatly perverted, through the ignorance and malice, in his life-time ("we are slanderously reported and some affirm that we say: Let us do evil that good may come"), is it strange that this should have been done to a greater extent and with better success after his death? The same causes that had prepared the way for Christianity, paved it also, in a high degree, for dangerous errors that had mixed with the pure doctrines of the Gospel; and as error mixed with truth is always more dangerous, because more successful, than error alone, the danger was really very great for the infant churches, and history testifies that Ebionitism on the one hand, and Gnosticism on the other, at one time fairly eclipsed the glory of the Church. These errorists and the assemblies gathered by them John combats in the Apocalypse and in his epistles; but to say that he directed his shafts against Paul, is a real slander of the disciple whom Jesus loved. For John had also given to Paul, at the Synod, the right hand of fellowship, thus recognizing his apostolic mission, and as Paul did but consistently develop and carry out the principles approved then and there, only a total change of principles in John would have enabled the latter to attack Paul in the manner asserted by Rénan. But how is it in this respect? What is the doctrinal system of the Apocalypse? Is there such a radical difference between it and the doctrines of Paul? Let the documents be compared, and it will be seen by every competent and unprejudiced critic that the agreement between the two sets of documents is almost perfect, greater than between the fourth Gospel, which is the work of John, and the Apocalypse. Paul and the Apocalypse agree as to the higher character of Jesus and his mediatorial position. Will any honest man maintain that the Christ of the Apocalypse is Ebionitic? Let him read the first chapter and then say whether Jesus is represented there as a mere creature, however exalted. The revelation is, indeed, *given* him by God, but this is the position uniformly claimed by the Saviour himself, and ascribed

to him by the synoptics, the fourth Gospel, and by Paul, and his mediatorial character demands this very position. This implies identity of views of the Incarnation—the same identity of views we find in the two documents with regard to justification; the vicarious sufferings of Jesus appear in both as the pardon-procuring cause, which the sinner can appropriate to himself only by faith. Although Paul was the Apostle of the Gentiles, yet his attachment to his former co-religionists remains as strong all his life long as that of any of the older Apostles. Let the reader read in proof of this the first five verses of Rom. ix.; nor are his hopes as to the future of Israel less bright than those of any of the others.—See Rom. xi. 25–28. But greatest of all is the agreement between the eschatologies of the two parties. This fact seems to have been overlooked to a great extent by the Church, as in fact the whole subject of eschatology has not yet received its proper share of attention. The two sets of documents are, on this subject, so independent that neither can be fully understood without the other. Paul does not particularly distinguish between the first and the second resurrection, although he hints also at the second. What he writes in 1 Thess. iv. can be fully understood only by comparing it with Apoc. xix. and xx., and the whole of 1 Cor. xv. remains more or less dark without the Apocalypse. In 1 Cor. xv. 24, we read, "then the end;" between ver. 24 and 25 the millennium falls; the coming of Christ, ver. 24, is identical with that spoken of in 1 Thess. iv., and the *end* is the consummation of all things, but without Apoc. xx. we should not know this. And John, who agreed so fully with Paul, who had formally recognized him as the Apostle of the Gentiles, who had taken charge of his churches after his death, John should apply such terrible terms to Paul! Had he done so, he would be the worst of defamers and calumniators on record.

In this way we could follow our author and convict him of rashness, falsehood, and misrepresentation almost step by step, but the few specimens we have given are sufficient to convey a correct idea of the whole book. We call attention before bringing our review to a close, to one more subject, viz., Paul's preaching at Athens. From pages 126–140 we have a

lengthy and, on the whole, clever dissertation on Athens and Grecian culture; but Paul, as might be expected, is made to play a wretched *rôle* there. Rénan's comment on the words of Acts: "His spirit was stirred within him when he saw the city wholly given up to idolatry," is "Ah! beautiful and chaste images, true gods and true goddesses, tremble! here is one who will raise the hammer against you. The fatal word has been pronounced, ye are idols. The error of this ugly little Jew will prove your death-warrant." Our author's representation of Paul's conduct and appearance at Athens is nothing but a caricature. His treatment of the subject is moreover so shallow and superficial that even the common error of *the* unknown God is retained and commented upon, while Paul spoke of *an* unknown god, setting out from a position which Rénan has failed to discover. The masterly discourse delivered by Paul at Athens, is not only censured as to form and diction, but is pronounced deistical and a disingenuous attempt at reconciling irreconcilable ways of thinking. "Biblical ideas and those of Greek philosophy aspire to embrace each other; but for that they will need make many concessions to each other, for this God in whom we live and move is very different from the Jehovah of the prophets and heavenly Father of Jesus." (P. 138.) "What was Paul? He was not a saint. The dominant feature of his character is not goodness; he was haughty, pertinacious, aggressive; he defended himself; maintained his point; his expressions were harsh; he deemed himself absolutely in the right; he clung to his opinions; he quarrelled with different persons. He was not learned. It may even be said that he greatly injured science by his paradoxical contempt for reason, by his eulogy upon apparent folly, by his apotheosis of transcendental absurdity. He wishes to succeed—for this he makes sacrifices. . . . He is not even a virtuous man, for he is never irreproachable. . . . Paul, so great, so upright, is obliged to decree to himself the title of Apostle." (Pp. 329–30.) Such, then, were the leading features of the character of "St." Paul! By an accident, by a purely subjective phenomenon that had no objective basis whatever, he is changed of a sudden from a fierce persecutor into an enthusiastic follower of Jesus, the infallible exponent

of whose teachings, work, and kingdom he at once claims to be—the views once adopted he clings to with unparalleled consistency, and promulgates under all circumstances, in the face of all enemies and all possible dangers—for these views he endures the sorest persecutions, greatest hardships, and finally lays down his life—though at first possibly sincere, he soon commits acts, prompted by his desire to succeed, that are inconsistent with the most ordinary honesty; whenever he needs the support of a miracle, in order to succeed with the ignorant and superstitious, he plays a trick and palms it off as a miracle; whenever he needs a revelation, he manufactures one, yea, he decrees to himself the title of Apostle; he believed in the speedy return of the Master; which belief, coupled with his natural pertinacity and stubbornness, furnishes the incentives to his uncommon activity. In the course of time he learns that the return of the Master is not as near at hand as he had supposed; many believers die, and at last, Paul himself dies in confirmation of his professions, after he had faced death time and again, and had repeatedly declared that he was at all times ready to seal his devotion to his Master's cause with his blood; he was almost a stranger to the Master's divine λόγια and parables, although his ethical system is exactly that of the Master, and his unswerving stand taken with regard to the rights of believing heathens is but the practical carrying out of the principles laid down in so many parables, although Luke, who wrote the third gospel shortly after Paul's death, was for many years his faithful companion, and the world was full of memoirs of Jesus' teachings and doings at the time. Such a tissue of incongruities and contradictions and falsehoods, M. Rénan requires us to believe! Verily, truth is stranger than fiction. *Credat Judæus Apella!*

With these remarks we bring our article to a close. What a writer in the London *Quarterly* for January, 1870, says of Lecky's "History of European Morals," we should apply to Rénan, were not such momentous interests at stake, viz., "It will be seen from what has been said, that we cannot rate Mr. Lecky's book high as a contribution to human knowledge. As a piece of light reading, always agreeable, and often suggestive, it may take a respectable place among the books of the year;

to the qualities which mark either a great history or a great philosophy it has no claims whatever. Its criticism is not sufficiently sound and careful to make it valuable as a repertory of facts; its thought is not sufficiently penetrating and mature to throw light upon the problems of human nature which it professes to deal with. An author who lacks the first condition of excellence, a sense of his own weakness, and of the difficulties of his subject, seldom produces any thing of substantial worth; and if Mr. Lecky aspires to be something more than the hero of circulating libraries, he must set to work in a far more thorough and patient spirit than that to which these pages bear witness." Strike out from his "St. Paul" the proper names and substitute fictitious ones, and you have a readable novel, with a rather smart hero. But as it is, as a history of one of the greatest and best men, of the Saviour's chosen instrument to preach his gospel and establish his church, who is entitled to the gratitude and veneration of all mankind, we cannot accept it, and we deem it our duty to warn the young and unwary against it; we must also enter our solemn protest against the deliberate judgment of the American publishers, that "the works of Rénan are of great power and learning, honestly and earnestly written, beautiful in style, admirable in treatment, and filled with reverence, tenderness, and warmth of heart," since we can admit the beauty of style only, and no other respectable feature in the book under review. If infidel works must be read, let them be those of Strauss, or works like them, which must be studied in order to be understood—yea, let them be rather the "Age of Reason," of Thomas Paine, who gives himself for what he is, than the "St. Paul" of Rénan," who instils the poison drop by drop into your system, and kills you before you have any apprehension of danger.

## Art. II.—*Training and Support of a Native Ministry in the Turkish Empire.**

In the following essay on the training and support of a native ministry in Turkey, several things are taken for granted, as the importance of this branch of missionary work, the scriptural authority for it, and the fact that there is not perfect agreement among missionaries in regard to the general principles involved, and in regard to the details according to which those principles should be carried out. Our design has been to offer such hints as will bring the whole question fairly before us, and aid us somewhat perhaps in arriving at practical conclusions for future guidance, not only in the Turkish empire, but in other countries where native evangelical churches are springing into life. Let us look in the first place at

1. Some of the difficulties to be overcome.

The one that first attracts our attention is the small number of proper candidates for the theological schools. In many places the number of candidates who are ready to enter such schools is large, but many of them are men who are not called of God; influenced by worldly motives, they profess to wish to study for the ministry; they can easily display great zeal for Christ and his cause, but the sequel too often shows that their zeal was not inspired by the Holy Spirit. It is not easy for missionaries to decide who are in earnest and who are not. Experience, however, shows that the number of those really called of God to the ministry is small, while the number of those who run of themselves is often large.

Another great obstacle is *ignorance*. Men sometimes present themselves as students of theology who can barely read; nor can it be always said that such men are not hopeful candidates. If called of God they may soon become able ministers of the Word; but they are ignorant. Many children in America, at the age of nine years, have more and better general information than some of these men when they present

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themselves at the door of the theological seminary. The causes of this ignorance are manifest. These men were born, it may be, in mountain villages where there are no schools, no newspapers, no books; where, perhaps, not a man can be found who knows how to read, where the people have almost no connection with the outer world. The mind of a young man born and reared in such circumstances may be naturally good; so is the uncut marble over which he plays in childhood; buried in darkness its beauties are unknown. The nature and extent of this ignorance is almost inconceivable to one who has never visited such mountain villages, or conversed with such candidates for the ministry.

The want of good common schools is another great obstacle to the training of native pastors. Throughout the Turkish empire this difficulty is deeply felt. What can a young man do who feels called to the ministry? How can he prepare himself to study theology? In his native village, if there is any Protestant school at all, the teacher can only take him through the simplest rudiments of an education—reading, writing, the first elements of geography, grammar, and arithmetic; rather a scant preparation for a theological seminary: yet the common schools are very few where more than these are taught.

Another great want is that of good school-books. Even where there are comparatively good schools, there is generally such a scarcity of school-books as makes it almost impossible for men to prepare for the theological schools. And even after they have entered such schools, what mission in Turkey can show a good set of text-books in any one department of theological study? Not one. If it be asked why are there not good common schools and good school-books, we mention in reply another great obstacle to the training of a native ministry, which is, the small number of missionaries as compared with the work to be done. This number is so small, that two men are generally all that can be allowed for the theological school. These two missionaries are expected to give instruction, at least in *Moral Philosophy*, *Biblical Exegesis*, *the Evidences of Christianity*, *Pastoral and Doctrinal Theology*, *Church History*, and *Homiletics*. They are also ex-

pected to be missionaries at large, to visit out-stations, superintend churches, attend meetings of native preachers and pastors, in a word, to look after the thousand and one things that constantly arise at a large mission station. If two or three men are spared for literary work, their time must be given mainly to translating and editing the Scriptures, and religious tracts, newspapers, and books. However able men may be, and however willing to work, simple want of time makes it impossible for them to do well all that is required of them. Where there are but two men at the station where the theological school is located, how can they make proper preparation for their lessons?—with both teachers and scholars will there not be weakness where there ought to be strength? There ought to be at least three men connected with every theological seminary in Turkey, who should give their full strength, certainly during term time, to the care and instruction of the students.

2. The kind of men needed.

In the great scarcity of pastors and preachers, men are often put into the theological schools who ought not to enter them. Perhaps more serious mistakes are made just here than in any other branch of missionary work. The reason is plain; a good native pastor is above all price, while one who enters the ministry from improper motives, who is not qualified for his work, and who takes little or no interest in it, is far more of a hinderance than a similar man in America or England. We say, in general, that no man should be advised or allowed to study theology who does not give clear evidence of piety. This caution may be thought unnecessary; experience has proved that it is not. Theoretically, probably, all missionaries are right on this point; practically, there are few who have not made serious mistakes. We believe the history of nearly every Christian mission of modern times will show that many young men have been encouraged to study for the ministry who have not been renewed by the Holy Spirit. What have been the results? Just what we might expect them to be. Such men become in time great obstacles to the Lord's work, often bitter opposers of that work. Churches die under their influence. Even where they do not oppose the

Gospel, they substitute other things for it. Moral philosophy, natural science, human learning take the place of the "word of God." Men, therefore, of earnest piety, men whose piety has been proved, and they only should be trained for the ministry.

Men also are needed who are *called of God.*

It does not follow that every young man, because he has real piety, should study theology. Here, too, all missionaries are liable to be in too great haste. Native pastors are needed; the Lord's work languishes because they are not to be found; what more natural than to advise young carpenters, shoemakers, blacksmiths, and farmers to leave their daily toil and enter the service of Christ as preachers of the Gospel? Very natural, but not always very wise; for men who enter the ministry should be men called of God, men moved by a divine impulse, men who have heard the Redeemer's last command addressed especially to themselves, "*Go ye*, into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

Men of good natural ability are needed; even earnest piety will not make up for a want of intellect. It is a great mistake to suppose that Christian converts in heathen and semi-heathen lands cannot distinguish between those who are able expounders of God's word and those who are not. Such converts discover the difference as quickly as the most intelligent audiences in America or England. The idea that any young man, if very pious, with a tolerable education, will answer for a missionary, is now pretty thoroughly exploded; it is equally a mistake, often made by good missionaries, to suppose that every young man of particularly earnest piety in their congregations should be encouraged to enter the native ministry. Earnest piety makes up for many defects; but when men are to be selected for native preachers, there is a degree of stupidity which it should not be allowed to cover.

Here an interesting question arises; at what age should men be received into the theological schools in our missions? Perhaps no definite answer can be given; yet we may say, in general, that if good in other respects, for ordinary native pastors, it matters not if they are somewhat advanced in years. Young men make the best scholars, but they lack

experience in dealing with others, and are more apt to be governed by their feelings than by their sober judgment. It is also true that young men are more pliable than those who have reached mature years, more easily moulded into the right shape; impressions made on their minds sink deeper and are more lasting. A man at thirty-five or forty sometimes makes up with wonderful energy under the new impulse given to his mind by the Gospel; if such a man wishes to preach the Gospel and seems truly called of God, who shall hinder him? We have been assured that, at one time, one of the most hopeful men in one of the theological seminaries among the Armenians was the father of eleven children, most of whom were living. If others at the age of sixteen or seventeen give evidence of true piety, have the proper qualifications, and are anxious to preach the Gospel, let them do so. The churches on missionary ground need good scholars in the ministry as well as those in America and England; and really good scholars, as a rule, can only be made of young men.

Men are needed who are ready to deny themselves. Self-denial should be one of the foundation stones of every church and of every Christian character; the preachers and pastors should be leaders in this respect. Whenever it appears that a man is in the seminary in order to obtain a living, the sooner his connection with it ceases the better.

3. When all other obstacles are removed, and a suitable number of young men are collected to form a theological school, the question then arises, "*What shall they study?*" This question calls up the whole subject of the proper course of study in a seminary for the training of native pastors and preachers on missionary ground. We are aware that we are here treading on disputed territory, that many of the wisest and best men have differed widely on this subject. Without attempting to defend, in detail, the suggestions we shall make, we shall state what appear to be the most essential things in such a course of study. And, in the first place, we think the young men who are preparing for the native ministry should study thoroughly the language which they are to use as preachers and pastors. The universal corruption of the East

shows itself in nothing more plainly than in the corruption of language; this appears not only in words of an immoral meaning, but in imperfect words, in words whose original form has been changed, in ungrammatical expressions, and in wrong pronunciation. Many Armenians, for example, have not only no knowledge of the Armenian language, but a very imperfect knowledge of the Turkish, which they use. The wrong grammatical forms and the wrong pronunciation, which they learn in childhood, cling to them in after years. What we urge is, that all students of theology should be taught to read, write, and speak correctly the language which they are to use as preachers of the Gospel.

They should study mathematics as a mental discipline. The main question here is, that of the extent to which mathematical studies should be carried. Much will depend on the mental capacity of the students. Algebra and geometry at least should form part of a four years' course. The importance of natural science, mental and moral philosophy, cannot be disputed; the question of the amount of time that should be given to such studies is the only one on which there can be a great difference of opinion. Students should certainly acquire a knowledge of the general principles of these sciences, yet such studies should not be allowed to exclude the more important study of the Bible and systematic theology. Natural science and mental and moral philosophy should be studied with special reference to their relations to Christianity. Shall the students study English? We answer, yes; at least they should learn English well enough to use English text-books in preparing to preach. The study itself is a good mental discipline, while the knowledge acquired, to the extent mentioned, opens to a native preacher a treasure-house filled with the ripe results of sanctified scholarship. A high authority in such matters has well said: "In the providence of God the English race occupy much the same place *now* in history which the Romans did in the time of Christ. They are the standard-bearers of the *thought* of all ages; their flag is in every sea; their influence brought in immediate contact with the life of every people. The English language is the store-house of all the best thought of the

world. This *thought* is a divinely appointed instrumentality of culture, of intellectual growth and power for the race, steadily accumulating as the fruit of study, prayer, experience, observation. Whether we will or not, this influence will be exerted, in its baser elements or in its better; it cannot be hindered." We may add, that whether the missionaries favor the study of English or not, the most active and intelligent of the native pastors and preachers will learn it; they will surmount every obstacle in order to avail themselves of the commentaries and theological treatises found in the English language. And they are right; every young man who has brains enough to go through a course of theological study is able to learn enough English to use English commentaries, and he should not only be permitted but required to do it. The evidences of Christianity, natural, doctrinal, and pastoral theology, are, of course, essential. The impression prevails, that young men in the theological seminaries in our foreign missions cannot grasp these subjects very thoroughly; this impression is probably not correct; from all we can learn on this point, we are inclined to think that such young men compare favorably with the same class in our own country. True they have never studied systems of logic, but they can see the force or weakness of an argument, and can appreciate a systematic and thorough presentation of a subject. Biblical and church history, homiletics and church polity must receive their proper share of attention. Much practical instruction in regard to public speaking, the composition and delivery of sermons, is necessary in order to make good preachers of the ordinary students in the mission theological seminaries. Throughout the whole course, the Bible should be made the most important of all text-books. All other discipline and all other acquisitions should be made to centre, as in a focus, on the Word of God. A sustained interest in the study of the Scriptures can only be secured by earnest and persevering efforts. Oriental minds are fond of speculation; the East is the hot-bed of wild fancies and dreams. Special care, therefore, should be taken to bind the attention of students to the *revealed Word*. To master thoroughly the divine revelation is the essential thing in pre-

paring for the ministry. Just in proportion as native preachers attain this end, will they be able ministers of the New Testament; if they come short here, all their other attainments will be of little value.

Thus much in regard to the course of study; in putting this course to a practical application, of course mental discipline should be made of primary importance rather than the imparting of information.

4. We come now to another important question, viz.: What training shall candidates for a native ministry have, apart from that which they receive through the medium of books?

We reply, they should be trained to *regular habits of study*. Such habits are worth more than volumes of information imparted to a student, yet few things are more difficult to secure in dealing with Orientals; they like to spend their time in idle talk; they need to be taught the value of time in reference to mental growth, and the importance of devoting a portion of each day, sacredly, to hard study.

They should also be trained to self-denial, while they are pursuing their studies. How this can be accomplished always may be a difficult question, but it is a matter of the first importance, and should be carefully weighed by those who have the immediate charge of our mission theological schools. Students in such schools are too apt to look upon missionary boards as their nursing mothers, mothers who are only too happy to supply their every want. If the young men in such schools are to become hardy soldiers of the cross, they must begin when in the theological schools. Such students should also be trained to aggressive work for Christ. By this we mean more than the preparation of good sermons, more than the care of a single flock. In the present state of God's work in the Turkish Empire, the evangelical churches should be emphatically aggressive, should be ready to send out their members everywhere preaching the Gospel and compelling men to come to the marriage feast; but the churches will not have this character unless the pastors have it, and if the students do not catch something of this spirit while in the seminaries, the probability is that they will never catch it at all. Christ not only taught his disciples by word of mouth,

but he sent them out, and led them out, and showed them *how* to go about their great work. How did Paul deal with the young men whom he wished to make leaders in Christ's cause? He taught them, by example as well as by precept, that they should not always act on the defensive, that they should attack the enemy on his own ground, and attack him without fear and asking no favors. The pastors, who are to guide the churches now springing up where Paul labored, should be men of the same spirit.

Students should also be trained to intelligent *self-reliance.* In Eastern countries, where might too often makes right, men of really independent judgment are not often found; people look up to their superiors. The first question is not, what do truth and duty require, but what is the opinion of those in authority. It is hard to bring even Christian men to think intelligently and act deliberately for themselves. The right kind of self-reliance is an important part of the education of a native ministry, especially among subject races like the nominal Christian races in Turkey.

Candidates for a native ministry should be taught also to regard the *preaching of God's Word* as the great business of their lives. They are very liable to get mixed up with secular and political affairs. In the infancy of the churches, such a result is almost inevitable, and, to a certain degree, is not to be deplored. Native pastors are the real moulders of opinion on almost all subjects, and they ought to be wide awake to all public questions. The danger is, that the political and secular interests of their flocks will so crowd upon their time and thoughts as to throw the preaching of the Word into the background. This result is almost sure to be fatal to the ultimate and highest usefulness of a pastor. Shallow sermons, thinly attended prayer-meetings, a decline in spirituality in the church, coldness, divisions, backbitings, these and similar things are quite sure to follow when a native pastor declines in devotion to *preaching* as his one great work.

Such students should be trained also to look to the churches, over which they are to be pastors, for their support. This is now so generally acknowledged that it seems unnecessary to

dwell upon it. We may remark, however, that the seminary is the place to lay right foundations on this subject. Students should be made familiar with the idea that their relations, after leaving the seminary, are to be with the *churches* rather than with missionaries from a distant land, or with the treasury of a foreign Board. Failure here has led to sorrows innumerable.

5. On what scale shall students be supported while pursuing their studies?

Practically, this is an important question. Strict economy should be the general principle for the guidance of the missionaries. Nothing more quickly demoralizes native Christians than a free use of money; nothing makes the work of a native pastor more irksome than constant anxiety about his salary; and nothing is more sure to create and keep up that anxiety than a liberal support while in the seminary. It seems plain that students in our mission theological schools should not be supported in a style above that which they will have to adopt when they become preachers and pastors. The poverty of the native Christians, and the weakness of the native churches should ever be kept in mind by those in charge of such schools. So far as possible, the students should be required to earn the money they receive; the best good of the students themselves requires this. To accomplish this end they may, in many cases, be furnished with work during term time, and in other cases be employed as colporteurs, teachers, and preachers during vacations. Such students are generally accustomed to hard labor before entering the seminaries; health, alone, requires that their active habits be kept up. If this is not done, they may become good scholars; but with weak, dyspeptic, diseased bodies they can never be active, robust preachers and pastors. Habits of industry, a proper appreciation of the value of money, their future happiness, all require that students have no more aid than is actually necessary for real wants.

6. How shall native pastors be supported after they have entered on their work? We have already touched upon this point; a full examination of it properly belongs to the more general question of the self-support of mission churches, yet a few additional words will not be out of place here. The only

safe principle seems to be to throw the native pastors, for their support, upon the churches at the time of ordination. Whatever aid is rendered toward the support of the pastors should be given *to the churches* and not directly to the pastors. No native preacher or pastor should draw his salary from the treasury of a foreign Board. Pastors and preachers should be taught from the first to look to the churches for their support, and taught not only theoretically but practically, by actually placing this responsibility upon the churches. Native churches are often unwilling to pledge themselves to support their pastors, and newly ordained pastors are often unwilling to commit themselves to their churches; but we are convinced that any other course than the one here recommended is fraught with evils and embarrassments that will only increase as time passes. Whenever foreign aid is rendered to a church in the support of its pastor, it should be done only with a definite understanding that such aid shall cease at the earliest possible moment. If a native pastor is not willing thus to be thrown on the church over which he is ordained, it is generally indicative either that there has been a serious defect in his education or that the man is not fit for the pastoral office. Those pastors who perseveringly insist on being supported by a foreign Board are, in the opinion of the writer, really not worthy to be supported very long by anybody. Moreover, we think this position is fully sustained by the history of the Protestant evangelical churches in the Turkish Empire. We learn from the report of the American Board for 1869, that there are seventy-three evangelical churches under its care in Turkey, and that forty-three of these have native pastors ordained over them. From private sources of the most reliable kind, we happen to know that the missionaries of the Board among the Armenians in Turkey have devoted much attention to the training up of a native ministry according to the suggestions contained in this article. We know, also, that their efforts have been attended with marked success. The most promising pastors in the country are those who have been educated on these principles; the strongest and most flourishing churches are those that have for years supported entirely their own pastors, and those pastors and churches that have most thor-

oughly tested this principle of self-support are the most thoroughly in favor of it; in fact, they could not be induced to return to their former relation as recipients of foreign benevolence. There are four theological schools in the three missions of Western, Central, and Eastern Turkey. These schools are located at *Marsovan*, *Marash*, *Harpoot*, and *Mardin*. The general principles on which these schools are conducted are the same, and are substantially those we have recommended. The work of evangelization is extending among the Copts of Egypt, the people of Syria, the Bulgarians in European Turkey, and the Kurdish-speaking Armenians of Kürdistan. For these different nationalities a native ministry must be provided. It is important that there should be agreement and united action among the missions and missionaries of the whole Turkish Empire in regard to the principles and method according to which that ministry shall be trained.

If evangelical missions in Turkey are to succeed, the whole work of evangelization will eventually pass into the hands of native Christians; if they are to fail, it matters little on what principles they are conducted. We believe they are to succeed. Unity of plan, therefore, in the organization and development of native churches becomes a matter of the first importance. Such churches will be a power in the land in proportion to their ability to work together for Christ and his cause. If the missionaries are agreed in regard to the general principles on which they will train up a native ministry, the future pastors of the evangelical churches throughout Turkey will be on the same level, will take substantially the same views of their duty, will work alike and *together* for the evangelization of the whole country. When the pastors are thus agreed, the churches will be trained accordingly. We write not in the interest of any particular Board or denomination or system, when we say that the missionaries in Turkey should seek after real unity in the plan of that spiritual building which is rising, under their direction, to the honor and glory of God. United action in training a native ministry will secure substantial unity in all else. In the writer's judgment, sectarian interests should be made to stand aside if they attempt to prevent or hinder this desirable consummation.

ART. III.—*The One Primeval Language traced experimentally through Ancient Inscriptions in Alphabetic Characters, of Lost Powers, from the four Continents.* By the REV. CHARLES FORSTER, B. D. London: 1851. Part I. *The Voice of Israel from the Rocks of Sinai, or the Sinaitic Inscriptions Contemporary Records of the Miracles and Wanderings of the Exode.* 8vo, pp. 182.

*Sinai Photographed, or Contemporary Records of Israel in the Wilderness.* By the REV. CHARLES FORSTER, B. D. London: 1862. 4to, pp. 552.

IT is well known that the valleys in the neighborhood of Mount Sinai contain inscriptions in an ancient and peculiar character, which have long been a puzzle to the learned. The earliest mention of them is by Cosmas Indicopleustes, or the Indian Navigator, an Egyptian merchant and traveller, and subsequently a monk, who flourished in the reign of Justinian, about A. D. 535. In his work entitled "Christian Topography," he speaks of these inscriptions, and attributes them to the children of Israel, during their wanderings in the wilderness. We translate the entire passage, as quoted by Beer, and copied from him by Forster:—

"As they had received the law from God in writing, and recently been taught letters, God made use, as it were, of a quiet school in the desert, and permitted them to carve letters in stone for forty years. Whence it is to be seen that in this desert of Mount Sinai, at every halting-place, all the stones which are broken from the mountains are inscribed with engraved Hebrew letters, as I who have gone through these localities on foot can testify. Some Jews, who read them, and explained them to me, said that the writing was to this purport: the journey of *So and So,* of such a tribe, in such a year, and such a month, as among us also people often write in foreign parts. Now, inasmuch as they had but lately learned their letters, they were incessantly practising and wrote profusely, so that all those places are filled with carved Hebrew letters, which have been preserved to this present time, as I suppose, for the sake of unbelievers. Any one who pleases can go to this region and see for himself, or at least can ask and learn that we have told the truth about it. The Hebrews, then, having first been instructed of God, in that they received letters by those tables of stone, and then learned them forty years in the wilderness, delivered them to their neighbors, the Phœnicians, to Cadmus, first king of Tyre: from him the Greeks received them, and after that they were successively transmitted to all the other nations in their turn."

No notice is taken of these inscriptions in any writings subsequent to the time of Cosmas, and they appear to have attracted no attention until his treatise was first published in modern times by Montfaucon, at Paris, in 1706. The learned editor does not seem to have ever heard of these mysterious inscriptions from any other quarter. He believes that Cosmas saw what he reports, simply on the ground of his credibility as a writer and a witness, though he supposes him to have been imposed upon by some mendacious Jews, when he imagines that they were written by the children of Israel. Sixteen years later, in 1722, the prefect of the Franciscans in Cairo passed through that region, and he is the first modern writer who gives any account of them from personal inspection. We shall give a brief extract from his narrative presently. His manuscript "Journal from Grand Cairo to Mount Sinai" was translated into English by Clayton, bishop of Clogher, and published in London. The worthy Irish prelate, who was thus the first to direct the attention of European scholars to this subject was himself so profoundly interested in it, that he offered the sum of £500 to the traveller who should copy and bring to Europe the inscriptions of the Wady Mokatteb. "This was soon after followed up in the East by the enterprise of Dr. Richard Pococke (afterward bishop of Ossory), the first European traveller who visited the peninsula of Sinai with the object of examining and taking copies of its inscriptions. Additional copies were subsequently made by Montague, Niebuhr, Rüppell, Seetzen, Burckhardt, Laborde, and others. "Adequate materials" for a satisfactory investigation can scarcely be said to have existed, however, until they were supplied "by Rev. Mr. Gray, whose collection of one hundred and seventy-seven fairly copied Sinaitic inscriptions appeared in 1800 in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature." "The following device was employed by this gentleman and his fellow-traveller, an Italian artist, to gain an opportunity of making their copies. Finding all efforts vain to induce their Arabs to stop for this purpose, they privately agreed, on reaching the Wady Mokatteb inscriptions, where they were to halt for the night, to loose the camels from their pickets while the guides slept, and let them wander over the

desert. At day-break the Arabs missed their camels, and went off in quest of them; while, during their absence of some hours, Mr. Gray and his companion quietly and uninterruptedly took copies of all the inscriptions within their reach." Of the difficulties to be encountered in copying these inscriptions, a brief extract from a communication from another traveller (Rev. T. Brookman), may give some idea. Forster's "Primeval Language," pp. 170–1 :—

"I found that if we tarried three days, or even two, our water and provisions would not hold out till the convent, whither we must go to take in a six days' supply for our return. The expense, too, of detaining the camels and Arabs would be not inconsiderable. I therefore determined to select only the best and clearest inscriptions for copying, and worked almost unremittingly from noon to sunset under a burning sun; my servant and the Arab sheikh and his boy holding an umbrella over me in turn. The next morning, before sunrise, I went to work again; and when the sun began to wax hot, I called my servant to bear the umbrella as before. He, having something to do in the tent, called the sheikh; and he from out of a rocky cave where he lay, called the boy; and forth came the poor boy from another shady retreat, to face the fierce glare of the sun, wondering what could possess the Frangee to stop in this frightful desert to copy these useless, and, as he thought, unintelligible writings."

Every recent traveller in the desert of Sinai gives some account of these remarkable inscriptions. We insert the following from Dr. John Wilson's "Lands of the Bible" :—

"When we got beyond the entrance of the Magharah, our Arabs made to us the welcome announcement that we had entered the Wadi Mukatteb, or the 'written valley.' We had not far to look for the mysterious inscriptions which we had so much desired to see. In the first or western division of the valley, however, which, like the second, continues for about an hour and a half, they are not numerous. We dismounted at the broad expansion of the Wadi which marks its division, and where it strikes to the south; and here we had them in abundance to the fullest gratification of our curiosity. They are found on both sides of the valley on the perpendicular and smooth cliffs of the new red or variegated sandstone, the strata of which are of enormous thickness, and on the large masses of this rock which have fallen from above. The surface of these stony tablets seemed to have been naturally prepared for the 'graving of an iron pen,' and the words which are written upon them, though not very deeply cut,* if we may judge from the small injury which the hand of time has committed upon them during the many ages they have existed, may probably 'last forever' in the sense of Job, the tried patriarch of Arabia Petræa, who wished such a commemoration of the language of his deepest sorrow.

* "In some instances they seem as if merely pricked by some instrument."

"The inscriptions are both literal and hieroglyphical, or I should rather say pictorial, for they do not seem the symbols of thought conventionally expressed. The letters vary in size from half an inch to six inches in depth, and they are generally arranged in single lines, as if representing a name and date, and preceded by a distinctive group of letters, representing the word שלם or 'peace.' A few of them are in Greek, but most of them are in the ancient Nabathæan character. The figures occurring at several places are very rude. They are those of men with shields and swords, and bows and arrows; of camels and horses, both with and without their riders, seated or standing by their sides; of goats and ibexes, with large curved horns; of antelopes pursued by greyhounds; of ostriches and geese, and unknown birds, indistinctly represented; of lizards, tortoises, and other creeping things; and of divers quaint phantasies, which cannot be characterized.

"The prefect of the Franciscan missionaries of Egypt, who visited them in 1722, and who was among the first in modern times to give precise information respecting them, says in his account of them, which we had with us on our journey: 'They are cut into the hard marble (sandstone) rock, so high as to be at some places at twelve or fourteen feet distance from the ground; and though we had in our company persons who were acquainted with the Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Coptic, Latin, Armenian, Turkish, English, Illyrican, German, and Bohemian languages, yet none of them had any knowledge of these characters, which have nevertheless been cut into the hard rock with the greatest industry, in a place where there is neither water nor any thing to be gotten to eat. It is probable, therefore, that these unknown characters contain some very secret mysteries, and that they were engraved either by the Chaldeans or some other persons long before the coming of Christ.' They are to be found not only in Wadi Mukatteb, but in all the principal Wadis of the peninsula on the route to Mount Sinai. Specimens of them were observed by Burckhardt on the heights of Jebel Serbal, and, what is most remarkable, we found one or two of them on the rocks at Petra. The valley of Mukatteb opens out to a considerable breadth where the inscriptions are most numerous. After the large bend of the valley, they are confined principally to the western side."

The gradual accumulation of materials stimulated European scholars to undertake the deciphering of these strange records, in the hope of penetrating the mystery in which their origin, their authors, their design, and their character and contents were enshrouded. But this was attended with difficulties of a very serious nature, greatly aggravating the inherent perplexity of the task, which was no less than that of unriddling the meaning of inscriptions in an unknown character, while the language in which they were written, and their subject and occasion could only be matters of doubtful conjecture. Modern antiquarian research has, however, achieved repeated triumphs of this very sort, as in the case of the Egyptian hie-

roglyphics, where the bilingual decree of the Rosetta stone afforded the clue; and the cuneiform character, where a shrewd conjecture from circumstances of the design of an inscription led the way to its successful explanation; and the old Zend manuscripts where a Sanskrit paraphrase facilitated the solution.

But in these scribblings upon the rocks of the desert, no one knew by whom, or when, or for what purpose, the problem was more than ever puzzling. And as has already been intimated, the puzzle was rendered still more intricate by various untoward circumstances.

1. They were not monumental inscriptions, in which the surface of the stone was first smoothed and carefully prepared for the purpose; and then the letters clearly and sharply cut by skilful workmen, with appropriate tools. On the contrary, the face of the sandstone rock was left in all its native roughness and inequalities; no graving tools were used. The letters were not carved, but rudely scratched by whatever the writer chanced to have at hand; mostly they appear to be formed by a series of little holes opening into one another, which have been dug or picked out by a pointed instrument resembling an awl. The writers' want of skill appears in the unequal size of the letters, and in the want of accuracy and uniformity in the shape of the characters. This is shown by the comparison of what is evidently the same inscription cut in different places, and even if the character were well known and familiar would make some of the inscriptions as difficult to decipher as those illegible scrawls which sometimes pass for writing and purport to be English.

2. The great multitude of these inscriptions, which are crowded or rather jumbled together in certain localities, makes it sometimes difficult to separate them, or to distinguish what belongs to each, or to tell where one ends and another begins. Especially as the lines are often not horizontal, but are turned in various directions to suit the surface of the stone or the convenience of the writer; and it is sometimes matter of doubt which way the line really does run. Some professed copies of inscriptions turn out to be confused fragments, combining disconnected parts of different inscriptions, but containing no

one entire—a sort of cross-readings, which of course destroys all possibility of making any thing out of them.

3. The professed copies were in very many cases not reliable, as was shown by the wide divergence between the different representations given of the self-same inscription by different persons. It is a task of no small difficulty to copy an inscription in unknown characters, however clearly these may be traced. But in such roughly-made legends, the difficulty was incomparably greater. It was next to impossible not to mistake occasional inequalities in the stone itself for strokes of letters, or not to overlook what were designed to be strokes, but were never perhaps distinctly made, and which, after lying exposed for ages, are now scarcely, if at all, discernible. It was also nearly impossible to avoid confounding letters which were nearly alike, and which in the haste and want of care with which they were originally made, were not so formed by the authors of the inscriptions as to be clearly distinguishable. They may be compared to writing, such as we often see, in which, from a few letters capable of being recognized, the reader is obliged to guess at the remainder of the word, which, knowing the context and probable scope of the whole, he is mostly able to do. But it is manifest that one who undertook to copy such a manuscript, without the remotest idea of its meaning, or even of the shape or sound of a single letter, must, from the necessity of the case, produce something far less legible than the original writing itself. Many of the points of distinction still existing among the letters, and which are all-important in deciphering it, would be effaced, unless the most rigorous methods were adopted to insure perfect accuracy. Unfortunately, many of the transcriptions were so loosely and negligently made, as to be absolutely worthless. Contelle, for example, was so careless as to copy the lines from left to right, the reverse direction from that in which they were actually written; and as he further neglected to mark the limits of the lines, or keep each line distinct, the initial word of the inscription was often brought into the middle of the line, and every thing thrown into confusion.

4. The materials possessed were after all very scanty—merely a few hundreds of inscriptions from some of the more

frequented localities, while thousands remained uncopied; and from many of the valleys known to contain inscriptions not a single one was possessed.

Nevertheless, in spite of these formidable discouragements, Professor Beer, of Leipsic, undertook the study of the inscriptions, with the view, if possible, of making out the alphabet in which they were written, and ascertaining their meaning. He first addressed himself to the task in 1833, not long after the publication of the copies taken by Rev. Mr. Gray, as already mentioned, and probably incited to it by the considerable accession of materials thus made. His first attempts, however, proved entirely abortive and the matter was given up. He returned to it again, however, in the winter of 1838-39, perhaps led, as Dr. Robinson suggests (*Bib. Res.*, I. p. 553) by the report made of his visit to Sinai, and by the residence of Dr. Robinson's companion (Dr. Eli Smith) for a time in Leipsic. At length, "after several months of the most persevering and painful application, he succeeded in making out the alphabet, and in reading all the inscriptions which had been copied with any good degree of accuracy." In 1840 he published what he calls a "Century" of these inscriptions transcribed in Hebrew letters. The number deciphered somewhat exceeded what this name would denote, being actually 148. These were accompanied with fac-similes of the inscriptions and prefaced with some introductory discussions.

The style and tenor of the inscriptions was found to be almost universally identical. They uniformly read thus:—"The salutation of *So and So*, son of *So and So*," or "Remember *So and So*, son of *So and So*." To this was occasionally added one or two other words, mostly a title or a term indicative of occupation, as "poet," "priest," "scholar," "emir," "knight," and another word of very frequent occurrence which Beer understood to mean "pilgrim."

Prof. Beer does not detail the process by which he reached his results. But their accuracy admits of the most ample and satisfactory verification.

1. Among the inscriptions explained by Beer was one which he recognized as bilingual, and fortunately it is among those which are in the best state of preservation. Three different

copies of it had also been taken by different hands, by Gray, Lord Prudhoe and Coutelle, one of the French savants who accompanied Napoleon on his expedition into Egypt. The native inscription is immediately followed by one in Greek, the whole inclosed in lines which partly surround them and seem to indicate that they belong together. Judging from the style of letter, which is not cut but dotted out with a pointed instrument, the two inscriptions appear to be by the same hand. Beer was not able to read the whole either of the native inscription or of the Greek, but he deciphered enough of both to show their substantial identity. And it may be added that the labors of subsequent scholars have resulted in completely unriddling them both, and establishing their identity from beginning to end more fully than Beer himself suspected, and this by means of his own alphabet.

2. This gathers confirmation from other inscriptions upon these same rocks in the neighborhood of Sinai. In addition to the inscriptions in the old unknown character, with which we are now concerned, there are others in Latin, Greek, and Arabic. These are almost invariably of like tenor with the old inscriptions as deciphered by Prof. Beer's alphabet. The Greek inscriptions for example contain the word *ΜΝΗΣΘΗ* followed by the name of the writer, and that of his father, *i. e.*, Let *So and So*, son of *So and So*, be remembered. The verbal form is different from that yielded by Prof. Beer's alphabet—the Greek has a subjunctive aorist passive, while he finds a passive participle, but the sense in such a connection is substantially the same. The general style of the old native inscriptions, as thus deciphered, is therefore the same that is perpetuated in those more recent.

3. The proper names which Prof. Beer discovers in these old inscriptions, in many cases reappear in Greek inscriptions in the region, showing that they are such as were in actual use among those who cut their names in these places. They are also plainly Semitic in their character, and susceptible of explanation from Semitic roots, and are further almost invariably such as can be pointed out from other sources as actually borne by persons of Arab stock.

4. The alphabet which he finds, though distinct from the

other Semitic alphabets, and having peculiar forms and features of its own, is nevertheless analogous to them and stands in a close relation to them.

5. What is perhaps the crowning test of all is that this alphabet has been perpetually gaining fresh confirmation from further investigation and research. It not only explains those inscriptions on which it was based and to which it was originally applied; but it is equally successful in rendering intelligible other inscriptions, which were not then copied. Some of these are bilingual, where the test is decisive; some are of an entirely different description, varying widely in their contents, and found in other places. It has even given the first satisfactory explanation of the legends upon coins found in European cabinets, which no one had previously been able to decipher, and whose origin and character could not be conjectured.

In determining the age of these inscriptions Beer starts with the unquestionable fact that they must be older than the sixth century of the Christian era, when they were already seen and described by Cosmas. And they must be considerably older than his time, as their real authors and true character were then unknown.

Numerous crosses are found with the Greek and Latin inscriptions, indicating that these were beyond question the work of Christian pilgrims who visited these hallowed localities to deepen their impression of the power and grace of God, who revealed himself on Sinai and who wrought such miracles in the desert in the days of Moses. And this is confirmed by such additions as the Alpha and the Omega, or such ejaculations appended or prefixed as "Jesus Christ have mercy," or "Help, Lord." In a very few instances crosses of the ordinary form are connected with inscriptions in the original antique character. A much more frequent appendage is a figure resembling the Roman capital letter Y either erect or lying upon its side. This, which is evidently not a letter and forms no part of the legend proper, but stands sometimes at the beginning and sometimes at the end of the same inscription as found in different places, was thought by Beer to be a cross of a form peculiar to this region. Though no examples of it are found elsewhere, he suggests that forked crosses of this

shape may have been used in this quarter for the execution of criminals, and may hence have been adopted when the Gospel first penetrated into these parts, as the symbol of the Christian faith. If so, however, this unusual form of the cross could not have been continued long after the time of Constantine, upon whose imperial standards and public edifices and coins the cross was emblazoned in its ordinary shape, which thus became fixed throughout Christendom. This he accepts, therefore, as an indication that the inscriptions in question cannot be later than the fourth century after Christ. This, too, was a period noted for pilgrimages to sacred places. Christians in vast numbers flocked to the Holy Land to see the spots rendered memorable by the Scriptures. And Helena, mother of Constantine, it is well known, visited Mount Sinai and erected a sanctuary there. The immediate authors of the inscriptions in the old and strange character Beer supposed to be Nabateans—citizens of that wealthy, flourishing, and cultivated kingdom, which in the early centuries of the Christian era had its capital at Petra, and has left its imperishable monument in the magnificent ruins of that totally desolated city. Their language would naturally be, as that of these inscriptions was, Aramæan, with a large infusion of Arabic words and forms. And Beer ventured the prediction, which has since been verified, that if ever any inscriptions were found at Petra, they would be in the same character as that of the inscriptions at Mount Sinai.

The ingenuity displayed in deciphering these strange characters, notwithstanding the seemingly insurmountable difficulties which beset the task, is scarcely surpassed by any of the surprising achievements of palæography in modern times. The ulterior results flowing from the unriddling of the Egyptian hieroglyphics or the Persian and Assyrian cuneiform character, are more important. They bring to light the history of buried empires and open attractive fields of inquiry, the end of which cannot yet be conjectured. But the bald inscriptions on the rocks of Sinai, with tedious uniformity yield mere names of persons utterly unknown, and about whom no one cares, who, in an idle hour while resting on their journey through the desert, scribbled on the rocks, as modern

travellers do who visit famous places: and this constitutes their sole claim to an immortal remembrance. Niebuhr, who himself took copies of some of these inscriptions, was so impressed by all their surroundings with their utter valuelessness, even in advance of any accurate knowledge of their contents, that he advised scholars not to waste their time in the attempt to decipher them. They are not after all, as we shall see presently, so wholly unimportant as might appear at first sight. But whatever their intrinsic insignificance, and however the actual reading of these inscriptions may dispel the romantic interest derived from the imagination that they may have been coeval with the days of Moses, this should not hinder us from confessing the marvellous ability and skill displayed in deciphering these strange and unknown characters.

The alphabetic key wrought out by Prof. Beer has been universally accepted ever since by competent scholars as the true one, with perhaps the addition of a single letter which he failed to recognize. One of the most acute and able of his successors in this line of investigation, who dissented earnestly from some of his conclusions, bears his testimony that he has found no occasion to modify his alphabet in even the slightest particular.

Prof. Beer's conclusions respecting the authors and the date of these inscriptions were so intrinsically probable and tallied so well with known facts, that they too were generally admitted, and for some years formed the received theory on the subject. His argument that if these visitors to the places hallowed from the days of Moses were not Jews, they must have been Christians, seemed so plausible, that it was mostly regarded as conclusive. And yet this, as it now appears, was the weak point in the hypothesis. Beer's tractate was reviewed immediately on its appearance by Prof. Credner in the Heidelberg *Jahrbücher*, and this among other points contested. It was not until nine years after, however, in 1849, that the subject was once more taken up and subjected to a thorough and elaborate discussion—this time by Dr. Friedrich Tuch, well-known as the author of a valuable though rationalistic commentary on the book of Genesis. He brought an immense amount of learning, both philological and archæologi-

cal, to bear upon the subject; and warmly contested two points, chiefly, in the views expressed by Beer: the first had relation to the nationality, the second to the religion of the authors of these inscriptions.

As to the former point, Tuch denies that they were Nabateans, if this word be taken in a strict sense as it was intended by Beer,—that is, as denoting citizens of the kingdom at Petra, or even contiguous and closely related tribes. He contends, on the contrary, that the writers were inhabitants of the peninsula of Sinai itself, lying between the two northern arms of the Red Sea, known as the Elanitic and Heroopolitan gulfs, to whom the name Nabateans could only be applied in that loose and improper sense in which it was sometimes used by the old Greek and Roman authors. His arguments are mainly two. The first is taken from the language of the inscriptions. This he insists is not Aramæan, colored to some extent by the proximity of Arabic-speaking populations, but is out-and-out Arabic; not exactly the Arabic of the Koran, which, from the days of Mohammed, has gained the ascendency, and is the Arabic of literature; but the dialect of one of the tribes into which the Arabs were divided, and which, at the period to which these inscriptions belong, had as much right to be considered Arabic as the dialect of the Koreish, from whom Mohammed was descended. We have here, according to Tuch, a relic of the Arabic of this date, and of a dialect of Arabic nowhere else preserved. This position he proceeds to fortify by an elaborate and masterly examination of the contents of the inscriptions, scanty and apparently barren as they are. He first enters into a searching analysis of all the grammatical forms which are discoverable in them, and he shows with apparent conclusiveness that they are genuinely Arabic throughout. He thus examines and argues from the formation of the nouns, the intensive or superlative adjectives, the diminutives, the participles, the feminine ending, and, above all, the article *al*, and the cases of nouns distinguished by the vowel letters *u* for the nominative, *i* for the genitive. These last, it is true, did not extend to all nouns, but they were found with considerable uniformity in proper names and in titles denoting occupation or dignity. Several of these grammatical

criteria are, it is true, equivocal; the absence of medial vowels leaving considerable latitude of interpretation and much room for doubt and uncertainty. But some of the forms are clearly Arabic, and all might be.

He next proceeds to investigate the stock of words yielded by the inscriptions; all these he claims are clearly Arabic, not in form only, but in signification. And the proper names are for the most part such as are found at a later period in common use among the Arabs, and re-appear perpetually in Arabic writers, as he shows by adducing frequent examples.

Now, the Nabateans being of Aramæan or Syrian extraction, Tuch argues that the language of the inscriptions which is not Aramæan tinged with Arabic, but, on the contrary, Arabic somewhat modified by the Aramæan, cannot have been the language of Petra, and the kingdom centering there. The inscriptions, consequently, could not have been written by persons proceeding from that quarter.

Tuch derives a second argument tending to the same result from the topographical distribution of this writing on the rocks, or the localities in which it is found. No specimens of it, he asserts, have ever been found in the valleys east of Sinai, through which the inhabitants of Petra would approach it; it is all confined to the western side of the peninsula. And, as the language is not that of Egypt, and no such inscriptions are to be found there, he urges that there is no alternative but to ascribe these inscriptions to the native population of the peninsula of Sinai itself. Such a population once existed in considerable numbers, embracing, on the one hand, roving and savage tribes, like the Bedouins of the present day, who subsisted by plunder; and, on the other hand, the thriving city of Paran, mentioned by Ptolemæus in the second century of the present era—subsequently the seat of a Christian bishopric—whose ruins still remain to attest its former extent, and the magnitude of its buildings. Some of the rude pictorial representations of spearmen, warriors, hunters, camel-drivers, etc., might perhaps be traced to the former class of natives; the ready facility in writing which is displayed, and such titles as emir, elder, knight, poet, scholar, priest, betray rather the cultivation and refinement of the city.

Tuch's views of the language, and the distribution of these inscriptions, require some correction or modification, as we shall see hereafter. But, in a second point which he labored to establish, he has been more successful. He has given conclusive reasons for the belief that the writers of these inscriptions were heathen. These are drawn from a careful examination of their contents, such as Beer could not have made, or he would never have alleged them to be Christians. It was natural enough that this opinion should be entertained by Montague, Burckhardt, Gesenius, and others, before the legends had been deciphered. Their juxtaposition with the Greek and Latin inscriptions, which were undoubtedly Christian, and the accompanying signs of the cross made it easy to suppose that the whole had proceeded from Christian pilgrims on their way to the mount where the law had been given, or to the cloisters which had been founded in the desert. The reading of the inscriptions themselves, however, opened a new source of evidence, which conclusively pointed to a very different origin.

This was indicated first by the proper names found in these inscriptions; and the proof from this source is both negative and positive. The negative argument is that no Christian names, and more generally still, no Scripture names occur in the old character on these rocks. It is not until we come to the Greek inscriptions, that we meet such names as Moses, and Samuel, and Andrew. These are then intermingled with familiar western names, as Aurelius and Julius, and these sometimes in an orthography which implies a comparatively late date as Ainias (Aeneas), Cerillos (Cyrillos). In fact, according to Niebuhr, some of the inscriptions date even from modern times. But the inscriptions in the native character, with which we are at present concerned, contain no other names than such as were in use in Mohammedan and pre-Mohammedan times. And where, as in the case of *Cain*, names here found coincide with those occurring in the Bible, they were not borrowed from the Bible, but were in use among the ancient Arabs likewise. To be sure, the old native names were retained for a considerable period after the introduction of Christianity, and only gradually yielded to the

new names then adopted. But this does not apply in the present instance, for in the class of inscriptions now in question, there is not a single name which justifies the assumption of a Christian origin.

Then besides this negative argument, there is a positive one still more convincing. Many of the names here found are idolatrous, compounded with, or consisting of, the names of heathen deities. The persons either bore the names of the gods they worshipped, or else were denominated the servants, worshippers, etc., of this or that deity. Thus such names occur as *Abd-al-baali*, "servant of Baal," of the same formation as *Abdallah*, "servant of Allah," in Mohammedan times, and *Abdiel* or *Obadiah*, "servant of God" or "of Jehovah" among the Jews. In like manner, *Garm-al-baali*, "fear of Baal," or as others render it "strength of Baal;" *Aush-al-Baali*, "gift of Baal," which may be compared to the Jewish names *Nathaniel* or *Mattaniah*, or the Greek *Theodore* and *Isidore; Shaad-al-Baali*, "worship of Baal;" also *Garm-al-Shahri*, "fear of the moon," and *Bōrēiu*, an epithet of the new moon, meaning *released*, *i. e.*, from conjunction with the sun. And when found in such connections, names, which by themselves might be susceptible of a different interpretation, are determined to have an idolatrous meaning, such as *Abd-allahi*, "servant of God," *Garm-allahi*, "fear of God," *Aush-allahi*, "gift of God," *Shaad-allahi*, "worship of God;" where not the true God, but some heathen divinity must be referred to, which can thus stand as a parallel to Baal or the moon. Again, names occur, which can be proved from other sources to have been applied to idols worshipped in Arabia during what the Mohammedan writers style, "the days of ignorance"—*i. e.*, the period before Mohammed.

In addition to the argument thus drawn from the proper names, another is derived from the fact that some of the persons recorded in the inscriptions are denominated "priests." Thus we find appended to certain names the designation "priest of Ta," or "priest of the god Ta," or "priest of the Ta-god;" where Tuch supposes that "Ta" is the name of some divinity vouched for by these inscriptions as worshipped by the Arabs of that day, and having his proper retinue of priests,

but of which no other mention has been preserved. Inasmuch, however, as we have no knowledge from any other source of any divinity worshipped either by the Arabs or any people of antiquity under that name, a later scholar agreeing with Tuch in his general conclusions, prefers to regard *Ta*, not as the designation of the divinity itself, but as signifying the temple or sacred precincts within which it was worshipped; and he accordingly renders the terms above mentioned, "priest of the temple" and "priest of the temple of God." Another is described in the inscriptions as "priest of the beaming star," which, like the moon-divinity before spoken of, indicates the worship of the heavenly bodies. This combination of facts, all tending in one direction, with none of an opposite description, certainly warrants the conclusion that the authors of these inscriptions were heathen, and addicted to some form of Sabaism.

But how then are the crosses to be accounted for, which are found, if not frequently, yet in occasional instances with these antique inscriptions? In addition to crosses other figures are found on these rocks, a confused and incongruous medley of trees, shrubs, camels, goats, gazelles, ostriches, horses, asses, pilgrims, men at prayer, crucifixes, riders on horseback and on camels, warriors with swords, shields, and spears, archers directing their arrows against each other or chasing flying gazelles. These are scratched everywhere about upon the rocks along with the inscriptions and separate from them. Who can say which have come from the same hand or even from the same age? In the opinion of Tuch some of the fighting scenes may belong to the same period with the inscriptions, and may be intended to represent attacks by the desert tribes, similar to the assault by Amalek upon Israel. But much may be from entirely different hands. Niebuhr suspects that the representations of goats and the like betrayed the idle hand of some shepherd. Burckhardt found pictures of goats, camels, etc., quite out of the region of the inscriptions. Lepsius says that inscriptions are sometimes continued on or over such animal figures, showing that one is more recent than the other. And in some instances letters have been waggishly distorted into the similitude of

a man, camel, or other animal, evidently not by the original author of the inscription, but by some mischievous passer-by at a later period. It is manifest from all this that mere juxtaposition is no proof that what is thus found in close proximity is certainly contemporaneous. Such a conclusion would often be erroneous, not only because what is heterogeneous may thus be found in casual contact, but it may also have been purposely put together.

Now as to the crosses which are certainly from Christian hands; these often stand alone upon the rocks with no accompanying name or legend. They are scratched about in all positions, wherever there was a convenient place to put them. When added to the later inscriptions in Greek or Latin, either above or below, at the beginning, middle, or end, no doubt they have often, perhaps commonly, been made by the original writer of the inscriptions. Out of the entire mass of inscriptions, which have been gathered up to the present time, amounting to many hundreds, there are but three instances (so far as appears from the copies made of them), in which an inscription in the antique character is found associated with a cross in the erect form (†) with the upright stem connected by a semi-circular attachment to the right of the top into a Greek *Rho*, forming thus a monogram of the Greek letters (☧) XP. In one instance copied by Gray he appends the remark: "cross-letter, hardly accessible, done with the same instrument, and apparently of the same age." In a second, copied by both Laborde and Lepsius, this symbol stands both before and after a cartouche or flourish inclosing the name "Meshullam." In the third, copied by De Laval, there is no intimation of its contemporaneous character. In these cases Tuch is disposed to deny the symbol to be of Christian origin, and to regard it as mere ornamental device, borrowed perhaps from Egyptian monuments in the neighborhood, the so-called *crux ansata.* But if it be in reality the Christian monogram, there is little difficulty in assuming, either that it was subsequently added to the inscription, or that in these three exceptional cases the writers may have been Christians. They may have been among the latest inscriptions, and written when the Gospel was already penetrating into this region,

or some Christian who chanced to be acquainted with this character may have chosen to engrave his name in this antique style, as the whim of some modern traveller might prompt him to cut his name in the old black letter. In any case no conclusion can be drawn from these respecting the Christian character of the writers of the other inscriptions, where the internal evidence so plainly declares the contrary.

Simple crosses without any monogram are joined with these inscriptions in considerable numbers. But there is nothing in any case to indicate that they belong to the same date or have proceeded from the same hand. Sometimes the contrary is manifest, as where one of the letters, an Ayin perhaps, or a Daleth is converted into a cross by the addition or prolongation of a line.

With regard to the Y-shaped character upon which Beer laid so much stress, esteeming it a cross of peculiar form, Tuch very properly denies that there is any evidence of such a figure ever having been used with such a meaning. His own conjecture that it may have been designed to represent a star with three rays, and thus may have been a symbol of Sabian worship, will not seem probable to any one who looks at the character itself. Perhaps as likely a suggestion as has yet been offered, is that of a more recent scholar, that it is not a religious symbol at all, and that it covers no mystery of faith or worship, but merely serves the purpose of a link or bracket, binding together two or more lines which are to be united in reading.

But what is the design of these inscriptions? and why are they accumulated in those particular spots where they are now found? In a large proportion of them the name of the writer is followed by a word, which both Beer and Tuch take to be זאר *Zäir* or זיר *Zayir*, which means "pilgrim," or one who visits holy places for purposes of devotion, and answers to the modern Arabic *Hajji* (Hadji). If this reading be correct, the writers expressly designate themselves as travellers on an errand of piety to some consecrated shrine. And as they were not Christians, but heathen, they must have been impelled, not from regard for the scenes and occurrences of Holy Writ, except in so far as they may have tended to shape

even the pagan traditions and ideas of this region; they must have been on their way to such spots as were sacred to the polytheistic population of the peninsula. There is abundant evidence that such pilgrimages were familiar to the Arab tribes, and that Mohammed merely diverted to Mecca with its Caaba and its well Zemzem, those streams of pilgrims which had been in the habit of resorting to other sanctuaries, and drinking the water of life from other springs. Diodorus and Strabo both speak of a grove of palms in this region, to which pilgrimages were made every five years, at least as early as the third century before Christ, where hecatombs of camels were offered, and whence the life-giving water was carried home. Again, in the fourth century after Christ, Hilary speaks of seeing the inhabitants of the desert assembled to celebrate what he called a festival of Aphrodite. And at the close of the sixth century, Antoninus Martyr witnessed a feast in honor of the new moon, in the vicinity of Sinai. There is thus evidence that such pilgrimages were maintained in this region for many successive centuries.

Now, both the style of these inscriptions, and the spots in which they are found, tend to confirm the view that they are the work of these pilgrims. The rude and careless manner in which they are "scrawled about," without elegance or artistic skill, with no proper graving tools, on the unsmoothed rock, with letters of unequal size and irregular lines, and with outlines hastily drawn of camels and drivers, accord very well with the idea that companies of travellers amused themselves thus on their noon-day rests, or at their evening halts. Then they are the most numerous in the most passable and most frequented routes leading to Sinai and to Serbal, which latter was also a sacred mountain. And they are chiefly found on the south wall of the valleys facing northward, where the pilgrims would naturally seek the shade, and select their resting-places. From their character, they may, according to Robinson, be recognized as camping places, "and they are," says F. A. Strauss, "the very spots at which a halt is still commonly made." Indeed Tuch suggests that an investigation on the spot tracing the intervals at which the same inscriptions, containing the names of the same parties are repeated,

might lead to interesting results relating to the beginning and end of each day's march in those old times.

The date of the inscription is of course fixed by Tuch in conformity with this theory of their origin. They belong to the period of Sabian worship, and must, therefore, precede and be limited by the introduction of Christianity into this region. Christian fugitives from persecution in Egypt sought asylum in this desert as early as the second century. Hermits resorted thither in great numbers in the third and fourth centuries. Ammonius and Nilus (A. D. 373–400) testify to fierce conflicts between the Christians settled here and the aboriginal pagans; so that Christianity must have been firmly established there since A. D. 300, and have superseded and taken possession of the old national sanctuaries. At the end of the fourth century Paran was a Christian city, and was then already the seat of a bishop, of whom mention is again made in the middle of the fifth century. Robinson and Rüppell saw on its site the ruins of a church which belonged to the fifth century. And the remains of cloisters, chapels, and hermits' cells are scattered all around. From all this it is reasonable to conclude that heathen pilgrimages to venerated places in this region must have ceased in the course of the third century; and the inscriptions must of necessity be prior to this event.

Another criterion drawn from the names found in the inscriptions converges to the same result. Several of the inscriptions are bilingual, in the old character and in Greek: these contain the native names *Audos*, *Chalbos*, *Almobakkeros*, etc. Then there are others in Greek only, with foreign names, as *Aurelios*, *Herodes*. It appears, therefore, that the inscriptions in the native character reach down to the time when Greek culture penetrated these desert wilds. Those which are bilingual must be more recent than those which are exclusively in the native character, and cannot be older than the time of the Ptolemies.

As the conclusion of the whole matter, Tuch judges that these inscriptions must belong to the two centuries which preceded and the three which followed the time of Christ.

Prof. Beer had died before Tuch published these strictures upon his views. The positions taken by the latter have not, however, passed wholly unchallenged. Both the points controverted by him have been opened afresh within a few years. The paganism of the inscriptions has been impugned by Francis Lenormant in an article in the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris, for January, 1859, and their Christian origin once more asserted. As we have not seen this article, we are not able to state the line of argument pursued, or to say any thing respecting the ability with which it is conducted. But we do not see how any thing can be advanced which shall set aside the cogent reasoning of Dr. Tuch upon this subject.

The nationality of the inscriptions is open to more serious question, and here Tuch has found an able antagonist in a distinguished rabbi of Breslau, Dr. Levy, the author of a dictionary, recently published, of the Chaldee of the Targums and Rabbinical writings. Dr. Levy has the advantage of approaching the subject with a vastly increased apparatus. Since Beer and Tuch worked out their results with the very moderate quantity of materials within their reach, three new and copious collections of these inscriptions have appeared, one in Paris, one in St. Petersburg, and one in Berlin. The largest collection is that of the Frenchman Lottin de Laval, and published in connection with his journey to the Arabian Peninsula of Sinai and to Middle Egypt. He gives upon eighty folio plates more than five hundred inscriptions, great and small, from the region of Sinai, many of them being from localities from which few or none at all had previously been taken. He left Paris on the 4th of January, 1850, and returned in the early part of the following May, bringing with him a "rich store of archæological collections, views, plans, and inscriptions."[1] The latter embrace all the monuments of the Pharaohs upon the peninsula, as well as the numerous Sinaitic, Arabic, Greek, and Armenian inscriptions which are scattered through the valleys which he visited. He claims that there is not a single line of all these in existence which he has not reproduced in his portfolios. He also boasts of being the inventor of a new process for the copying of inscriptions rapidly and accurately. In both these points, however, Levy joins

issue with him, showing that, rich as his collection is, it is by no means complete, and that its demonstrable inaccuracy is such as greatly to impair the value which it would otherwise possess.

The second collection is that of P. Porphyr, attached to the account of his journey to Mount Sinai, published in 1857, in the Russian language. It embraces eighty-nine inscriptions, mostly new.

But the most serviceable collection of the three is that by Lepsius, and published in his great work entitled "*Monuments of Egypt and Ethiopia.*" The copies are taken with the greatest accuracy, and amount to one hundred and sixty-seven, extending in length from one line to ten each.

One result of these renewed and extended investigations was the discovery of the fact that the inscriptions in the ancient character, instead of being limited, as had previously been supposed, to the western portion of the peninsula, were to be found in all the passes of the entire peninsula leading either east or west from Sinai or from Serbal. Another important fact was the discovery of monuments in Petra and the surrounding region, bearing the same identical character of the Sinaitic inscriptions. And a further fact was brought out by the publication of fac-similes of a number of Nabatean coins, with the name of Aretas and other kings of Petra stamped upon them in this same letter. This settled the question of the Nabatean origin of the inscriptions at Sinai, as Beer had claimed, but which Tuch had denied; and it afforded the opportunity of stirring the inquiry, upon which Levy heartily entered and for which his Chaldee studies so admirably fitted him, whether the language of the inscriptions is, after all, so thoroughly Arabic as Tuch had insisted, and whether it is not more properly, according to Beer's original idea, an Aramaic dialect with a considerable admixture from the Arabic. Levy is one-sided and extreme in his advocacy, refusing to admit Arabisms, even where they are most palpable, and explaining away what is most clear and evident. He goes so far even as to say that the article *al* and the vowel endings for cases are not peculiarly Arabic. He, however, points out many words and forms which have as much or more claim to

be regarded as Aramæan than Arabic. The most interesting case of the sort, and, if it shall be verified, the most important for the understanding of the inscriptions, is a new reading which he proposes for the word which recurs so often, and which Beer and Tuch took to be זאר "a pilgrim." According to Levy it is לטב "for good," for which he argues on palæographic grounds, and which seems to be confirmed by the corresponding *εν ἀγαθοι(ς)* in a bilingual legend.

The inscriptions in which it is found will then read, "May So and So be remembered for good." This he supposes to be not a friendly salutation, carved upon the rocks as a greeting to those who shall follow him upon the same pilgrimage, but a prayer addressed to the deity that he worshipped, and to which he would give new emphasis and force by putting it in solid stone and leaving it as his perpetual supplication. The words, thus understood are almost identical with those of Nehemiah, v. 19, "Remember (Eng. ver., think upon) me, my God, for good."

This view, both of the meaning of this phrase and of the character of the language, he labors to confirm still further by another word, which he finds often appearing in the same connection, לעלם "to eternity" or "forever." "May *So and So* be remembered for good forever." Or in connection with שלם, which is so frequently repeated at the beginning of the inscriptions, and which he translates, not as Beer, "the salutation of *So and So*;" nor as Tuch, who makes it a verb, "*So and So* salutes;" but according to its strict Hebrew and Aramean import, "the peace of So and So be forever;" again a prayer addressed to the God he worshipped, and of substantially the same sense as before. The word "pilgrim" being thus erased from these inscriptions, Levy thinks it is not necessary to assume that the writers were at the time on their way to holy places. They may have been or they may not. These pagan Nabateans may upon other occasions likewise have uttered their prayer that God would remember them for good, and that their peace might be made perpetual; and they may have left that prayer on record in these walls of stone, perhaps with attendant solemn rites, of which there is here no mention or suggestion, but which Levy thinks not improba-

ble, from a comparison of such language as Numbers v. 15, "an offering of memorial, bringing to remembrance," *i. e.*, before God. The figures of men and camels found conjoined with these inscriptions he takes to be pictorial representations of the petitioners themselves and their surroundings, and designed to carry out their idea yet more fully of bringing themselves into remembrance before God.

Levy brings a new criterion to bear upon the question of the age of these inscriptions. The Nabatean coins exhibit the forms of the letter in the second century before Christ; their dates can be fixed with considerable accuracy by the names of the kings under whom they were coined. Now a comparison of the letters of the coins and the letters of the inscriptions appears to him to show that very few of the inscriptions are as old as the coins. This is the limit of antiquity. His general result is, accordingly, substantially the same as that of Tuch. They belong to the two centuries before or to the two after Christ.

Levy's views of the language of these inscriptions have encountered opposition from Prof. Blau in a paper published in 1862 in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Journal of the German Oriental Society). Blau is as partisan, extreme, and indiscriminating on the side of Arabic as Levy had been on the side of Aramæan; if possible, a little more so. In fact, in his zeal he runs into excesses which are very ridiculous. Thus, to give an instance, the word by which the inscriptions are so frequently prefaced, would, in Aramæan, be a passive participle, "remembered;" and is so translated, even by Tuch, careful as he was of the Arabic type of the language. But inasmuch as this word in Arabic properly has an active signification—"remembering," or "mindful," Blau so renders it. This leads him to say that inscriptions so beginning are to be regarded as answers to another class, quite as abundant, which begin with the word שלם "salutes." The first who passes leaves his salutation for friends who are to follow on the same route, by scratching on the rocks, at some prominent point, "*So and So* salutes." His friends, coming after, and recognizing their predecessor's name, write immediately under, "*So and So* remembers." The word

לטב "for good," as read by Levy, he converts into בטל "resting," or "having a holiday," and infers that the inscriptions were made by the workmen in the mines and quarries of the peninsula, to while away the leisure hours on their holidays, as they passed to and from their homes.

On the other hand, we must not fail to acknowledge that Blau has done a good service in establishing the fact more thoroughly than had previously been done, that the names on the inscriptions are such as were current in Arabia. He has identified about ninety of them with names found in Arabic writings; and he gathers from these too, by an ingenious process, an evidence of date agreeing substantially with that already reached by others from different data, and by totally distinct methods.

The most important questions relating to these inscriptions may accordingly be regarded as now settled upon a true and satisfactory basis. Correct results have, however, been reached, as is commonly the case in all intricate problems, only by a series of approximations. It seems to be ascertained that the writers were natives of Arabia Petræa, inclusive of the Sinaitic peninsula; and whether they were subjects of the kingdom centering in Petra or not, they made use of the language and the mode of writing current there. They were neither Jews nor Christians, but worshippers of heathen divinities and particularly of the heavenly bodies. They were mostly pilgrims on their way to certain celebrated sanctuaries, which were for centuries resorted to at special seasons by the pagans resident in this region. The inscriptions in the old native character belong to the period immediately preceding and following the Christian era; and they come down to the time when the Gospel and the Christian Church penetrated these localities, supplanted heathenism, and suppressed its sanctuaries. They then yield to legends in Greek and Latin, and even more recent tongues, the work of Christians, who in imitation of their heathen predecessors have left the record of their pilgrimage to hallowed spots graven on the same imperishable rocks.

It has been intimated already that the study of these inscriptions has an interest and importance beyond the mere ingenuity

displayed in solving a difficult and perplexing enigma. While it has opened no extensive fields for research and made no very considerable additions to our knowledge of antiquity and general history, it is not wholly barren of results. It has made us acquainted in some scanty measure at least, with the language of Northern Arabia at this period, and thus fills a gap of some consequence in our knowledge of the history and dialects of the Semitic tongues. It affords some glimpses into the history of religion by furnishing the names and attributes of deities reverenced by the writers. And these have been the starting points of learned and ingenious investigations, in which all that can be gathered from classic and Arabic writers has been summoned to throw light upon their character and the nature of their worship. Something may be learned likewise in respect to the civilization of this region from the proper names indicative of occupations. Those derived from the mining and working of metals are particularly numerous, *e.g.*, לטש *Hammerer*, חרש or חריש *Artisan*, אלגרפו *Fireman*, קין *Smith*, etc. That these arts were practised there in remote periods is evidenced by the remains of mines with hieroglyphic legends attesting their antiquity, not to speak of the confirmation and illustration afforded by the book of Job, xxviii. 1–11, whose scene is laid in this region.

The deciphering of the Sinaitic or Nabatean alphabet, also prepares the way for the reading of any other monuments in the same character that may hereafter be discovered. To what this may lead it is impossible to determine or even to conjecture. When the old Persian cuneiform character was first unriddled no one could have anticipated the use to which it was to be put upon the exhumation of Nineveh and the discovery of that rich store of inscriptions to which it supplied the only practicable key. The whole region of Petra and Hauran is yet to be minutely and thoroughly explored. Intimations from recent travellers justify the belief that such explorations would be rewarded by important and hitherto unimagined discoveries. No one can tell what monumental records may have been left by the cultivated people who once occupied this territory. One interesting result of the discovery of the Sinaitic alphabet is, as already mentioned, the identifi-

cation of the Nabatean coins and the deciphering of their legends. It may be added that a gem in one of the European cabinets, previously regarded as Phœnician, has been recognized as Nabatean, and its inscription read. This deserves notice as the sole extant specimen, so far as is yet known, of a work of art proceeding from that quarter. Another isolated specimen but suggestive of the wide range that these investigations may yet take, has been found in a bilingual inscription in the Capitoline museum at Rome, taken from a grave on the *Via Portuensis*. It is thus described by Lenormant in the *Journal Asiatique :—*

"It is the epitaph, accompanied by the characteristic symbol of the candlestick with its seven branches, of a Jewess, named Ammias (feminine of the עבור of the Sinaitic salutations), who was born in a town called Laodicea, probably that of Cœle-Syria, and died at the age of eighty-five years. The Greek text is accompanied by the formula שלם of the Sinaitic inscriptions, written with the same orthography and the same characters, and replacing the Hebrew formula שלום of the other epitaphs discovered in the same catacomb."

Strangely enough among the vast medley of inscriptions belonging to different ages and in different languages carved upon the rocks of Sinai, there is one which, as remarked by Levy (*Zeit. D. M. Gesell.*, xiv., p. 483), appears to be in Sanskrit letters. The accurate knowledge possessed of Sanskritic palæography will enable scholars to determine its age approximately at least from the shape of the characters employed. It is in any event an interesting relic of the intercourse subsisting between India and Western Asia at the epoch to which it belongs. And it may not be without some religious significance. Possibly it may contain some indication of the spread of Buddhism westward, and thus, so far as it goes, tend to confirm the suspicion which has been entertained of its advance even into Egypt. Another inscription from a remote but opposite quarter is in the Numidian character, the same that is found in the celebrated Thugga inscription from the neighborhood of Carthage, and suggests pilgrimages from this quarter likewise.

It is even possible that these investigations may ultimately be found to have some points of relation with scriptural studies. This possibility would be converted into certainty

in one instance at least, if the new rendering, which Levy proposes for a difficult and disputed clause in Prov. xxx. 31, could be shown to be correct. Among the things there stated to be "comely in going" is, as our version has it, "a king against whom there is no rising up." Gesenius, who suspects an Arabism, translates "a king who has the people with him." Hitzig assumes an error in transcription, and alters the text into "a king who has God with him." Levy finds, or thinks he finds, the word which occasions all the embarrassment in this passage, in the Sinaitic inscriptions as the name of a divinity, and on this ground, while he defends the integrity of the text, he adopts Hitzig's understanding of it.

This more than doubtful combination is, however, of trifling consequence as compared with the intimate bearing which this whole subject would have upon the verity of the Scriptural record, if the view taken of it in the works named at the head of this article could be substantiated. We must devote to it, therefore, a brief consideration. Rev. Charles Forster, "one of the six preachers of the cathedral of Canterbury, and rector of Stisted, Essex," has revived in these publications the theory of Cosmas in the sixth century, that these inscriptions were the work of the children of Israel during their forty years' wandering in the wilderness. This he has sought to vindicate and establish in the most elaborate manner. He has further wrought out an alphabet of his own, by which he undertakes to decipher in detail these records upon the rocks, adding a translation from which it would appear that they were designed to record the miracles and divine interpositions of that eventful period. In spite, however, of the indefatigable industry shown in these volumes, and of the elegance of their appearance, which in the case of one of them is really sumptuous, and notwithstanding the pious intent of their author, we are obliged in candor to say that they are not likely to be of any advantage either to science or religion, so far as their main scope and purpose is concerned. The visionary character of Mr. Forster, his readiness to substitute conjecture for facts, and his unfitness for the solution of so perplexed a problem in which the data are so few, the chances of error so numerous, and the rigorous accuracy of mathemat-

ical demonstration so absolutely essential to safe results, is shown by a trivial circumstance at the very outset. Finding the name Cosmas on one of the Sinaitic inscriptions, he springs at once to the conclusion that this is an autographic record of the visit of Cosmas Indicopleustes to that region in the sixth century. (*Primeval Language*, p. 4, note.)

A careless and almost ludicrous blunder, which he makes in interpreting a Greek inscription found among the medley on the rocks of Sinai, does not tend to conciliate our confidence in him as an expounder of inscriptions in an unknown tongue and an unknown character. Some soldier, sent perhaps to chastise the predatory tribes of this desolate region for their treachery or cruelty, has scratched his judgment of them upon the rocks in the following uncomplimentary terms, ΚΑΚΟΝ ΓΕΝΟϹ, "rascally race;" and then proceeds, according to Mr. Forster's explanation (*ib.*, p. 30), ΟΥΤΟϹ ϹΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗϹ ΕΓΡΑΨΑ ΠΑΝΕΜΙ XI. We lay no stress upon the fact that he reads ΟΥΤΟϹ instead of ΛΟΥΠΟϹ (Lupus), as this was a very natural error and is doubtless chargeable upon the inaccuracy of the copy which he had. But he takes ΠΑΝΕΜΙ to be the Macedonian month Panemos, and bases his estimate of the date of the inscription upon this hypothesis. This involves, in addition to grammatical and other difficulties, the incongruous assumption that the two letters which follow are the Roman numerals in a Greek text. The true reading is ΠΑΝ ΕΜΗ ΧΙΡΙ, "I, Lupus, wrote the whole with my own hand;" whereupon his entire argument vanishes into smoke.

Mr. Forster evidently has not the qualities which are requisite to success in deciphering obscure inscriptions. He has no conception of the patient toil and extensive learning necessary to execute such a task, nor of the pains which must be taken to guard against mistakes and arrive at correct and reliable conclusions. He says, p. xi., that any one "competent to consult the Arabic lexicon," by using his alphabet, can decipher inscriptions for themselves "from whatever quarter of the world" they may come. Nor has he the impartial and well-balanced mind which is needed to conduct an intricate investigation. He has a preconceived theory to sustain, and every thing is pressed, *nolens volens*, into its service. In his

transcription and analysis of the ancient legends, which he professes to unravel, he allows himself the utmost latitude. His alphabet is made up of a mixture of the Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Syriac (p. 46). He omits letters *ad libitum*, assigns to the same character different meanings, and to different characters the same meaning, and often reads a whole group of characters as one, being governed apparently by the exigency of the case and the sense which he desires to discover. And then the result reached is no intelligible language, but a jargon, a mere jumble of unmeaning sounds. There are no inflected words, no personal endings of verbs, no prepositions or words indicative of relation, but a string of letters which he divides off at random into what he assumes to be Arabic roots, whose meanings he takes just as he finds them in Golius' Lexicon, without discriminating between what is ancient and what is modern, what is common to the Arabic, with the Hebrew, and what is peculiar to the Arabic; and even thus he is sometimes obliged to desert the Arabic Lexicon, and be helped out by the Hebrew. If the inscriptions as he reads them, that is, as transcribed by him into Arabic letters and divided by him into words, were put into the hands of the most accomplished Orientalist, we may safely venture to say, that he could make no consistent sense out of them; he certainly never would find the meaning in them which Mr. Forster professes to discover there. The language of the inscriptions, as he makes it out, is such as never was spoken and has no representative under the sun.

As the result he finds the facts of the Pentateuch corroborated in almost every line. We quote his own summary statement (*Primeval Language*, pp. 61, 62):—

"Among the events of the Exode these records comprise, besides the healing of the waters of Marah, the passage of the Red Sea, with the introduction of Pharaoh twice by name, and two notices of the Egyptian tyrant's vain attempt to save himself by flight on horseback from the returning waters, together with hieroglyphic representations of himself and *of his horse*, in accordance with a hitherto unexplained passage of the Song of Moses: 'For *the horse of Pharaoh* went in with his chariots and with his horsemen into the sea,' etc.; they comprise, further, the miraculous supplies of manna and of flesh; the battle of Rephidim, with the mention of Moses by his office, and of Aaron and Hur by their names; the same inscription repeated, describing the holding up of Moses' hands

by Aaron and Hur, and their supporting him with a stone, illustrated by a drawing apparently of the stone containing within it the inscription and the figure of Moses over it with uplifted hands; and lastly the plague of fiery serpents, with the representation of a serpent in the act of coming down, as it were, from heaven, upon a prostrate Israelite.

"These references to recorded events of the Exode compose, however, but a small part of the Sinaitic inscriptions as yet in our possession; the great mass of which consist of descriptions of rebellious Israel under the figures of kicking asses, restive camels, rampant goats, sluggish tortoises, and lizards of the desert."

Mr. Forster finds a significant mystery in each of the rude pictorial representations that accompany these inscriptions; and even in the caricatured forms into which later travellers, sportively inclined, have distorted the shapes of the letters (of which "Pharaoh's horse" is an instance), as well as in zigzag or irregular lines, which modern copyists have introduced into their drawings (to which the fiery serpent and the stone at Rephidim apparently belong); all these he devoutly regards as coeval with, and illustrative of, the inscriptions themselves.

The following specimens of the renderings given will abundantly suffice; the first is supposed to relate to the miraculous supply of quails or "feathered fowls;" the second, to the destruction of Pharaoh's host in the Red Sea.

"Sinai Photographed," p. 159:—"Congregating on all sides to ensnare them, the people voraciously devour the red cranes, bending against them the bow bringing them down. Eating eagerly and enormously the half-raw flesh, plague-stricken become the pilgrims. In the desert, waters flow gushing down the smooth rock. The people thirsting, gives them water to drink Moses."

*Ibid.*, p. 164:—"The waters permitted and dismissed to flow upon the astonied men burst rushing unawares, congregated from all quarters banded together to slay treacherously lifted up with pride."

The second example, we may add, purports to be the translation of five words which he finds in the original.

It has been seen that Mr. Forster first arbitrarily deciphers, then as arbitrarily translates, the inscriptions which he undertakes to read; that, apart from the extravagance of his methods, there is much in his results that is incredible, and that never could be accepted by any competent linguist; that his conclusions are not only entirely unsupported, but directly

contradicted in the first place, even by Cosmas of the sixth century, whom he claims as his principal voucher, but who found in these inscriptions no such records of miraculous events, but simple statements of the names of travellers, which is much nearer the truth; and secondly, which is of far greater consequence, they are contradicted by the inscriptions themselves, as recently deciphered with scrupulous and scientific accuracy and a self-evidence which has commanded the assent of all competent scholars, and which is gathering additional confirmation on all sides from fresh discoveries and further investigations.

We restrict ourselves to one more remark in relation to these volumes. While they are evidently written in the interest of the Pentateuch, and the design of the well-meaning but misguided writer is to do a service to revealed truth, the aid afforded is treacherous and hollow. If his readings are correct, instead of sustaining they undermine most effectually the antiquity and genuineness of the writings of Moses. If he could establish his conclusions, sceptical critics could find no more welcome ally. The language of the Pentateuch is certainly not that of these inscriptions as he reads them. And if they are authentic monuments of the days of Moses, and his explanation of them is correct, they afford a palpable evidence that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses nor by any one in the Mosaic age.

Mr. Forster imagines that the language of the inscriptions is the ancient Egyptian; and that the Hebrew was first taught the Israelites by direct revelation from Heaven at the giving of the law. It is difficult to preserve one's gravity in arguing with a man who can propound so extraordinary an hypothesis, which, apart from its intrinsic absurdity, is contradicted by known facts at every point. The language of Egypt long prior to the time of Moses is well known from extant monuments. It bears no affinity to the supposititious tongue discovered by Mr. Forster, and no sane man would ever think of reading it by the aid of Golius' Arabic lexicon; and the ante-Mosaic existence of the Hebrew language can be established beyond all reasonable cavil.

Concede Mr. Forster's reading of the Sinaitic inscriptions,

and concede the date which he claims for them, and the defence of the Mosaic writings becomes hopeless. If the children of Israel in the age of the exodus spoke the language of these inscriptions, as this is made out in these volumes, the Pentateuch could not have been written for their use. Bunsen's unfounded hypothesis respecting the book of Jonah might then be applied to the first five books of the Bible, and that under circumstances which would give it real validity. He fancies that the song in the second chapter of Jonah is alone genuine, and that it is descriptive of an actual escape from the perils of the sea; this was misunderstood, and so gave rise to the legend of the rest of the book. For the first time in the entire history of Biblical criticism authentic monuments would stand in fatal antagonism to the verity of the Scriptural records. These inscriptions, it would be claimed, were the only coeval accounts, the only authentic originals. These do not necessarily contain any thing miraculous. They have, however, been misunderstood and exaggerated in later times. The Pentateuch is the legendary accretion, of which these inscriptions are the only reliable base. So that henceforth we would be obliged to derive our knowledge of the Mosaic period, not from Moses, but from Mr. Forster, and we could know only so much as the latter is able to teach us. For this we confess we are not prepared.

While, however, Mr. Forster has been in chase of a phantom—and it is to be regretted that so much patience, ingenuity, and expense have been devoted to so chimerical an end—the photographs and carefully prepared copies of the inscriptions, which these volumes contain, are of real and permanent value, and afford a useful addition to the materials previously existing or accessible for the study of these ancient and curious records upon the rocks of Sinai.

## Art. IV.—*A Phase of the Church Question.*

So far as the cause of true catholic unity is concerned, the great Christian thought that underlies all these calls for Church union, we cannot see that this Presbyterian movement means much, or that its full success would be of any very great account.—John W. Nevin, D. D.

In the estimation of Dr. Nevin, as already shown,* the proper solution of the Church Question centres in a clear apprehension of what is involved in the *idea* of the Church. Very true. But whence comes the *idea?* The Christian Church rests upon no human "idea or theory." Ministers of the Gospel ought to remember that there is a *divine norm.* This is not found in the so-called Apostles' Creed. Dr. Nevin does not distinguish between what is divine and that which is simply human. The true creed is the apostolic formula: "In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

No other creed was known in the *primitive* Church, no other is divine. This does not define the idea. It matters little what the ancient fathers taught. Christians cannot admit the authority of uninspired men. Every true disciple of Christ can say with Ignatius: "But to me Jesus Christ is in the place of all that is ancient."—See *Epis. to Phila.*, chap. 8.

Neither Dr. Nevin, nor any other minister, ancient or modern, has a right to insist upon the binding authority of an *exposition* of a creed, which is known to be simply a *form* arranged according to the mind of the corrupt hierarchy of the fifth and sixth centuries. The authority of Christ in relation to the true idea of the Ecclesia goes before the notions of both ancient and modern fathers. The Saviour said: "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit, and they are life."

The *form* of the so-called Apostles' Creed does not in itself constitute any divine norm. Dr. Nevin is mistaken in supposing that his scheme rests upon the apostolic idea of the Christian Church. The Greek fathers originated the word *catholic.* There is no apostolic authority for using this word, on the

* See October No. of this Journal, for 1869, Art. IV.

peculiar exposition of which is founded this private judgment scheme. To base an "idea or theory" of the Ecclesia upon what the Greek fathers taught, rather than to accept the Word of Christ, may be the work of a speculatist. No such theorizing can have any weight with those who prefer to follow Christ rather than to put confidence in men.

It is useless for Dr. Nevin to affirm that the creed defines the idea. Theological writers of all ages—Roman, Greek, and Protestant—admit that there is *One Holy Christian Church.* It is no less certain that this Ecclesia has always been regarded as the *aggregated* assembly of the saints. The notion of an *ideal Church* finds no authority in a word or phrase uttered by the Saviour. What is equally remarkable is the fact, that this abstract notion can find no foundation in history. It is not a question, therefore, whether the "idea or theory" entertained by Dr. Nevin may be received. History says: *No.* A *private-judgment* scheme, no matter how profoundly philosophical, can have no right, considered historically, to either respect or confidence.

There is only *one* truly primitive idea of the Ecclesia. The so-called fathers, whether Greek or Roman, may entertain whatever notion, idea, or theory they choose. The notions, ideas, or theories may be ancient: they are not primitive. Dr. Nevin, in company with Romanists, Greco-Romanists, Anglo-Romanists, and all other advocates of a human "idea or theory" may accept as normal what is simply ancient. True Protestantism accepts only the PRIMITIVE CREED.

The Saviour speaks through his Apostles, of the Ecclesia as "*the multitude of them that believe.*" This multitude is said to increase. "*And the Lord added daily to the Church such as should be saved.*" Here is the primitive idea of the Christian Church: it is the *Assembly of the saints.* Augustine says: "The Church consists of the faithful dispersed throughout the world." No other idea was known in the days of the Apostles: the Saviour teaches no other. This Ecclesia is founded upon a truly *personal faith.* Of this faith the Saviour says: "*On this rock I will found my Church.*"

Dr. Nevin does not distinguish between a personal faith, as a living reality, and a formal faith. The so-called Apostles'

Creed is simply a summary of doctrines. Personal faith, on the contrary, stands related directly to Christ. The words of Ignatius are to the point: "The beginning of life is faith, and the end is love."—See *Epis. to Eph.*, chap. 14.

Speaking of the apostolic idea of the Church, Pearson says: "For the single persons professing faith in Christ are members of the particular churches in which they live, and all these particular churches are members of the general and universal Church, which is one by unity of aggregation; and this is the Church in the *Creed*, which we believe, and which is in other creeds expressly termed one, I believe in one holy catholic Church."—See *Pearson on the Creed*, p. 507.

This eminent scholar speaks historically. No other idea is primitive: no other is Christian. Even Roman theologians reaffirm this apostolic idea. The Council of Trent says: "The Church is Catholic, that is, universal; and justly is she called Catholic, because as St. Augustine says: 'She is diffused by the splendor of one faith from the rising to the setting sun.'"—See *Cat. Coun. Trent*, p. 77.

In view of historical facts, it must be regarded as a matter of surprise to find Dr. Nevin willing to offer to the Christian world his own private-judgment exposition of the word, *catholic*, as the historical sense of the creed. His own "idea or theory" of a whole forms for him the principle of his scheme. Dr. Nevin says: "It is to be borne in mind that there are two kinds of generality or universality, and that only one of them answers to the true force of the term catholic." Again: "If it be asked, which of these two orders of universality is intended by the title, *catholic*, as applied to the Christian Church, the answer is at once sufficiently plain. It is that which is expressed by the word *whole*."—*Mer. Rev.*, vol. iii., pp. 2–4.

Dr. Nevin ought to know that his exposition is simply his own speculative idea. No such metaphysical conception of the word, catholic, has ever been known or recognized in connection with the historical sense of the creed. Dr. Dorner, the eminent Christologist of Germany, speaking of the "idea or theory" of the Church held and advocated by Dr. Nevin, says: "He himself," that is, Dr. Nevin, "moves in a subjectivism of his own which deceives itself with a pretended 'objectivism.'

For where does he get his certainty of the idea of the Church and its proofs?"—See *Ref. Ch. Monthly*, vol. i., p. 156.

This scientific scholar here charges Dr. Nevin with holding a purely arbitrary "idea," the product of his own imagination. Why has the inquiry made by Dr. Dorner remained unanswered? The answer is easily given. Dr. Nevin has *not* proven, and *cannot* prove, the absolute certainty of the principle assumed. He must defend his scheme at this fundamental point. It is demanded of him, before the Christian world, in behalf of *primitive* Christianity, that he shall show positively and conclusively that his metaphysical notion is absolutely the *divine truth.* It will not do to refer to the advances of modern philosophical investigations. No human philosophy can ever be regarded as authority in matters pertaining to things divine.

True Protestant ministers cannot allow human notions, theories, or ideas, neither traditional nor philosophical, to supplant the plain and positive Word of Christ. "Let God be true, though every man a liar." "Thy word is Truth." It is right to allow all necessary room for progress in scientific knowledge. Theological investigations ought to become more and more profound. But science, to be normal, must keep within the sphere of the conditioned. Dr. Nevin mistakes German Rationalism for absolute truth. Of his own imaginative "idea or theory," he says: "It enters into the very idea of faith, affects the sense of all worship, conditions the universal scheme of theology, and moulds and shapes the religious life at every point." Again: "It gives rise to two phases of Christianity, which are so different as to appear at last, indeed, in their full development, more like two Christianities than one."—See *Mer. Rev.*, vol. x., p. 191.

It is here said that there are two views. Dr. Nevin knows that there can be but *one true* idea of the Church. This must be apostolic: the other is Roman. The one is Christian: the other is a corruption. The one is primitive: the other is ancient. The one is divine: the other rests upon a human notion. The one is personal: the other is an abstraction. The one calls men to a life of self-conscious devotion to Christ: the other urges the authority of priests. The one is from

above: the other is from beneath. The one leads the soul directly to Christ: the other glorifies human agency. The one is Christly: the other is priestly. The one is the work of Christ: the other the idol of men. The one makes ministers humble: the other glorifies a priestly caste.

The logic of Dr. Nevin is accepted. His representation of the relation his "idea or theory," presumed to be a reality, sustains to his scheme, is correct. He stands charged before the Christian world with holding as absolutely true a principle proven to be unauthorized by Christ, and unknown in the apostolic age. Each minister, ancient as well as modern, may hold for himself his own "idea or theory;" but no one has any right—scientific, theological, or Christian—to attempt to identify his speculative notion with the apostolic idea of the Christian Church. Only the Word of Christ is absolute: "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever."

No mistake can be more fearful than to ignore the apostolic idea in order to accept as a reality a purely human notion. The learned and pious Dr. Neander says:—

"In proportion as the idea of the Church diverged from its original spiritual significance, the Christian element was exchanged for the Jewish; and in this was the germ of Catholicism. It was too hard a task for humanity to keep itself up to the spiritual elevation of Christianity; and this mixture of the Jewish and the Christian was wrought into a systematic form in order that the development of the Christian consciousness might come forth with so much greater power at the Reformation. . . . Irenæus shows the first germs of this perversion: it was matured by Cyprian."—See Nean., *His. Chris. Dog.*, Bohn's Ed., vol. i., p. 220.

Dr. Nevin utters a significant truth, when he says: "We know well enough that it is not safe to follow any leader blindly, whether he be an original thinker, or an easy traditionist who never thinks at all."—See *Mer. Rev.*, vol. iii., p. 58.

The German Reformed denomination, in part, has followed Dr. Nevin "blindly" in allowing him to confound a human notion with the divine. In addressing this denomination, Paul would say, as he did to the Christians at Colosse: "*Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world and not after Christ.*"

Dr. Nevin *assumes* that his "idea or theory" is the Christian Church! As well imagine, in a similar way, that his "idea or theory" of God is identically God himself. Not so. The so-called *ideal whole* is purely an abstraction, and as such can have no concrete existence. Dr. Nevin seems to have unbounded confidence in his own exposition of the creed. He says:—

"The idea of the Church as it meets us among other fundamentals of the Christian faith in this primitive œcumenical symbol, is not of a whole depending upon its parts (in which case it would be a mere thought) but that of a whole comprehending its parts in itself, and possessing them with its presence. In other words, it is the idea of an organic whole, and not the notion of a simply mechanical whole. A mechanical whole is made up of single things or particulars, put together in a purely outward way. An organic whole, on the contrary, is the union of particular existences and a general existence, through the power of a common life. In the first case, the general follows the particulars and depends upon them entirely: but this is not so at all in the second case. In an organic whole the general is before the particulars, underlies them and actually brings them to pass. . . . Let no one say this is absurd."—See *Mer. Rev.*, vol. xv., pp. 577–8.

The Christian Church has just as little to do with this metaphysical notion of a whole as with the idealism of Plato, or the dialectics of Aristotle. Like Romanism, this scheme is more in sympathy with priestly heathenism than with the Gospel of Christ. Man can lay down no principle for the Son of God. Dr. Nevin is sadly mistaken in supposing that his abstract notion of a whole can have any thing to do with the Church of Christ.

II. Mercersburg Theology, in principle, ignores the Gospel view of the Person of Christ. An inquiry into the merits of a principle, must necessarily involve careful reflection. Primarily, the metaphysical notion held by Dr. Nevin, as the principle of his scheme, has to do with the human apprehension of that which is divine. To follow him, in his transcendental wanderings, requires patient thought and careful reflection. As a speculative writer, Dr. Nevin has allowed himself to be thrown into the maelstrom of German pantheistic transcendentalism. Other metaphysical speculatists of equal, and even greater, power have been equally mistaken. "*Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.*"

"*The whole comes first, and forms the only possibility or potential reason, for all the particular existences by which it is brought to pass.*" What does this mean? Dr. Nevin seems to teach that the universe comes into existence first as a whole, which of course must include all its parts; and that this whole forms the "potential reason" for the existence of the particular worlds, suns, and systems. This is metaphysical mysticism, and as such involves a pantheistic conception of the universe.

"*The whole comes first.*" How? Christian philosophy recognizes the existence of the Personal God anterior to the the existence of the suns and systems constituting the present universe. To affirm that the whole existed anterior to an actual creation, is only a confusion of ideas. God existed, and therefore the worlds, suns, and systems were created. Plato may confound an idea with the existence of the Being of God. No such barbarian philosophy can stand for a moment amid the light brought into the world by the Son of God. The Gospel refers the understanding *immediately*, and not *mediately*, to God manifest in Christ, as the *condition* as well as the *ground* of all that exists. An *ideal* whole is an abstraction. Dr. Nevin can have no right, scientific or logical, to try to confound a human notion, whatever its character, with that which is divine.

"*The whole comes first.*" In no sense is this true with regard to Personal Being. God is in himself both the ground and the condition of personality. Dr. Nevin does not seem to see the pantheistic tendency of his "idea or theory." Not a word has been found in all he has ever written in which he has regard to God as the condition of personal existence. This may explain why he should speak of the *whole* as being the "*potential reason*" for the particular existences.

Still more. Dr. Nevin makes no proper distinction between life in the sphere of animal nature, and life in the higher world of personal being. He confounds *individuality* with the infinitely different idea of *personality*. In this way his scheme, in its last analysis, brings the human down into the sphere of animal nature. This is the baldest kind of pantheism. But he says: "Certainly I do not confound God with the world,

nor Christ with the church."—See *Mer. Rev.*, vol. xv., p. 592.

All know that no conscientious minister of the Gospel could knowingly teach a pantheistic "idea or theory." Whether consciously or not, Dr. Nevin does refer the mind bent on knowing the truth to his *generic whole* as the condition of the particular existences. This is pantheistic. It is explicitly said that the whole "*forms the only possibility, or potential reason, for all the particular existences.*" Thus the Gospel view of the Personal Being of Christ is set aside, and a pantheistic mysticism substituted. The "idea or theory" of the Christian Church, entertained by Dr. Nevin, falls back upon this pantheistic view of personality. A philosophical notion, wholly without any foundation in the sphere of Christianity, is *assumed* to be a reality. A human notion is thus made to take the place of the Christian Church. Speaking of the so-called Apostles' Creed, Dr. Nevin says: "Its doctrine of the Church falls back on its doctrine of Christ."—See *Mer. Rev.*, vol. x., p. 415.

Will any intelligent minister affirm that this creed, admitted, as to form, to be in accordance with the mind of the corrupt hierarchy of the fifth and sixth centuries, actually teaches any view, idea, or theory of the person of Christ? Certainly not. Dr. Nevin must see that his "idea or theory" is purely his own imagination. The word of Christ goes before every human form, or creed. Dr. Nevin must admit that this creed is simply a summary of doctrines: it may not be regarded as an essay on Christology. Speaking of his own peculiar exposition of the creed in contrast with the view of others, Dr. Nevin says: "The principle of this difference . . . is not just the doctrine of the Church itself in the form in which it is here made a part of the Christian faith, but the Christology which lies behind it—the peculiar way in which the coming of Christ in the flesh is here apprehended and confessed."—See *Mer. Rev.*, vol. x., p. 425.

Dr. Nevin condemns himself. He admits that it "*is not the doctrine of the Church itself in the form in which it is here made a part of the Christian faith*" that constitutes his imaginative "idea or theory." Is not this what logicians call

a paralogism? Why try to confound the creed as such with his *private-judgment* notion? Why not distinguish between what he knows to be the historical sense of the creed and his own abstraction? Besides, why attempt to identify this creed as to form with the original apostolic formula? Why ask a Christian to accept a Roman exposition of the divine Word of Christ? Virtually Dr. Nevin asks the disciples of Christ to believe in a human notion instead of believing in Christ himself?

Will Dr. Nevin affirm that *his* Christo-centric abstraction is identically the DIVINE? If not, then he can have no right, Christian or scientific, to assume that his "idea or theory" of a whole is identically the Christian Church. His so-called Christo-centric notion is infinitely far from being the divine reality. The true Ecclesia is no more an "idea or theory" than the universe in its relation to man is such. The *principle* upon which Dr. Nevin founds his scheme is not divine; it is not Christian. His "*ideal church*" is a visionary abstraction.

Relying upon the absolute truth of that which can only be a relative principle, Dr. Nevin constructs an imaginary scheme said to be churchly, in accordance with his own subjective understanding; and then in a purely rationalistic way projects this subjectivism into the sphere of what he imagines to be the objective. It is easy to see where this false philosophy must lead its votaries. Speaking of *heresy* in its relation to Christianity, Dr. Nevin uses these significant words: "Wherever it may end, it is sure to begin always, consciously or unconsciously, in a wrong view of the Incarnation." It is added that heresy turns the Incarnation "into a mere matter of speculative contemplation, by which it comes to be at last nothing more, in truth, than a thought or notion in the mind itself substituted for the fact it pretends to believe."—See *Mer. Rev.*, vol. x., p. 419.

Dr. Nevin describes himself. His so-called Christo-centric notion, no matter what he imagines it to be, is "*nothing more in truth than a thought or notion in the mind itself substituted for the fact.*" It is easy for a minister, fond of mystical speculation, to find fault with Protestantism, as being unchurchly

because it does not accept his private-judgment exposition of the creed: it is easy to denounce what is called "Puritanic Presbyterianism," when intelligent Presbyterian ministers refuse to put confidence in a pantheistic abstraction. Happy had it been for the peace and prosperity of the German Reformed denomination, if this so-called Christo-centric notion had never been known in the schools. It is always a misfortune to allow an individual exposition to be held as the absolute truth. German rationalism lies at the foundation of this scheme, and sooner or later will be exposed and condemned.

A pantheistic conception of the *ground* of existence must give rise to a false view of the person of God. This in turn has given rise to a so-called Christo-centric abstraction. Faith with Dr. Nevin, instead of being a concrete personal reality, actual only in the sphere of self-consciousness, becomes a phantom: confessionalism is identical with Christianity. The Gospel of Christ becomes an "idea or theory," and practical Christianity an absurdity. To be a member of what is called a church by means of priestly manipulation, is at once to be a Christian. Thus has a pantheistic mysticism been substituted for the Personal Christ of the Gospel.

By confounding an abstraction, said to be Christo-centric, with the Gospel view of the person of Christ, this false scheme assumes to be *churchly*. Any fanatic may imagine, in a similar way, that his "idea or theory" is identically divine. Any minister, fond of mystic speculation, may assume, as Dr. Nevin has done, that his exposition is the "*true and historical sense of the old creeds.*" No such assumption can stand. The principle underlying this Mercersburg scheme is just as far from being the truth as it is in Jesus, as German Rationalism is from being the Gospel of Christ. It were well for all ministers to bear in mind that what the Saviour says of himself, of the Father, and of the Holy Ghost, that, and that only, man can *know*. To attempt to identify any human notion with the existence of the Personal Christ must lead to heresy. This is what Dr. Nevin has attempted to do. His imaginative "idea or theory" of a whole finds no authority in what the Saviour says of himself.

Speculative studies have a peculiar charm. Profound minds

of all ages have loved to inquire into the "deep things" of God. All such investigations are attended with danger. Human weakness is nowhere more strikingly manifest than in the *History of Philosophy*. Once under the power of an "idea or theory," conscientiously believed to be a reality, an earnest mind will almost inevitably be led to an extreme. Thus in the case of Dr. Nevin; his so-called Christo-centric notion of a whole has become for him the principle of all his thinking: with tyrant sway his philosophy rules his theology. An "*Order of Worship*" has been constructed in the interest of this abstract "idea or theory." Dr. Nevin says: "They," that is, the members of the committee to prepare the "Order," "were themselves brought more and more under the power of an idea, which carried them with inexorable force its own way."—See *Lit. Quest.*, p. 39.

This Mercersburg scheme, like Romanism, is a species of priestly ritualism: it is from man. Romanism is based upon a human notion having for its centre a Pope: this scheme is founded upon a metaphysical abstraction having for its centre German Rationalism. Dr. Nevin has confused the mind of ministers who seem to have no acquaintance with the writings of the German metaphysicians. By affirming that Christ is the principle of his scheme, the real principle which is his own so-called Christo-centric notion of a whole has not been clearly apprehended. True Dr. Nevin holds and teaches many precious truths of the Gospel. Care must be taken to distinguish between these and the scheme as such. A church has been constructed, having for its foundation a pantheistic "idea or theory" of personal being. This phantom church Dr. Nevin calls the Christian Church! As well attempt to construct the universe, in a similar way, and call the abstraction the work of God himself. So-called philosophers expose their weakness by thus trying to know as God. Their speculative notions are right, they say, even though the Almighty should be wrong! Not content to sit at the Saviour's feet, they attempt to "find out the Almighty to perfection." Of the work of God, a greater than Dr. Nevin says; "Though a man labor to seek it out, yet shall he not find it: yea, further, though a wise man think to know it, yet shall he not be able to find it."

Thousands of ancient bishops, priests, and councils may not be regarded as superseding the Personal Christ. When the Son of God speaks, let so-called priests and bishops be silent. What the Saviour says is divine; what these priests affirm is human. Thousands of self-constituted hierarchs, whether Roman, Greco-Roman, Anglo-Roman, Nevinistic, or heathen, can in no sense secure or hinder the saving of a single soul. "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy."

This Mercersburg scheme would have priests to mediate between an abstraction, said to be an objective reality, and the subjective life of personal beings. The Apostles knew of no such visionary church. These heroic servants of Christ, speaking as moved by the Holy Ghost, do not say that the soul is enabled to love the Saviour through any such priestly mediation. This pantheistic scheme, like Romanism, would substitute a slavish subjection to a priestly abstraction for personal freedom in Christ. The Christian Church is *not* a PERSON. By necessary consequence, a priestly scheme can stand in no right relation to Christianity. Very properly does Dr. Nevin ask: "Is not God the last ground of personality?"—See *Mys. Pres.*, p. 173.

Christian philosophy stops not here. Does not Dr. Nevin know that *ground* and *condition* are correlated terms? If personality has its ground in God, it follows that the condition is also in God. A pantheistic philosophy *cannot* admit this. A *mediated* life is not a conditioned life. This scheme is shut up to the necessity of teaching a pantheistic notion. Dr. Nevin says: "In every sphere of life, the individual and the general are found closely united in the same subject. . . So in the case before us, the life of Christ is to be viewed under the same twofold aspect."—See *Mys. Pres.*, pp. 160–1.

It is easy to say that the life of Christ "*is to be viewed also under the same twofold aspect.*" But where is the absolute authority? Dr. Nevin can do no more than appeal to German Rationalism. Starting from an assumption, Dr. Nevin goes on to say: "Christ's life, as now described, rests not in his separate person, but passes over to his people; thus constituting the Church."—See *Mys. Pres.*, p. 167.

"*As now described.*" Here is the secret of this pretentious scheme. As Dr. Nevin describes Christ, so must the Christ be! This is extravagant enough, surely. The Gospel view of the person of the Saviour is denied the moment any human "idea or theory" is affirmed to be identically the Divine. It has already been remarked that the Christian Church is not a person: if not a person, then must it follow that the personality of man can in no sense stand related to the Church. Salvation is not conditioned in that which is impersonal. Certainly Dr. Nevin will disown the legitimate issue of his pantheistic scheme. He says: "It is not a system of subjective notions born only of the human mind, a supposed apprehension of supernatural verities brought into the mind in the way of abstract thought."—See *Vindica. of Lit.*, p. 66.

Will Dr. Nevin say that his "idea or theory" of a whole is not "*born only of the human mind?*" This is an "abstract thought" having no foundation in the sphere of Christian philosophy, and infinitely far from being the Gospel of the Son of God. Christ is himself in his own blessed person both the ground and the condition of salvation. "As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." The parallel is clear. The relation sustained to Christ is direct: it is personal. This is the Gospel view: this is the view recognized by all true Protestants. Dr. Schaff says: "*Protestantism goes directly to Christ.*" The relation of the soul to Christ is here admitted to be direct and personal. This is primitive Christianity. The divine Redeemer is allowed himself to say to the sinner: "Follow me." Dr. Nevin constructs a scheme which ignores the possibility of direct relation to Christ. He seems to think that his abstract church can, in some mystical way, supply the Presence of Christ. It is only necessary, he imagines, to follow his church. The Saviour may not be followed without the intervention of a priestly order. This is extravagantly false. Does Dr. Nevin suppose that there are priests in the Church triumphant? If not, then surely there can be none in the Christian Church militant.

Dr. Nevin is sadly mistaken in supposing that his objectivism "passes over" through the mediation of his imaginary priests into the souls of men. The Christian Church may not

be confounded with this pantheistic scheme. A phantom *notion* of what constitutes *sacramental grace* may not be allowed to pass for the Gospel view of "GRACE." It is proper, under all circumstances, to entertain high views of sacramental grace. No mistake could be more fearful than to imagine that a human "idea or theory" of sacramental grace is identically the divine grace itself. Dr. Nevin would explain *how* the Christian life originates. As well try to explain *how* God creates the soul. The Saviour says: "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit."

The scheme originated by Dr. Nevin directs its so-called priests to say to the applicant for baptism: "You have come hither seeking deliverance from the power of the devil, the remission of sin, and the gift of a new and spiritual life."—See *Order of Worship*, p. 199.

Christian baptism stands in no relation whatever to this pantheistic notion of a mediated life. Going to a priest of an "idea or theory" is infinitely far from being a Christian. The issue is clear. Personal beings are to love Christ himself supremely. Ancient so-called fathers may have their creeds: modern philosophers and metaphysical dreamers may entertain their own notion, theory, or idea of these creeds. All will not avail. Christ is infinitely more to the soul than the church can ever be either in idea or in reality. Theories fall worthless to the earth, where they properly belong. Christ is related to the sons and daughters of the race: the Church stands in no such relation. The Saviour is the Personal Redeemer: the Church sustains no directly personal relation to the soul. The Son of God requires no one to yield obedience to an abstraction. To go to a human priest, supposing that by this means an entrance into the true kingdom of heaven can be secured, is a fearful delusion. The scheme that puts forth such pretensions is of the spirit of Antichrist.

The Gospel calls *persons* to a life of true freedom, not according to the dictations of priests, but in Christ. "If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." There is no room to conceive of any necessity for submission,

blind, ignorant, and slavish, to a so-called priestly order. Subjection to priests is abject slavery. Truth is always free. In vain attempt to defend a pantheistic philosophy, as though this could be identical with Christ himself. How can the finite mind comprehend *personal being?* If man cannot find out the mystery of his own person, how infinitely less can he comprehend the Person of the God-man. The Gospel is personal: it is not an idea: it is not a mere doctrine: it is Christ himself, the Saviour of sinners. The Apostles do not preach an "idea or theory" of Christ; but Christ himself. These holy men *knew* the Saviour: they loved him supremely. The same is true now.

The Apostles do not speak of their "priestly functions." They make no pretension to being a mediating priesthood between Christ and the human souls. None of this. Only when men have a human "idea or theory" to serve is there any need of priests. An advocate of this Mercersburg scheme says, "A priest is one whose sole object is to bring the people near to God."—See *Mer. Rev.*, vol. xv., p. 477.

However this may be, what minister at all conscious of his responsibility to Christ, will ever put confidence in an abstraction which demands what the Saviour does not authorize? Dr. Nevin may imagine that his pantheistic notion of a whole is in harmony with facts. It may be allowed to pass for what it is worth as a philosophical curiosity: it may not be regarded as having any reality in the sphere of that which is divine. As well suppose that Plato or Aristotle preached Christ, as to think of this Mercersburg notion being in any sense identically the Gospel. An "ideal church," founded upon a pantheistic philosophy, is no more the church of Christ than Confucius is Paul, or Zoroaster the loving John.

Dr. Nevin seems to think that his so-called Christo-centric notion is profoundly Christological. All admit that it is well to study the Gospel in the light of philosophy; human conceptions, however, are not to be confounded with divine realities. Here is where Dr. Nevin mistakes the calling of a minister of Christ. His so-called Christo-centric "idea or theory" is simply his own philosophical conception; and, as such, is subject to the vicissitudes of that which is human. His prin-

ciple compels him, in the construction of his scheme, to ignore the Gospel view of the relation the *sinner* sustains to Christ.

This Mercersburg scheme, it is imagined, is profoundly philosophical. Dr. Nevin assumes an unwarranted degree of self-confidence in supposing that his so-called Christo-centric abstraction must be received as the divine. This self-confidence, in time, works marvellously in the minds of his students, who do not perceive the *principle* upon which the superstructure rests. These do not seem to perceive that it is heresy to teach that priestly mediation, in the interest of a human "idea or theory," secures eternal salvation. Well, to pause and consider, no matter how fair or captivating a scheme may be, when such pernicious consequences follow. As servants of the Gospel, ministers will do well to have regard to their responsibility to Christ himself and to him only. This phantom Mercersburg invention, like Romanism, must necessarily ignore the Gospel view of personal responsibility in its direct relation to the Saviour, substituting the notion of priestly authority. The Apostle says: "God commendeth his love to us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us." The Gospel is plain; even a child can understand.

Well may Dr. Nevin say that he does not confound God with the world, nor Christ with the church. All know that he does not *intend* to do so. Nor did Fichte intend to confound his "Ego" with God; yet he lived to perceive, though not until in his old age, the utter falsehood of his phantom "idea or theory." The same may prove to be true in this case. Dr. Nevin may come to see, sooner or later, that his imagination has led him far from the truth as it is in Jesus. His so-called Christo-centric abstraction is infinitely far from being the divine. His philosophy is fearfully rationalistic. A life mediated through priests is little better than the doctrine of an emanated life as taught by Zoroaster.—See *His. Philos.*, Bruckeri, Leip. ed., tom. i., lib. 2, cap. 3.

This speculative scheme, like Romanism, will prove a delusion. Founded upon a purely philosophical abstraction, it can have no power in the sphere of self-consciousness. There can be no intuitive knowledge, certain and sure, of that which is

derived from purely human sources. Ministers may try to confound a speculative "idea or theory," be it called Christo-centric or by any other name, with the Person of the Personal Christ; but in the end every such effort will fail. The servants of the Gospel may not assume to themselves priestly prerogatives in the interest of a human notion without doing violence to the Gospel itself. Ministers must have regard to their individual and personal responsibility to Christ himself, and to him only.

Christianity has to do with the *concrete*. Abstract ideas, theories, and notions, are worthless in their assumed relation to Christ. The Redeemer, as the personal God-man, possessed of a true human self-consciousness, speaks to personal beings in the sphere of self-conscious being; and not through priests. The Christology of the Gospel may not be confounded with any human Christo-centric notion. Dr. Nevin seems to entertain no higher conception of the Gospel than that the Christ himself has gone into heaven, leaving his disciples to love an "idea or theory." Not so. It is as true now as in the days of John or Paul, that Christ himself is to be loved supremely. "*The love of Christ constraineth us.*"

Ministers of the Gospel, if true to Christ rather than the advocates of an abstraction, are to *preach* CHRIST CRUCIFIED. This is to be the watch-word, true and tried, of all who love the Saviour. It is the concrete reality of Christ crucified that moves the Apostle to say: "Herein is love; not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. And not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world." The Redeemer, as the Personal Christ, loves the children of a fallen race. Not one; but all: not the all in the sense of an abstract whole, but the all including the individual persons, and in each person the true humanity. In this sense, and in no other, can the Christology of the Gospel be understood. Whenever Dr. Nevin comes to see that Christ in himself is the *condition* as well as the *ground* of salvation, will he perceive the pernicious tendency of his pantheistic mysticism. The Apostles felt that their call to preach Christ crucified came from the Saviour himself: the same now. The true minister of the Gospel must be fully and clearly self-con-

scious of his direct and personal relation to Christ, to whom, and to no other, he is bound to hold himself responsible. To the Redeemer must account be made: "*For we shall all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ.*"

The Christian Life does not centre in the church, and much less can it be mediated through a priestly order. Practically the Christian life may be included in the words: LOVE CHRIST. All else is uncertain. The Apostle says: "In Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision; but faith which worketh by love." The same now. In Christ neither being formally baptized, nor being unbaptized, availeth any thing. The Apostle does not undervalue Christian baptism. By no means. He only affirms that personal union with Christ centres in a personal relation to Christ. Dr. Nevin seems to imagine that personal acts can exist outside of the sphere of self-consciousness. In this way, it is assumed that going to a priest is being *made* a Christian. As well imagine that an *uncreated* infant could go to its supposed mother and ask to be born. The thought is an absurdity.

The Saviour calls no one to a slavish service. The Gospel view of the Christian life involves intelligence of the highest order. This intelligence is based upon the clear self-consciousness of a directly personal relation to Christ himself. Means of grace even are not the Personal Jesus. Dr. Nevin ought to be able to see that his view of "*sacramental grace*" is simply and only pantheistic mysticism. There can be no personal life in that which is simply a *means*. Why try to confound a purely sacramental transaction with the personal relation the soul sustains to Christ? To speak of the Christian Church as a self-conscious person, is contrary to the Gospel, as well as directly at variance with every kind of intelligent observation.

Sooner or later, the German Reformed denomination must come to see the vast evil of allowing a purely pantheistic principle to be held as the foundation of a scheme of theology. It is always dangerous to follow a human leader. The profoundest philosopher, after all, is only a fallible human being. Only Christ can make known the truth: only Christ is the BEAU IDEAL of true greatness. No intelligent Christian can

follow any other. Jesus says: "Follow me." "If any man will come unto me, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me."

This cross is no imagination: it is no idea or theory: it is an *intensely personal death unto sin and a living unto Christ.* Here is the most concrete of all realities. The Apostle says: "I die daily." Again: "our old man is crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be destroyed." Freedom from sin, in the most comprehensive sense, is the end of the Christian life; death shall be swallowed up in victory. He who is unwilling to take up his cross, the intensive death unto sin, *cannot* follow Christ. Flesh and sense must be denied: passion and lust must be overcome, and if not given up or overcome, there must be a want of personal godliness in the actual struggle of life. Thousands have gone to priests whose daily life proves that they are not the disciples of Christ. These may be obedient to priests: they are not lovers of Christ! "By their fruits ye shall know them." Never were words more striking than the saying of Strauss: "*Where priests rule, there infidelity abounds.*"

The scheme advocated by Dr. Nevin is fallacious. It is not based upon the creed as such: but upon a *private judgment*, "idea, or theory," as a principle, put into the creed. Speaking of this creed, the eminent Danish divine, Dr. Martensen, says: "Its whole inner form and contents are such as to prove its insufficiency to serve as the highest *critical* standard of the church. . . . It is quite clear too, that without the Scriptures, we should derive from the Apostles' Creed a poor support. . . It gives us not the slightest information concerning the sacramental significance of baptism. . . We are, therefore, unable to see in this theory of the Apostles' Creed, any improvement upon the Reformation."—See *Mar. Dog.*, Clarke's Ed., pp. 40–1.

No theological scholar finds any fault with Dr. Nevin for attempting to construct a scheme of theology; his fearful mistake centres in trying to identify a purely human "idea or theory" of the Person of Christ with the existence of the Christian Church. This abstract notion he puts into the creed, as the principle of his scheme, in his own way; and

then confounds his own private judgment creed with the "old and historical sense of the creed."

The church question finds no solution in the speculative notion advanced by Dr. Nevin. He has labored hard to defend his so-called *churchly* theology; all his efforts must fall to the ground. A principle being false, the superstructure is worthless. This scheme is like Romanism, it makes formal baptism the *condition* of salvation. Reflection must convince every profound mind that ground and condition being correlative terms, it must follow that both the ground and the condition are in Christ, and can be nowhere else.

Let Christians come to realize, as they should, the Gospel meaning of the cross, and at once every priestly "idea or theory" will be swept into oblivion; and Christ will reign supreme in every heart. Personal activity in the spirit of the cross will become, as it should, the watch-word of the Christian Church. Ministers of the Gospel will arouse themselves to a more earnest sense of self-consecration to Christ. Dr. Nevin ought to see that his notion of a mediated life is positive pantheism; and as such, must lead, like Romanism, to a sort of self-glorification. Priestly conceit will take the place of apostolic devotion to Christ. The Saviour speaks to persons, not through priests, and much less through a human "idea or theory" of sacramental grace. The Holy Ghost, who is a person, works in the sphere of self-consciousness. This priestly abstraction virtually denies the personal presence of the Spirit. All is made to turn upon the pantheistic notion of a life mediated through priests. This life, it is said, is communicated in the form of a *germ*. Now the scientific scholar knows that a germ is not a tree. Without the correlative condition the ground or germ can never become a tree. By analogy it is the tree, and not a germ, that forms the vital point in the parallel. The tree *grows;* the germ passes away in the organic unity between ground and condition.

Christian unity centres in no priestly order; it is dependent upon no human "idea or theory" of the so-called Apostles' Creed,—it is the power of that which is divine: "The love of Christ constraineth us." The cross is the manifestation of

Divine love: "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but might have everlasting life." *Personal faith* in Christ is here, as in other places, clearly affirmed to be the only bond of unity between Christ and Christians. This living faith finds its condition in Christ himself, and not in an "idea or theory" of what is called sacramental grace.

True Protestantism, like Apostolic Christianity, goes directly to Christ himself. A blind and superstitious reverence for human notions, ideas, or theories, forms no part of the Christian system. Christ is more to Christians than all the world beside. It is Jesus himself who says: "COME UNTO ME, ALL YE THAT LABOR AND ARE HEAVY LADEN, AND I WILL GIVE YOU REST."

A. S. V.

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ART. V.—*The Jesus of the Evangelists: His Historical Character Vindicated; or, an Examination of the Internal Evidence for Our Lord's Divine Mission, with reference to Modern Controversy.* By the Rev. C. A. Row, M. A., of Pembroke College, Oxford, late Head Master of the Royal Free Grammar School, Mansfield; author of "The Nature and Extent of Divine Inspiration," etc. London: Williams & Norgate, 1868.

IT is more than two years since this work was published, but it is little known as yet in this country. In England it has received the highest praise from a number of the most competent judges. Dr. R. Payne Smith, in his Bampton Lectures for 1869, which have only been printed a few months, says of it, "For fulness of thought, and terseness and accuracy of reasoning, I do not know its equal. No man can read it without being convinced, I should imagine, not merely of our Lord's historical existence, which is what Mr. Row undertakes to prove against Strauss, etc., but also of his unapproachable perfectness." And yet, even in England, it does not seem

thus far to have gained the attention of a very wide circle of readers. It is just what its title imports. It does far more than refute the mythical hypothesis as to the divine origin of Christianity. It furnishes an unanswerable proof that the Jesus of the Gospels was a real person, and that his mission was divine. It cannot be denied that every thing of importance is gained if this point is established. We can afford, as the author truly says, to await the solution of all other difficulties connected with the Scriptures, if we can retain a firm conviction that the Gospels are historical in all their great features, and that we have a Christ whom we can worship, and love, and trust. Let this be believed, and then no error which the soul may entertain can be inconsistent with its exercising a saving faith.

This book, owing to its philosophical character, and the severity of its reasoning, may never have place in many libraries, but, by those who possess it, it will be highly prized. As a refutation of the destructive errors which it combats, it is unrivalled. Its lines of thought are not altogether new, and yet it is fresh and original. In one respect it differs from preceding works on the same subject. Mr. Row (more particularly is this true of the latter part of his book) grapples, far more than other antagonists of the school of Strauss do, with the details of the theory he opposes. The keenness and closeness with which he follows up his opponents, allow them not a moment's rest. He drives them out of every hiding-place. He gives them the benefit first of one of their assumptions, and then of another, until they have no standing ground left, and are completely driven from the field. This especially applies, as already intimated, to certain parts of the volume. As a whole, it has the merits of an able work, planned and written not merely with reference to opponents, whose arguments are to be pulled to pieces, but in order to exhibit clearly the truth on the subject of which it treats. It has been pronounced to be, what in our opinion it really is, a complete hand-book of Messianic argument, so that it is fitted to be very serviceable to the champions of the divine character of Christ and Christianity, by saving them immense labor in the collection of facts, while it will suggest many valuable

uses and inferences. It contains no rhetorical paragraphs, but it is pervaded by a calm, yet intense earnestness, and some of its passages are truly eloquent. Some of its views and assumptions are, as we think, utterly erroneous, and we expect to notice them hereafter, but they do not materially impair the force of the reasoning, which is thoroughly scientific.

Those who sweetly believe and know that Jesus now lives, do not need to have it proved to them that he was once in this world, with all those glories and excellencies which the Gospels ascribe to him, and yet even such persons find that their souls are refreshed and strengthened by reading well written disquisitions, in which the divine origin of Christianity is proved from the character of Jesus. For they are compelled while reading to contemplate, more or less steadily, his perfections. Now a large part of Mr. Row's book is similar in its nature to such disquisitions, for he spends much time in examining the portraiture of our Lord, in order to show the impossibility of its being a mere invention. If we may learn more concerning morals by studying the character of Christ than in any other way, and if it is true, as many think, that Christianity is as much indebted to the superhuman loveliness of that character, as to any of its doctrines, no book can be without value in which the divine lineaments of the Saviour are dwelt upon and clearly exhibited.

It is, however, the good of the unbelieving which is more directly sought by such treatises as the one before us. If it should be alleged that there is no need of such treatises, because the mythic hypothesis is by this time exploded, it is sufficient to reply that, even admitting it to be so, Mr. Row's book is a refutation not merely of what is strictly called the mythic theory, but of all that has been urged to prove that the Gospels are unhistorical: and that, supposing that such writers as Strauss and Rénan should after a while be forgotten, still there will ever be secret doubts in many minds as to the historical reality of the person of our Lord. In regard to the influence for evil still exerted by Strauss's Lives of Jesus, a writer, well qualified to speak on the subject, says: "They who speak of him as dead, are themselves dead, it is to be feared, to modern theological thought and issues. The influence of

his Lives of Jesus is to this day undermining the entire Christian system throughout the Continent, and very widely throughout this country. Had there been no Strauss to prepare the way, there would most likely have been no Rénan. And Schenkel says of his own work ("Character of Jesus," Preface, pp. xxiii, xxiv): 'Perhaps even now this work would not have been published, had not the sensation caused by the "Life of Jesus," by E. Rénan, forcibly reminded me of the necessity of meeting the deep want of our time, which demands a genuinely human, truly historical representation of Jesus.' Yet Schenkel is a disciple of neither the mythic school of Strauss, nor of the legendary school of Rénan, but of the Tübingen theory of the Gospels, originated by Dr. Baur. Thus it would be an easy task to follow outward, as from a centre and by ever-widening circles, the impulses and influences of Strauss, in all the more intellectual and scholarly attacks upon the Christian faith peculiar to modern times."

The great blemish of this book is, that it is not easy to see its plan. The arguments are sometimes misplaced, and are not kept sufficiently distinct. Even the chapters do not always follow each other in the right order. We could give a number of instances of faults of this kind, but we will proceed to furnish some account of the subject-matter of the volume, premising that the limits of an article will require us to leave much which we would like to present to our readers entirely unnoticed. We shall occupy but a short space in giving Mr. Row's definition of the mythic hypothesis as to the origin of the portraiture of the Evangelical Jesus.

The advocates of the mythic hypothesis admit the historical existence of Jesus, and moreover they concede, and even maintain, that he was a great man. They also grant that it was an historical fact that he was put to death. When this event took place, the disappointment of his deluded followers was great, but their wonderful enthusiasm prevented them from giving up in despair. They still believed in him as the Messiah. Such a belief, however, could not consist with that of his being conquered by death, and they therefore assumed that he must have risen from the dead. "Some of them saw him with their mental eye, and mistook what existed only in

their imagination for an external reality, and communicated their enthusiasm to the rest."* The resurrection, which was the first of the Gospel myths, having been invented, their imagination had full scope. They began, from this time, to imagine that they had seen him perform the wonders which the Messiah ought to have performed. And while some mythologists created miracles, others put parables into his mouth, and others invented discourses. One devoted follower added this trait to his character and another that, until they imagined that he was both divine and human—a divine man.

It was further necessary, inasmuch as the real historical Jesus died, that the mythologists should conceive of their Jesus as having suffered in a manner becoming a divine man. They did this, and they produced the portraiture of a sufferer such as never before nor since has been conceived of. They imparted a divine aspect to the crucified Jesus. Thus they went on creating detached portions of a character, the *full* conception of which existed nowhere. At last it entered the heads of some who mistook these fictions for facts, to attempt to weave them into a whole, and four persons succeeded in creating out of them four distinct portraits of one divine man. For the divine and human consciousness united in the person of Jesus, which we discover in the Gospels, was not a conception of the Evangelists, neither were the attributes in which they array him. Nor did they invent the miracles, parables, and discourses which they relate. These miracles, parables, etc., with the separate portions of Christ's character had previously been created by the imagination of an immense number of Christ's deluded followers. The religion in which he lived, and which he taught, was the conception of this multitude of enthusiastic men. What the four Evangelists did was to set forth out of these fictions a life of Jesus in an historical form. We are not to charge either the mythologists or the Evangelists with fraud. They supposed they were relating facts, and that the portraiture of Jesus which they dramatized

* Mr. Row, in his statement of the mythic theory, recognizes the concession as made by its advocates, that even the immediate disciples of Jesus testified to his supposed resurrection.

was an historical reality. This is the general outline of the mythic theory.

The author's argument against it is so constructed as to be much more than defensive. It shows that the portraiture of Jesus, as we see it on the pages of the Evangelists, could not by any possibility have been conceived of, or invented by any created mind; and yet either it was invented, or it is the portraiture of one who had an historical existence.

His book has the immense advantage of not contending for any minor issues. The critics bring forward difficulties connected with the Old Testament; difficulties connected with the inspiration of the Scriptures. They contend that the Gospels contain contradictions to the facts of history, that they are full of contradictions and incongruities, that facts exhibited in one Gospel are at variance with those contained in another, that the Gospel of John has little or no historic value, etc. But even supposing that these objections have not as yet been satisfactorily answered, what do they avail to shake our faith in the divine origin of our holy religion, if we know that all that is said in the Gospels concerning the Christ whom the church has worshipped is true; that precisely the Jesus whose character the Gospels present under so many aspects was an historical person. There is no reason why any mind should be in the least unsettled by any amount of such difficulties, if it can only find firm ground for its faith in the historical reality of the divine person of our Lord, as he is depicted in the Evangelists. It is the opinion of our author that this is the battle-field on which modern theological controversy will ultimately be decided.

The Jesus of the Gospels is a great spiritual and moral conception, and there is wonderful distinctness in their delineation of the superhuman glories of his character. It cannot be denied that this portraiture exists, and its existence requires to be accounted for. Is it the delineation of a reality, or did it originate in fiction? If it did not originate in fiction, it is the image of one who actually existed. It is the design of the author to show that it cannot, by any possibility, be fictitious.

He displays much acuteness in his first argument, and it is

most convincing, but we do not regard it as his main proof. The basis of his principal proof is that which history furnishes, which testifies that all developments of the human mind have been effected in conformity with a law of progress. We are fully able to ascertain the state of mind of the Jewish people when Christianity originated, *i. e.*, their state of thought on moral and religious subjects, out of which it is maintained that Christianity sprung. Then also the progress of mental and moral science enables us to determine with certainty the law of the development of the human mind; and the chief and most labored argument of his book, and that which occupies the most space, is designed to prove, and does prove unanswerably, that the conditions which history imposes, and the laws of mental development to the truth of which she testifies, render it impossible that the portraiture of the Jesus of the Evangelists could have been evolved as an ideal conception.

But this argument is not fairly begun until he has finished the first five chapters of his book. The reasoning contained in these chapters is, as already remarked, admirable and convincing. Proceeding on the assumption that the portraiture of the Evangelical Jesus is almost entirely an invention, he investigates its nature, examining the elements which enter into it, and points out the tremendous difficulties its authors must have had to encounter in fabricating it, even when untrammelled by the conditions imposed by history, and which are taken into view when he comes to his main argument. The consideration of these difficulties is of itself enough to show the absurdity of the supposition that it was only invented. We desire to give our readers a glimpse of the argument of these chapters, before we proceed to consider those contained in the subsequent portions of the book. We can, of course, merely present the salient points.

What then are the elements of the portraiture of Jesus, as that portraiture was invented by the mythologists? What are the things which enter into its nature? In the first place, there belongs to it a divine and human consciousness, in which consciousness no distinction whatever exists between the two factors of the divine and the human. The mythologists have

conceived of a being having precisely such a consciousness, whom they have dramatized over an extensive sphere of action. The difficulties to be mastered, as soon as they began their work, pertained to the very conception of the divine and human in one person. There must have belonged to the question whether such a union was possible, difficulties of a metaphysical nature which had to be settled in some way before they could have proceeded a single step in the direction of developing the Christ of the Gospels. The supporters of the mythic theory would of course claim that in the case of the mythologists these difficulties did not exist, inasmuch as they had the advantage which the perusal of the Book of Enoch must certainly have afforded them, in which book the Messiah is set forth as one who was to be both the Son of God and the Son of Man. But it is very doubtful whether the Book of Enoch was written prior to our Lord's advent. But admitting, for the sake of the argument, that it was, still it was necessary that they should solve the following problems, all unsolved before, and for the solution of which the Book of Enoch does not afford the smallest assistance. They had to determine the mode in which the two distinct factors of the divine and the human should be united in a single personality, the degree of prominence which should be assigned to each, and how they should be blended in an harmonious unity. But these problems the credulous, simple-minded men who created the myths solved successfully, although philosophers might have discussed them forever without arriving at an agreement.

The minds of the inventors of the Gospel miracles, parables, etc., must have been deeply imbued with the spirit of the Old Testament writings. But in the Old Testament the closest contact into which God and man are brought took place when holy men were inspired to prophesy. This, therefore, was the only *model* which they could have had before them. But in the case of the prophetical illapse, the persons of the inspired and inspirer are invariably distinct. The divine and the human always form two separate factors, and refuse to unite in a single consciousness. The light of inspiration invariably comes from without, and by the very terms of its utterance,

implies the presence of a separate consciousness. Really, then, they were without the aid of any model to direct their course. And yet they have uniformly portrayed their Jesus with a consciousness in which the distinction between the divine and the human does not exist. Whenever he acts or speaks, the careful reader of the Gospels cannot help perceiving that the Jesus who is there portrayed is utterly unconscious of any separation between God and himself. And yet we feel that there is a soul intensely human. The divine light is enshrined in a purely human temple. Moreover, the portraiture of Jesus, both as a teacher and a worker of miracles, presents a perfect *uniformity of type and conception*, notwithstanding the multiform aspects in which it might have been dramatized. But the essential unity which characterizes it, the author dwells upon at length in a separate chapter.

But again, another element in this delineation is suffering. Inasmuch as the historical fact that the human Jesus died was not ignored by the mythologists, a part of the task which lay before them was to depict the portraiture of a *sufferer*, who should be both divine and human. We see the difficulties to be overcome in solving the problem. If the human was to be represented as dying through suffering, how were the artists to avoid representing the divine as swallowed up in the sufferings of the human? But if the divine maintains its character, how can it be so portrayed that it shall not lend an undue support to a human sufferer? The success of the creators of the mythic Jesus was wonderful. Consider his perturbation as the hour of his death drew nigh. Since he was human, it was necessary that the thought of his impending sufferings should terribly agitate his frame. But it was equally necessary that the divine should be preserved intact. "This was the problem they were required to solve, and their answer was the scene in Gethsemane. Who shall describe it after them?"

A part of their task was to depict the sufferer as making a voluntary surrender of his life in an act of self-sacrificing love. They therefore refrain from describing him as offering a defence, or as attempting to work on the conscience of the agents in the scene.

The death of Jesus was to be so dramatized as to exhibit him as retaining all the affections and feelings of a man, and at the same time to present him to view as invested with the attributes of one who was divine. And its moral elevation is such as to prove that it is indeed the true copy of a divine original. "The scene of the penitent thief is the most perfect exhibition which we can conceive of the presence of divinity personally abiding in dying humanity. The conception of the prayer for his murderers is so intensely sublime, that the thought of such a spirit of forgiveness had never before occurred to a human mind." It may be objected that these scenes are described only by Luke, and that they are *subsequent additions.* But the portraitures of the other Evangelists are of essentially the same type, and fit in their proper places as parts of the same whole.

But the mythologists, in representing their Jesus as exhibiting such sublime self-possession and calmness and unselfishness, were in danger of losing the conception of perfect humanity. We see the triumph of a divine being, but hardly that of one possessing our nature. "But they went to work spontaneously, and presented as their solution of the difficulty the exclamation on the cross, and the scene of darkness." While the divine consciousness remains entire, all the affections and feelings of a man are retained to the very last.

Again, there are the moral qualities which enter into the conception of the portraiture of the Evangelical Jesus, but we have no room for even a meagre abstract of what the author says on this subject. It is contained in the fourth chapter, in which he points out some of the difficult problems which the mythologists had to solve when they attempted to invest the human Jesus with the moral attributes (especially the attributes of benevolence and holiness) which belong to the Divine Being.

Much of the contents of the fifth chapter we are also compelled to leave unnoticed. It is entitled: "The moral teaching of our Lord." For those who created the Jesus of the Gospels have portrayed him as the great moral and religious teacher of mankind. The greatness of the work which they have represented their Jesus as accomplishing in this char-

acter will be seen, when it is considered that his moral system supplies a motive which is adequate to impart vitality to the moral law, and to make it a living principle in man. In this his originality as a teacher consists. It is in the attractive power of our Lord's own person that this motive is found. Philosophers had portrayed the idea of perfect states and constitutions, but the ideal refused to become the actual. They created moral systems but could not impart to them vitality. But Jesus not only taught men what is right, but created a motive in his own person powerful to make it live in the hearts of men. That motive is his divine attractiveness.

Our Lord is depicted as habitually preaching himself, and, in virtue of his being divine, as claiming the throne of the human heart as his lawful right. As the divine man he was able to surrender his life for men in an act of self-sacrificing love, and he can therefore vindicate the human heart to himself by a claim compared to which all others are feeble. The power generated in the spiritual world, when the divine man lived and died and rose again for man, was that of constraining love. It is thus that his originality as a teacher appears. In connection with his teaching he created a new spiritual power, a new body of motivity by means of which he proposed to act on man. The creation of this spiritual power is precisely that which man requires. The teachers who preceded our Lord had indeed discovered the main outlines of the moral law, but they were utterly unable to supply a motive of sufficient power to make it a practical reality. This inability was openly declared,* At this moment a teacher appeared in our world

* "The Ethics of Aristotle is unquestionably the most important work on man's moral nature which was produced by the ancient world. The philosopher has handled the whole question with a masterly analysis. If we wish to get a correct idea of the despair with which philosophy contemplated the improvement of the masses of mankind, it is necessary to read the whole of the conclusion of this remarkable work. After the fullest discussion of man and the motives on which virtuous conduct rested, what good did he hope to accomplish by his labors? He tells us plainly that his expectations were of the most limited character. He hoped to do something with a few choice spirits, but he says positively that he was wholly unable to reach the masses of mankind. 'Reasonings,' says he, 'are unable to impel the many to what is good and noble; for they are

claiming to be divine, and the Christianity founded by him has breathed a new vitality into the human bosom.

The means and instrumentality on which the Evangelists have represented him as relying to effectuate his great work in the spiritual world is one which had been unthought of before. That instrumentality is faith. All his predecessors had attempted to act on man through the principle of *habituation*. This principle does indeed exercise a powerful influence over the human character. Within certain limits, habit has made man what he is, but it is unable to resist the vehement impulses of passion, and it is unfit to be employed as the instrument of conversion. The power of evil must be restrained, before the principle of habituation can be set at work for the generation of good. The only road through which the sinner can be reached is the representations of the understanding. Our Lord therefore did not appeal to the power of habit. The principle which he called into being, partly intellectual, and partly moral, he designated faith. He insists in his teaching on the pre-eminent necessity of faith. He pronounced spiritual life to reside in his person. He taught that the cordial reception of him would generate it in man. The result has been the creation of the Christian Church. Thus have the mythologists dramatized their Jesus. Can the portraiture be a human invention?

There is another point which the author handles at considerable length in this chapter, in regard to which he falls into serious error.

It is difficult, he says, for any one to believe that the Gospel narratives are fictions, who considers how remarkably the writers, when they relate the acts of our Lord, recognize the philosophic truth that man's moral and spiritual nature is regulated by laws widely different from those which prevail in the material universe, and that while power is the force which

not naturally disposed to yield obedience to shame but to fear; nor to abstain from bad things on account of their being disgraceful, but on account of punishment; for, living by passion, they pursue their peculiar pleasures, and avoid the opposite pains: but of what is morally beautiful and truly pleasant, they have not even a conception, being devoid of all taste for it.'—('Nichomachean Ethics,' Book X.)"

moves the physical, motive is that which impels the spiritual world. They have never once described him as infringing the laws of the spiritual world by an exertion of power, but have invariably depicted him as observing them. "To state the case broadly. While our Lord is always represented in the Gospels as curing diseases by a power which overrules the ordinary course of nature, he is never once depicted as invoking the aid of a supernatural power to cure the diseases of the soul," nor are we ever led to suppose that the Evangelists intended to represent him as implanting faith in the soul by an exercise of power. They must somehow have learned the truth that the whole apparatus of power contradicts the very idea of a moral agent.

Now for this assertion as to the intention of the Evangelists our author has no warrant. Not only would the imparting of faith and spiritual life appear to have often accompanied our Lord's miracles of healing, but the descriptions of some miraculous cures are such as to suggest the idea that the same *power* which healed the body implanted faith in the soul. Our belief is that Jesus often did when he was on earth, as he constantly does now, act by his supernatural power directly on the soul, new-creating it, "curing its diseases," "creating faith" where it did not exist. We admit, however, that his invariable action, in the spiritual world, was in conformity with law, and that he is never represented as failing to observe the laws of the spiritual world. Our author's error consists in his supposing that to cure the soul's diseases, to implant a faith in it which previously it did not possess, involves the setting aside the laws by which the human spirit is governed, so as to do violence to its nature. And he assumes that if the soul is in any case the subject of the divine power acting immediately upon it, it is coerced and its free agency is destroyed. Whereas, the truth in relation to the subject is, that although there is both an efficacious and an immediate operation on the soul when it is made spiritually alive, yet the divine act is perfectly congruous to its nature. Indeed, not only is no restraint laid upon the spontaneous movement of the faculties, but the more powerful this direct

operation, the more freely does the soul move under its influence.

Thus far the author has been engaged in investigating the portraiture of the Jesus of the Gospels, and has pointed out the unsurmountable difficulties arising from its very nature, which must have attended all attempts to create it. He has examined the elements which compose it, and has shown that its creation would have required the solution of problems which no set of mortals (not to speak of the men who are said to have invented the myths) would have been competent to solve.

He now pursues another line of argument. As the supporters of the hypothesis of a mythic origin of the Gospels maintain that the Evangelical conception of the Christ must have originated in the state of Jewish feeling and ideas prevalent at the commencement of our era, and must have been produced from them by a succession of growths, he proceeds to discuss this state of feeling, with the view of ascertaining its precise nature, and shows the impossibility of the idea of the divine man Jesus, as he lives to view in the Gospel narrative, being evolved from it within the limits of time which could be allowed for its production.

It must be remembered that the maintainers of the unhistorical character of the Gospels do not postulate more than about sixty years for the production of the portraiture of the Christ of the Synoptics, nor more than 120 for the production of the Johannean Jesus. They are fully aware that this interval of time is, to say the very least, as much as authentic history will assign them, and that it is not generally supposed to allow even as long a period. They would have been glad to have demanded a still greater interval, but they were well convinced that history would have protested too strongly against any additional demand. They are, therefore, compelled to be satisfied if those who oppose their theory will admit that the Synoptics were published, in their existing form, some time during the ten years preceding the termination of the first century, or about sixty years after the crucifixion, and that St. John's Gospel was published at about the termination of the first sixty years of the second century, or 120 years after

the crucifixion. These intervals of time which they demand, the author, for the sake of the argument, concedes to them. In a subsequent chapter, indeed, he argues that the question of the actual date of the Gospels is one of very little importance, inasmuch as they were in existence, in their leading details, at a much earlier period. In that chapter, which is entitled, "The evidence afforded by the Epistles for the early existence of the portraiture of the Christ," he shows that the great features of the conception of Christ appear in St. Paul's Epistles in a developed state. He thus proves that the churches were, within twenty-five years after the crucifixion, acquainted with those features, as we read them in the four Gospels. More than this, the great features of the Christ of the Evangelists were not only existent, and current in the church *at the time* when the Pauline Epistles were written, but had been so for several years previously. This assumption is necessary, to account for the manner in which the Apostle so constantly alludes to Jesus as both divine and human, and as having taught, and lived, and suffered, and risen again, precisely as he is represented to have done in the Synoptics and St. John. The manner in which he writes to the churches with reference to these things, supposes that they believed in their truth previously to the time of his writing. The chapter which contains this discussion is full of interest and instruction. At first, however, as remarked, he concedes the entire interval of time which his opponents demand, and he devotes a considerable portion of his book to show how ridiculously insufficient that interval was for the production and development of the Evangelical Jesus. We have endeavored to give some idea of his argument by which he shows that the mythic theory, even with the advantage of unbounded time at its command, would fail to account for the existence of the portraiture of the Christ. What he now undertakes to establish, and what he does establish triumphantly, is that its failure is rendered more evident when we conceive of it as having created and dramatized the conception, within the limits of time which those who have propounded it have demanded for its evolution.

The maintainers of the unhistorical character of the Gospels

are compelled to admit that the time which they insist upon being conceded to them is very short. And yet they contend that even during this limited time, Christianity grew and was fully developed—that we see in the Christ and the Christianity which he founded, merely a natural and unbroken evolution of thought out of Judaism. This, in fact, they must contend for as long as they deny the existence of the supernatural. The state of thought and feeling in the midst of which the mythologists lived, could have been the only starting point from which the Evangelical conception of the Christ originated. The forms of Jewish feeling and ideas on moral and religious subjects, constituted the materials which the disciples had ready to their hands on the morning following the crucifixion, and out of which they created the conception of their Jesus. It could only have been from the already existing ideas that the myths had their rise. Indeed this must have been the case had the stories been forgeries, and had their authors *consciously* invented them. They must have been embodiments of the ideas and conceptions of their authors, and of the conceptions of their times on moral and religious subjects. The writer of fiction in all cases has his materials, which he is to work with, ready when he begins. He adopts the religion, the morality, and the manners of the times in which he lives. So it was with the mythologists. In inventing the myths which compose the Gospels, they worked with materials already existing, just as truly as Homer when he invented his heroes started with the heroic character, the theology, and the morals of his times. His different heroes are idealizations of the already recognized heroic type of character. It is certain then that the materials with which the mythologists worked could not possibly have been any thing different from the then prevailing forms of thought—the moral and religious ideas and conceptions already existing, and the models already furnished for their contemplation in their religious literature, and in the living characters of their own day. And therefore out of these, the impugners of the historical character of the Gospels who deny the reality of the supernatural, insist that Christianity was developed by the mere action of the laws which regulate the progress of the human

mind, and that, be it remembered, in a very brief period of time.

Now, the author contends that this position is utterly untenable, and his argument is reducible to these two propositions: first, that the interval which separates true Christianity and the portraiture of the Christ from the Jewish state of thought and feeling, out of which it is maintained that Christianity was evolved in the manner described, was immense, almost infinite; and secondly, that the laws which regulate developments in the spiritual and moral world are exceedingly slow in their operation. These are the two points of his argument. The reasoning by which he establishes both of these propositions is most convincing.

In order to demonstrate the truth of the first one, he carefully investigates the nature of the state of Jewish thought out of which Christianity is said to have emerged by the mere laws of natural development, devoting several chapters to the task. They treat of the following subjects: The preparations made in the Gentile world for the advent of Christianity; The preparations made by Providence for the introduction of Christianity through the developments of Judaism; Messianic conceptions in the Old Testament; The developments of the Messianic conception between the prophetic period and the advent; The developments of Judaism between the termination of the prophetic period and the advent; The limits of the influence which can be assigned to the historical Jesus in the creation of Christianity on the supposition of his purely human character.

The line of thought indicated by some of these titles has been traversed by Pressensé and various other writers, but not with any thing like the same completeness. On the subject of the Messianic conceptions in the Old Testament, the author sensibly remarks: "Certain Messianic delineations are contained in the Old Testament as matters of fact quite apart from the question as to what was the intention of the writer. The question for us to consider is, to what extent could such passages have suggested to the authors of the Gospels the portraiture of Jesus? It is evident that a prophecy may be one sufficiently clear after its fulfilment, which was previously ob-

scure. Such prophecies can only in a very limited sense be said to be developments in the direction of Christianity. If they required the advent of Christianity to make their meaning plain, they can have had little influence in creating it." Again: "We do not want to know what the prophets may mean with the light of Christianity reflected on them, but what they actually did mean to the Jew. . . The larger proportion of the Messianic Psalms contains delineations of the greatness and the holiness of the idealized David. There are also Psalms which idealize David, or the author who composed them, as a sufferer. Both these species of Psalms are directly referred to in the New Testament as prophetic. Their idealization is fulfilled in the character of the Jesus therein portrayed. When the reality is presented to us, we can see that in all its great outlines the type and the ante-type correspond. But this is no measure of the conception which the twofold delineation would produce in the mind of the Jew."

These remarks are obvious enough, but we by no means agree with him in all that he says in regard to the degree in which the Messianic predictions contain a delineation of the Jesus of the Gospels, for in the chapter in which the above remarks occur, he seeks to ascertain the degree in which they do this by examining—and the discussion is elaborate and most interesting—the most important of the Messianic passages contained in the Psalms and in the Prophets. It may be admitted that it is difficult for us to read the pages of the Old Testament with the eyes with which their authors, and those to whom the Old Testament Scriptures were addressed, must have viewed them. We cannot, it is true, avoid reflecting back on them the light which exists on the pages of the New Testament. Still, we are convinced that there is a much nearer resemblance to be found in the pages of the Old Testament to the New Testament delineations of our Lord than our author supposes to be the case; in other words that there is a larger amount of Messianic conception in the writings of the Old Testament than Mr. Row professes to be able to discover. But, however this may be, it is sufficiently apparent that these predictions would have afforded but little assistance to persons who set themselves to the work of portraying, from

the outline contained in them, the living Jesus of the Gospels. We take exception still more emphatically to much that he says in the chapter on the Judaism of the Old Testament. His language is quite too strong in regard to the low state of morals which, he insists, characterized the Jews in Mosaic times, and those of the Psalmists and the Prophets, and in regard to their want of benevolent feeling. The actual condition of these ages in regard to moral and religious attainments, Mr. Row, as it seems to us, greatly underrates. We have never met with a writer who goes to the same length in this respect. Here are a few examples of his extravagant language: "The high spirituality of the Psalmists did not succeed in liberating them from the effects of that moral atmosphere which they habitually breathed. Their morality was that of an Oriental, who was accustomed to pour out blood like water."—"In the eyes of the authors of the Psalms this present life formed the chief scene of the moral government of God. The masses probably entertained, as all other nations have done, some general ideas about an Under-World; but of no potency to enforce the principles of moral obligation."—"Nothing tends to give us a deeper impression of the low state of religion, for which primitive Judaism was adapted, than *the entire absence of any provision in the Mosaic institutes for a system of religious teaching.*"—"None of the eminent Jewish worthies ever withheld himself from a deed of blood. He saw nothing wrong in taking unsparing vengeance on his enemies, and destroying them without discrimination in the mass."—The close walk of the Psalmists with God "did not generate in their minds the feelings of humanity toward enemies. It is true that they usually viewed their enemies as the enemies of God, but this has been the case with every persecutor, even with a Dominic." The author will not find many reverent believers in the Bible who are prepared to coincide with him in these views. Certainly we are not. Nor are we ready to admit that Job, Hezekiah, and the Old Testament saints in general, were utterly ignorant of the doctrine of human immortality—were never visited with an idea respecting it.

Mr. Row speaks of the improvement or progress made by the Jews in their knowledge of truth, and their moral stand-

ard, in a way which exalts human reason in matters of religion, very much as rationalists are accustomed to exalt it. At least so it appears to us in reflecting upon the manner in which he handles the topics of some of the chapters whose titles we have just given. His idea seems to be that at first the profoundest ignorance prevailed in regard to certain truths in morals and religion; but that this darkness disappeared little by little, and thus without the aid of any supernatural revelation, the doctrine of the soul's immortality, and other truths which came to be received, gradually developed themselves, and finally, some time before the advent, constituted a part of the popular belief. This concession on the part of Mr. Row to Naturalism we cannot but regret. Our conviction is that certain fundamental truths were early revealed to man, and that they are assumed from the beginning of Scripture, and that these fundamental ideas of faith and morality, "constitute the basis and background of primary truth, from which the special revelations stand out as they come successively into view." His erroneous assumptions touching these matters do not, however, materially weaken the effect of his argument. Most clearly does he show how immense the interval is which lies between the state of thought out of which, as it is alleged, Christianity grew, and Christianity itself. The chapter on "The developments of Judaism between the prophetic period and the advent" is, with whatever faults it may have, able and interesting. It treats of the tendencies of Jewish thought and feeling as represented by the three great sects of Phariseeism, Sadduceeism, and Esseneism; and which were rapidly developing themselves in the direction of Rabbinism. In these tendencies we see the last phase of Judaism, which, although it was intensely adverse to the religion and morality exhibited in the person and teaching of our Lord, yet constituted the atmosphere in the midst of which Christianity originated. How can it be maintained that within a period of a few years the one grew out of the other in conformity with the action of the laws of human thought?

But in considering—for the purpose of showing the vast interval which separates Judaism from the Jesus of the Gospels—what the starting-point was from which the Evangelical

conception of the Christ must have originated, the influence of the supposed purely human character of the historical Jesus should be investigated. The author, therefore, in the thirteenth chapter of his book inquires into this influence. For the merely human Jesus of history, with the atmosphere of thought in which he was born and educated, constituted a part of the materials in the hands of his followers when they began their work of elaborating the conception of the divine Christ. But his examination of this subject our limits forbid us particularly to notice.

We will now attend to the author's discussion of the truth contained in the second proposition, that the laws which regulate developments in the mental and spiritual world are exceedingly slow in their operation. The chapter which he devotes to its consideration is entitled "The law of our religious and moral development."

It has already been shown that if the portraiture of the Jesus is an invention and not a reality, it must have originated in the state of Jewish ideas and feelings prevalent at the commencement of our era, and must have been evolved from them by a succession of growths. And these growths must have been regulated by the law of the development of the human mind. Suppose then that the interval is very great which separates the starting-point of the conception of the portraiture, from that portraiture in its full dimensions. Then it is evident that the laws of mental development ought to be very swift in their operation in order to render possible the bridging over that interval in a short period of time. If, on the contrary, all history teaches that those laws are exceedingly gradual and slow in their action, it follows that the supposition is absurd that the mythologists in their creations advanced, in a few years, from the point at which they must have started to the full and glorious conception of the Jesus who is portrayed in our Gospels. Now, that developments in the world of mind proceed by very gradual stages, the author proves by many illustrations. He points out the exceedingly gradual progress of philosophy and of art, and of the various religions of mankind, and shows that mythic creations must also follow a definite law of growth. The whole

chapter is worthy of being quoted, but our space forbids even an analysis of it. We cannot refrain, however, from presenting our readers with the following extract:—

"History does not present us with a single instance of an individual who has created a religion essentially new, or who has succeeded in extensively modifying the old. We pass over the question of the origin of Christianity as the direct subject of debate. Mohammedanism is the work of an individual, but it was evolved out of systems actually existing. It is no new creation. We can without difficulty ascertain its component parts and their relation to the past. It is exactly fitted to the state of the Arabian mind when it originated, and grew out of its idealization. Of every element not Arabian we can distinctly point out whence it came. The history of Mohammedanism is very important for our purpose, because its origin is not matter of speculation, but an historic fact. It proves that the professed author of a fresh revelation cannot disconnect himself either from the present or the past. All which he is able to effect is to exhibit existing materials in new combinations. He is surrounded by a moral and spiritual environment which binds him fast, and prevents him from being the creator of a new system of thought and feeling. The prophet's religion was an embodiment of the conceptions of his countrymen, enlarged by the introduction of such foreign elements as had been for a considerable period working in the national mind. . . . The different systems of historical Christianity have been the result of gradual growths. They have never been produced at once in their perfection. They have advanced through a succession of stages of development. They have required long intervals of time for their elaboration. Nicene Christianity took three centuries in completely evolving itself out of Apostolic Christianity. The full conception of the Theocratic church of the Middle Ages required even a longer period for its development. Christianity in its present forms has taken another three centuries to evolve itself out of that of the Reformation. Yet it will be hardly pretended that as large an interval separates either of them from the other, as that which lies between the most advanced form of Judaism, which was in existence at the advent, and the full conception of the Jesus of the Evangelists. If the progress of religious developments has been gradual, that of morality has been still more so. The powers of the imagination aid the former, but produce but little influence on the latter. The morality of each succeeding generation is bound to that of the past by the strongest bond of continuity. History presents us with no great moral reformer who has succeeded in stamping a new morality on his age and nation, and scarcely with one who has recalled it to an older and better type. Nor does she exhibit to us instances of individuals who have elevated themselves to a state of morality far above the atmosphere which they have breathed. She testifies to the fact that all progress in the moral world of an advancing character is effected by a succession of very gradual stages, although the movements in the direction of deterioration have been far more rapid. Even when higher types of morality have been introduced from external sources, although the general conscience may have recognized their superiority, the previous moral conditions have retained their hold."

We have now taken a brief view of the argument on which the author has bestowed the most labor. The law which the Creator has imposed on the human mind as the law of its action and progress would render necessary, in order to the development of the portraiture of the Evangelical Christ, *out of the previously existing state of Jewish thought*, a period of time, in comparison with which the time which the mythologists really had at their command was an infinitesimal quantity. He truly says, that "physical speculators stand in a far more favorable position than the advocates of the unhistorical character of the Gospels do, for imparting to their theories an appearance of probability. If they wish to elaborate a man out of an ape, or a piece of sponge, an interval of one hundred million years may easily be conceded to them, or, if necessary, the period may be multiplied indefinitely." The proof is complete, and its force impresses the reader much more than would be supposed, from the account which we have given of it. It occupies seven chapters of the book, the titles of which we have already given. Together with the last four they furnish a valuable thesaurus of Messianic argument. The subjects treated in the last four chapters are as follows: "The limits of the period which authentic history assigns as that during which the conception of the mythical Christ must have been created and developed in its fulness;" "The evidence afforded by the Epistles for the early existence of the portraiture of the Christ;"* "The nature and character of the mythic Gospels;" "Features of the Gospels which are inconsistent with the supposition of their unhistorical character."

In the first five chapters of the volume the author, as has been seen, examines the Evangelical portraiture of the Christ, just as it is, in its completed state, and assuming that so much of it as is supernatural is a pure invention, he pointed out the

* We have already alluded to the argument of this admirable chapter in a former part of this article. Professor Fisher, of Yale College Theological Seminary, in the Introduction to the new edition of his "Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity," refers to it as satisfactorily showing that some of the Pauline Epistles presuppose a character and work accordant with what the Gospels relate of Jesus

insurmountable difficulties (in view of the problems which would have had to be solved) which must have encircled those persons who were engaged in its creation. In the two chapters, the fourteenth and fifteenth, entitled, "The Jesus of the Gospels no mythical creation," and "The moral aspects of our Lord's character an historical reality," he reverses the process. Supposing the mythologists to be about to commence their work, he begins with them, accompanying them closely in all their way as they proceed, and fixes the attention of his readers on the tremendous obstacles which must impede their progress at every step. Nothing can be more dispassionate, more careful, nor more searching than the reasoning of these two chapters, which, together, occupy nearly sixty pages of the book. And some of the paragraphs have a special interest for the contemplative mind which takes delight in reflecting upon the majesty and beauty of our Lord's character. But of the contents of these chapters, as well as of those of the last four alluded to, we must omit all notice. We will conclude our article by briefly considering the argument of the twelfth chapter, entitled, "The portraiture of Christ, as it is depicted by the four Evangelists, constitutes an essential unity."

In this chapter he proves its historical character from the fact of this unity. Mr. Row is of opinion that the numerous instances of diversity and agreement in three of the Evangelical narratives prove that they are the work of many minds. He believes that the Synoptic Gospels which are so remarkably characterized by these phenomena underwent a considerable amount of oral transmission, or in other words, that there was at first an oral Gospel for a considerable length of time; that parts of this oral Gospel were then reduced to writing; and that of this Gospel which was partly oral and partly had been reduced to writing, the Synoptics are three different reports. During the moderately long period in which the Gospel was in an oral form, a large number of distinct human personalities and human agencies were employed in its transmission, and in this way the Synoptics came to be the work of many persons. He strenuously maintains that this is the only explanation of the singular discrepancies which we discover in

the different Evangelists, united, as they frequently are, with the closest verbal agreements. The variations were introduced in the course of the transmission. "The vast amount of diversity," he says, "which our Gospels present us with, both in their form and aspect, constitutes a proof which is absolutely irresistible, that they are the work of a multiplicity of minds. No single mind, nor even several minds, could have constructed four histories, which could have contained the agreements and disagreements, the samenesses and variations, which are presented by our Gospels." *

The argument then is, that if we find that the portraiture of the Jesus is a perfect unity in all the aspects in which it is depicted, then, inasmuch as it is the work of a multiplicity of minds acting without concert, this unity proves the truthfulness of the portraiture, or that it is the portraiture of one who had an historical existence. Under such circumstances, the assumption of its truthfulness is absolutely necessary to account for its oneness, whereas its oneness cannot possibly be explained if a multitude of men working without concert *invented* it. The advocates of the mythic theory as to the origin of the portrait, also postulate a multitude of persons for its production, but they have no way of explaining its unity, for they decry its truthfulness. They may indeed contend that there was no unity in the various conceptions of the original portrayers of the Evangelical Christ but on the contrary irreconcilable diversities, and they may insinuate that when the four Evangelists undertook to write their narratives they effaced the diversities and imparted to the Jesus a certain degree of unity. But the answer to this is, that the unity underlying all and the minutest portions of the narratives is of such a character as to show that it was inherent in the numerous fictions out of which the Gospels were composed, and if this was the case they were not fictions.

As, then, the nature of Mr. Row's argument in this chapter

* In the October number of this Review, for 1848, there is a very interesting article from the pen of Dr. J. A. Alexander entitled. "The Gospel History." In the course of the article he gives the hypotheses of Eichhorn, Schleiermacher, Giesler, and Hug of Freyburg, by means of which they attempt to account for the resemblance and difference of the Gospels without denying the veracity of either.

in proof of his position that the Divine man, instead of being an ideal creation, was a reality, of which each Evangelist has given a portrait taken from a somewhat different point of view, requires him to establish the fact that a substantial unity underlies the whole portraiture; he proceeds to show, with his characteristic fulness and conclusiveness of reasoning, that the Jesus of the Gospels does present us with a substantial unity in all the multiform aspects in which the Evangelists hold him up to our view.

Now in regard to all this, we would remark, 1. That it is to be regretted that in connection with Mr. Row's method of accounting for the diversities which we discover in the Gospels, viz., that they are the work of a multiplicity of minds, he makes the hurtful concession that they contain some real discrepancies or inaccuracies of historical statement. He holds an unsound theory of inspiration. These concessions are more clearly and expressly made in the last chapter of his book, where he shows that the Gospels fulfil the historical conditions on which they are based. Whether the Synoptics are compared with each other or with the fourth Gospel, it cannot be proved that any statement contained in one is really inconsistent with any which is made in the others. 2. There are certainly apparent disagreements in the four narratives. It is very probable that there was at first an oral Gospel, but there are other methods for satisfactorily accounting for these apparent variations besides the one which the author maintains that it is necessary for us to adopt. We should probably be able to explain most of them by distinguishing between mere juxtaposition in the record, and immediate chronological succession. 3. Mr. Row's argument is, that if we assume that many persons were engaged in the production of the Gospels, each acting independently of the other, then the fact that the portraiture in its multiform aspects is a perfect unity, proves that it belonged to one who really existed. But the unity is at least an argument against the *mythic* theory whether the Gospels are supposed really to be the work of many minds or not. That theory is, that all the parts of the portraiture were the creations of the imagination of an immense number of Christ's deluded followers. As the inventors of the myths

which compose the Gospels were many, the mythic stories were numerous. And they owed their existence to the spontaneous powers of the mind, "acting not in obedience to reason but to impulse." They had the most difficult problems to solve. Each mythic story consisted of a small fragment of a character. Each mythologist went on creating fictions independently of all the others. And these inventions, produced in the manner described, united together, resulted in the production of the glorious portrait which we have presented to us in the Evangelical Gospels. Now, if this is propounded as an account of the origin of the portraiture, it is sufficiently refuted when it is shown that that portraiture is a unity. It is self-evident that "a complicated unity could never be evolved" by means of a succession of such creations as these. If, therefore, we explain the variations in the Gospel by some other method than that which Mr. Row adopts, and refuse to admit with him that many persons were the authors of them the argument against the mythic theory founded on the complicated unity of the portraiture still has force.

With these comments on the chapter which treats of the essential unity of the portraiture of the Evangelical Jesus, we must bring our review of this able and interesting book to a close Of some of its chapters we have only been able to give the titles. It has been our desire to enable our readers to form some idea of both the compass and the thoroughness of the author's argument. We should rejoice to see an American reprint of the work. It cannot have a wide circulation without doing much toward settling the controversy to which it relates.

## Art. VI.—*China as affected by Protestant Missions.*

The subject divides itself under three heads. 1st. China; 2d. The commerce and civilization of that great empire; and 3d. What the missionary has done to bring it prominently before this country and the world. China is in the same latitude with us, having similar varieties of climate. As we have the Atlantic, so they have the Pacific ocean. As we have thirty-eight States, so they are divided into eighteen provinces. As the State of Massachusetts has its own notions and peculiarities that differ much from those of South Carolina, so these provinces have their peculiarities, and we study them in whole and in parts. As we have governors, so they have viceroys; but these rule two provinces. As we have a few first-class cities, so they number theirs by hundreds, if not by thousands. As we have forty millions, so they have nearly four hundred millions, and are about ten times as populous.

We propose to speak of the greatness of China, under different heads. China is great in her antiquity. Founded before Nineveh or Egypt, she still exists. Before Romulus built the walls of Rome, before Samuel anointed Saul to be king over Israel, she was a vastly-extended, mighty empire. Her records reach back four thousand years. Before Columbus was born, a canal twelve hundred miles long was finished. Their great wall, covered with granite, has been built twenty centuries. While we Americans were barbarians—before the days of Alfred the Great—while our ancestors were savages, the merest plebeians of China were clothed in silks and satins. Visited by Marco Polo in 1250, the first European traveller who ever saw them, and who told about their civilization, their silks, their porcelains, and their wonderful cities, he was pronounced insane and the greatest liar of his age. It is only lately we have recognized him as a truthful traveller. Then China is great and almost unrivalled among nations in her age and antiquity.

She is also great in her discoveries. The fruit of her genius, science, and investigation. Secluded from the world, she

studied them out alone. Printing, gunpowder, the mariner's compass, porcelain, the making of paper, india-ink to stamp it—such discoveries would make any nation proud, and immortalize any people. Printing on wooden blocks she invented in the year 177 of the Christian era; we invented printing in 1450. In the eighth century she had fifty-three thousand old, and twenty-eight thousand new works in her public library. The mariner's compass, without which America could not have been discovered, or our nation have any existence, we owe to China. A people making such great and useful discoveries so early must be a great and interesting people.

She is also great in her manufactories. Her silk fabrics she invented as original, and in beauty, durability, and excellence they cannot be equalled or surpassed. Hundreds of years later they were made in France and Italy, but these cannot compare with those of China. The Queen's diamond must be cut in Holland, and yet the art was well known in China for centuries. Their tissue paper, out of rice, cannot be made by us, and no substitute for india-ink has been discovered. Untaught and alone they studied these out. Except the steam-engine and electric telegraph, there is no great invention they did not originate. Then they can compare favorably with the polished nations of the world in manufactures.

China is likewise great in her system of internal improvements, and in this (steam excepted) excels most nations. They have easy and free intercourse through all the empire, and have had for hundreds of years. Napoleon's road over the Alps is the wonder of modern engineering, and yet they have roads over the Himalaya Mountains equalling the Simplon road over the Alps. They have two thousand canals, the great highways of travel, which serve also for irrigating and draining. Their agriculture is the best in the world. For hundreds of years they have been using the same land, supporting an immense population, and yet the soil is richer than ever. We boast much of our virgin soil, but it cannot surpass theirs. They have a bridge of granite at Fouchow, eight hundred years old. Here many of our bridges break down. If such a thing happens in China they bastinado the builder. All these works were built and in complete operation while the dark ages

lowered over Europe, and the civilized nations of France, Germany, and England bowed to priest and Pope, and monkish processions and worshipping old bones and relics were the earnest occupation of multitudes in polished Christian Europe. Certainly the contrast in civilization is in many points in favor of China.

Great in her system of laws and languages. The great Roman empire in her palmiest days numbered 250,000,000; China exceeds 400,000,000. The Pandects of Justinian, the great law code of the Romans, so highly eulogized by Gibbon, was made late in the empire. The laws of China were codified 2,000 years ago. These laws, examined by the ablest British jurists, and commented on by the *Edinburgh Review*, are pronounced the wisest and best of Asia, and will compare most favorably with the laws of the most civilized nations. These laws are revised every five years. This fact proves the Chinese not to be the stereotyped nation they are so often represented to be. In China they all read the same language. As the Roman empire was consolidated by the use of the Latin tongue and ours by the use of the English language, so China has preserved her empire and nationality by similar means. In these respects the comparison is not unfavorable for China

Great, too, in her literary system; and in this they excel other nations. Popular education is more general, and the social structure, tested and tried through centuries, is more firmly established than in any other nation. All public offices are opened to graduates *alone*, without distinction of birth, nationality, or creed, and *intelligence* is the only legalized passport to office. The emperor is supreme, and yet the law binds him so that only *literary graduates* can be appointed to office. Compare this with England, France, or favored democratic America, and the palm must be awarded to China.

Great is she in her commercial advantages—an unrivalled system of internal communication—an immense, ingenious, active, and laborious people—a healthy climate—a sea-coast of several hundred miles in extent—a tonnage equal to that of England, France, or America. Her merchants—shrewd business men—coming in contact with English, French, and Americans, fully equal them. The rich men scattered up and

down through Asia are largely Chinese. As diplomats, as merchants, the universal testimony is—they are active, shrewd, sagacious men.

What is the present state of China? As we in America, in our late war, extinguished many abuses and abolished slavery, so these Chinese, by their last European war, have done the same thing, freed themselves in a measure from the exclusive domination of an idolatrous religion. Now all religions are free, and Christianity is tolerated throughout the empire. The Radicals are in power. The uncle of the emperor and the leading viceroys side with and favor the foreigners. The cabinet of the emperor will compare favorably with the cabinets of France, England, or America. They have established a national college at Pekin; a naval school like our Newport; and a military school like West Point. All these institutions are under the control of foreigners, principally British and Americans. In China they have no tolls upon their canals and bridges. Let Americans think of this, overridden by so many and mighty monopolies. They have no banks, no paper money. They have an income of three hundred and nineteen millions; in this being fourth on the globe. They have no *public debt*, though they have had many wars and internal commotions. Would that our civilized financiers could discover the secret. Taxes are very light. With our vast debt and enormous taxes, let us ponder this. There is a land with *no debt* and *light taxes*, and that land is China. Here is a study for financiers of England, France, and America.*

The missionary! Who gave us true knowledge of this wonderful land? The missionary of the cross. Need we speak of the labors, the talents, the sacrifices of as noble a body of men as earth ever saw in modern times, rivalling and equalling the labors, talents, and sacrifices of Apostolic days? We cannot mention all: Morrison was the first apostle. He arrived in 1807,—for several long years he studied, toiled,

* The secret, as we believe, of there being no national debt is explained by the fact that when any debt is contracted by the government it is immediately paid, often by exorbitant levies on the people. Instead of a system of regular taxes, there is in vogue a system which sanctions much extortion at irregular times.—EDITOR.

translated, but in 1814 he brought out the first printed Chinese copy of the Holy Bible. He was assisted by an old manuscript copy found in the British Museum, and by an enlightened Chinese scholar, his first convert. A shrewd energetic, money-making company of East Indian merchants, who never paid out money except for value received, recognized Morrison's services. They helped him publish his Chinese grammar, paid £15,000 to publish his dictionary, and made him Secretary of the Company. *These books* are the foundation of the chief commercial intercourse of France, England, and America with China—the recognized dialect or version of the China trade. All honor then throughout Christendom to Morrison the pioneer of the Christian world to the commerce, the Christianity, and civilization of China.

What do we know about China? We take down the *Chinese Repository* from 1833 to 1851, edited by Dr. Bridgman, and ably followed by G. Wells Williams, author of the "Middle Kingdom," a name long favorably connected with the Chinese Empire. A practical printer, he made great improvements and simplified the process; a ripe and a thorough scholar, his services as interpreter of our various embassies in Japan and in China were invaluable to us.* Without war or bloodshed we obtained equal rights with France and England in 1859 and, as a reward, our government honored themselves by appointing Mr. Williams Secretary of Legation to China. America made a deep and lasting impression, and China has intrusted her fortunes to, and asked to be introduced to the family of Christian nations by our American Burlingame. Williams sowed the seed. Burlingame is the ripened fruit. *The American Missionary brought about that treaty.* Mr. Burlingame said he owed more to Williams than to any other man. The 22d of February Washington was born. The 22d of February witnessed the death of Anson Burlingame, the statesman and diplomatist of America. His career was unique and honorable. A true American, and yet his mind comprehended the genius of that wonderful empire. In him

* We have good evidence that Dr. Martin was also interpreter for the English and American embassies.—EDITOR.

was centred a rare combination of talents. Who can take his place and complete his unfinished work?

Again the missionary looms up before us. A new imperial college at Pekin must be established. Emancipated from Confucius, the best teachers must be given them. Dr. Martin, the missionary, is the man selected. A converted Chinaman has charge of the foundry and West Point school at Shanghai, and another convert directs the naval school at Fouchow. Euclid translated into Chinese by another missionary, Dr. Wylie, is the text-book of the school.

Rev. Dr. Hepburn, the missionary, and a thorough Japanese scholar, after several years of hard work, has just completed his dictionary of Japanese and English words. The first edition of 1,200 copies was soon exhausted, 300 copies being specially ordered by the Japanese government for the use of their scholars and officials. This work is printed at the mission press at Shanghai, brought there by Williams. On this work is founded our commercial intercourse with Japan. To Dr. Morrison, in China, Dr. Hepburn, in Japan, both Christian missionaries, the commercial world owes the foundation of our commerce with these important countries.* Do we not, however, in honesty owe a great debt to the missionary, and shall we be backward in acknowledging it?

Again, the Japanese government has established a national school at Jeddo, the capital, for their youth to be instructed in Japanese and English. Mr. Verbeck, another missionary, is at the head of that department, and has a class of 250 pupils. The Japanese government pay his salary, give him a house in which he resides, and furnish him a guard of honor. Martin in China, Verbeck in Japan, both missionaries, both at the head of the national schools in their respective capitals. The American missionary is giving into the hands of our merchants the prized commerce of the continent of Asia. The Christian missionary is the pioneer of the com-

* We do not, indeed, forget that long before the time of Morrison or Hepburn the Dutch and Portuguese had a considerable trade with China and Japan. The medium of communication between the merchants and the natives is not exclusively the Chinese or Japanese as learned from Morrison or Hepburn, but likewise a corrupt form of the English.—EDITOR.

merce, Christianity, and civilization of Asia. Shall they not have the credit of it? Let us now attend to the reflex action of China upon our own country. Will the Chinese prove the solution of the labor question?

The mineral question concerns us all. With a plentiful supply of gold and silver the financial question becomes an easier problem. Gold and silver being plenty, a stream is started that will vivify and fertilize the most barren parts of every land. The foreign mineral lands are mostly owned by England, France, Prussia, Austria, Italy. Those classic lands, however, hardly equal the territory of our mineral lands. What a precious heritage providence has bestowed upon us? Are we equal to the responsibility? Time will test the wisdom of our policy. Silver, quicksilver, wedded together, each is necessary, indispensable, for the other. Our quicksilver, ten times richer than any other mine, destroying the great monopoly of Spain, cheapens the price, and stimulates to a wonderful extent the product of the South American mines. Graphite also is ours, the indispensable necessity of the crucible to melt the silver and the gold, indestructible by fire, and not absorbing the precious metal. Did ever Providence give so grand a possession to any nation? The extent of territory—903,000 square miles—population, 780,000—not one person to a square mile. The same extent of country in Europe has a population of 150,000,000 of people. The great want is population. Can our native population supply the demand? By no means. We want a large number immediately, and an inexhaustible source of supply. Whence shall it come? China—China alone can meet the demand. Nature has formed them for these very services. Physically formed, they safely breathe the impure air of mines and subterranean passages, where other races faint and perish. A people distinguished for their patient industry, they have learned to toil. They have made their country a garden spot, and enriched it beyond all other lands. They have a great genius for steady work and unfailing perseverance. We need a docile, quiet, inoffensive race, not afraid or ashamed to work, and here we have them. They ask no political favors, and do not seek to be our legislators and rulers. They have learned

stability at home and they like a strong orderly government. They are an educated people, and venerate learning. The poorest coolie can often read and write. Now for the application. They are anxious, begging for hard work. Our people are restless, and wish to avoid it. They work at the mines all day and are satisfied with eight dollars a week. Our people grumble and pass on to richer diggings at twenty-eight dollars a week. They come and glean and obtain a competency after our populace have decided they must move or starve. Quartz mining is inexhaustible, and yet our people, recklessly extravagant, have already wasted $300,000,000. Certainly the time has come for a new system, for a slow, plodding, but not a reckless people. We need the silver and the gold, our currency and fiscal operations plead strongly for it. Shall we neglect the gift that Providence has provided for us? But there is a bitter prejudice against this Mongolian race. Let us heed our lesson. Such prejudices must succumb.

The want of good household servants is a great and deplorable evil. For every disease, however, Providence provides the remedy, and often summons human ingenuity to work out the problem. When hand labor was too expensive, God provided machinery; when sewing-girls were exhausted, the machine took their place. The mails are not rapid enough, and we use the telegraph. So in the present case the Chinese, possessing all the qualities of good servants, are at our door, begging,—not with brazen look and arrogant manner, as too many are, demanding employment. They are good cooks, the best in the world, the French excepted. They will obey orders to the letter and spirit. They work all day, and are satisfied with moderate wages—who says all this? The Pacific Mail Company from San Francisco to China employ only Chinese—Chinese sailors, cooks, waiters. They speak in the highest terms of their honesty, sobriety, faithfulness. Passengers passing over that route give the same unvarnished testimony. San Francisco, California, tells the same tale. For fifty cents they do more work and better than those who charge one dollar for it. A friend, for years in business in China, has employed Chinese servants. His statement is this: "I have been very sick; no female could have nursed

me more tenderly than this Chinese servant—very fastidious, no woman could have better ironed my shirts or made my linen whiter—fond of good living, no cook could have prepared better or more palatable dishes—always at hand, ready, good-natured, willing; no money, no motive could tempt me to part with him." A friend, used to the best comforts of life in the East, and interested in the silver mines of Nevada, says that he wanted no better cook or attention than he received from his Chinese attendant. Rev. Dr. A. L. Stone says the Chinese make the best kind of help. They adopt at once any new habit desired, are clean and competent; always respectful, and never seem tired out. They never steal, nor do they have company. The testimony of several of the best Spanish families in New York is, that the Chinese excel all other servants. They use and much prefer them for all kinds of work. Their family attachments are strong, and they do not wish to change. Such testimony must be conclusive to all unprejudiced minds.

In conclusion let us learn the lessons of history. The nations that despised the barbarians fell. Greece was the classic land, the mother of the arts and sciences, the promoter of commerce, the instructor of antiquity, and yet proud, and despising the barbarian. She fell before the power of Rome. Rome took her place and strode over a prostrate world. She ruled with an imperious sway. Overbearing, haughty, she despised the barbarian and before that terrible horde her imperial sway perished. All men are our brothers, all are co-laborers with us in the emancipation of the world. We pass over the ocean, tell China she belongs to the brotherhood of nations, and her open ports and valuable commerce will be our rich reward. Christianity must triumph. With all her faults America is the grand Protestant nation of the world, and we are rising up to our true position. We no longer wrangle about minor matters, and the hosts of our Christian ranks are becoming united. A stronger bond of religion and fellowship awaits us. Our money is poured out like water for noble and charitable objects. The missionary is better understood and more highly appreciated. Closely united by commerce, by telegraph with other lands, our missionary friends

and children are not beyond our reach. A strong united government at home, we speak, and Turkey, India, China, know that we are a power upon the earth. The bright cross appears in the heavens, "*in hoc signo vinces.*" A greater than Constantine is marching to universal conquest, and under our immaculate king, a universal Christian empire will surely prevail.*

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Art. VII.—*The American Colleges and the American Public.* By Noah Porter, D. D., Professor in Yale College. New Haven, Conn.: Charles Chatfield & Co.

Education is a work consisting of several stages, which necessarily differ greatly from one another. It includes all that is due to the culture and direction of all the mental and bodily powers of children, of youth, and of men and women, as well as their equipment for professional life. The style of teaching which is best for a child may be unsuitable for the boy of fifteen or sixteen; and the young man between twenty and twenty-five has reached by natural growth a stage at which he is less capable of profiting by drill, and better prepared to apprehend abstractions and generalizations, and to organize practical knowledge.

Obvious as this fact must seem when mentioned, the overlooking of it has occasioned the principal difficulties in both the theory and practice of education. One plan treats children at school on the principles suited to the college; another carries the methods of the school into the treatment of young men; and a third confounds school, college, and university in one. Objections may be raised to the distinctive use of these names, and many will make no difference

* Our readers will judge how far any part of the foregoing article needs qualifying in the light of the Tientsin massacre, the authentic details of which have been received since it was in type. A masterly description and analysis of that barbarous slaughter, by Dr. Martin, of China, has been published in a late number of the *New York Evangelist.*

between school and college, and cover the whole course of education by the one word—school. But where there are real distinctions, corresponding names are indispensable to the proper ends of language. Common usage has, in the main, so appropriated these. And a right understanding of the duties of an instructor depends very much upon the correctness with which he discriminates their respective meanings. The slackness so commonly complained of in preparatory schools in this country is chiefly due to their aiming at what does not belong to them to do, and to a great extent neglecting, or going through in a perfunctory manner with their proper work, and hurrying on to carry their pupils into the sophomore or junior classes in college, to the spoiling of half the college course, as well as the whole of their own. Similar is the injury done by young men to themselves in their attempting, as some do, to carry on professional studies, while in college. Order, that first law of heaven, and which ought to be the first of human culture, is in no other serious business of life so much neglected. In nothing else have the recent improvements in normal and model schools been of more value than in the stress which they lay upon order. Every part of instruction has its best use in its proper place: and all together may be rendered worse than useless by being put into improper places. Many of the difficulties encountered by theorists arise from the attempt to regulate all steps of the process by one measure.

Greater progress might have been made toward a proper distribution of the work had successive generations been more careful to study the experience of the *past*. Amid the efforts for improvement, which so commendably distinguish the present, there is still too little regard paid to that earnest but much neglected witness. Experiments are made, and fail, and are forgotten, and are tried over again, to fail again and be forgotten, and again mislead some future experimenter. What are some of those great heterogeneous enterprises of which, as if they were novelties, extravagant expectations are now entertained, but the reproduction of what, in a more spontaneous way, grew up, flourished, and failed, hundreds of years ago.

Science records her progress and her failures, and carefully retains knowledge of all, for warning and encouragement, as well as for steps to higher success. Why should education stumble along, with the ruins of her own failures about her feet, with no other idea in her mind than that of reconstructing the same; or why launch out into chimerical enterprises without regard to the results of bygone experiments? History alone can make a plain man a prophet. Within certain limits what has been will be. In the material world the rule is positive and precise; and in human nature also there are laws which may be relied on. There are experiments which have been made so often that they need not be tried again. It has been abundantly proved that the memory will not execute the office of the understanding, that you cannot make philosophers without knowledge, that a disorderly mind will not do orderly work, and that men can no more perform the intellectual processes of children than children can rise to the capacity of men; and yet, in how many of our institutions for education do we find all these things overlooked, and that to the greatest extent in those which are most daring in novelty as most boastful of improvement. The way by which reasonably to expect progress is that of cautious, carefully tested improvement upon the old. And what is needed is not so much addition to the subjects now studied, as to have them set apart, better classified, and adapted to the state of mental preparation for them. The best results of experiment are to be found where one would most naturally look for them, in the old institutions, which have not failed to appreciate the spirit of the age. In them, among many admitted crudities, there is really a stem of traditional progress from age to age, which is for the better. There is a solidity and healthy vitality in them, which is due to the freshness of the new being ever sustained by union with the tried stability of the old. It is a long and interesting way by which that position has been reached. The whole of modern education is the outgrowth of mediæval schools, which were in most respects very unlike it. And much as has latterly been said and done (and in some cases well done) for taking education out of the hands of the church, yet for

both its planting and culture, through many succeeding centuries it was chiefly indebted to the church.

Heathen schools in the Roman Empire disappeared with heathen religion. All that Christians respected in their teaching was transferred to the schools of the church. With the decline and fall of the civil power in the West, the purity and intelligence and energy of the church also suffered. The time came when the end of the world was thought to be so near that it was not worth while to expend thought upon education or any thing else which pertained only to time. Little was studied except what was of use in the service of the church, and, as time advanced toward the tenth century, very little was the amount deemed necessary for that.

One or two extraordinary men in the ninth century, especially Charlemagne on the Continent, and Alfred in England, made some improvements in the schools, which, although they had little immediate effect, lay as seed in the ground, preserving their vitality for a more genial season. And when the thousandth anniversary of the Saviour's Passion had passed over, and the earth was found to continue her former round of seasons, to be as firm to the foot, and as little like burning up or falling to pieces as before, the nations of the West began to recover from the paralysis which had long rested upon them. The schools, which had diminished in numbers, and been reduced to the baldest rudiments of instruction, began to partake of the general intellectual quickening. Dreary was the nature of the education given in their classes, and lightened only by its scantiness. Improvement was at first not undertaken there. But in connection with some schools, oral lessons were given on the theological questions of the day, which created a new interest in the minds of the pupils. For a time primary education continued in the same depressed condition, while the interest in the lectures increased. Youth crowded to hear lectures, without being properly qualified to profit by them. Of course that was an incongruity which could not long exist. The practical difficulties involved constrained attention to its remedy.

In the course of the twelfth century more thorough attention was given to the use of the means of instruction then possessed, by a vastly increased number of students; and ere the end of it, additions were made to the studies, especially in the departments of logic and mathematics, by importation from the Moorish schools of Spain. The value of the lectures and the range which they took grew proportionately. Both lecturer and pupil rose to a higher level and to broader views, as they were prepared and sustained by the disciplinary classes. Still the lectures were the attraction of the schools, and both supplied the demand for intellectual culture and incited to it. The lecturers were the intellectual heroes of Europe, who were the first to awaken the hitherto dormant energies of the young nations. The only subject of which they treated was theology; but from only debating occasional topics of present interest they in course of time expanded their grasp to take in the whole field. Arid and shallow, their treatment was minute and orderly in its superficial divisions and classification, and was perhaps the better intellectual gymnastic for those times, that it had only the semblance of profundity.

The Latin church had come into the inheritance of a large share of the Western authority of Imperial Rome; and every question of popular interest was concerned with her practice or dogmas; and the lecturers, for the most part, occupied themselves with their defence and exposition. In return, the schools were sustained by the church, and many ecclesiastics and pious laymen of wealth devoted their labors and much of their property to the improvement and extension of the means of instruction. Thus, they were constituted charitable institutions, and that system was created whereby college education has continued to this day to be furnished at a price so far below what it costs.

In the old cathedral and conventual schools the person who had charge of the preliminary branches was called the *scholasticus*, and the teacher of theology, the *theologus*. That course went no further, and some of the poorer institutions had only the preparatory part. Hence the common name scholastic.

In a few places, youth were brought together by the reputation of illustrious teachers of law, as at Bologna, in Italy, or

of medicine, as at Salerno and Montpelier, constituting schools less directly under control of the church.

Consequently there were, in the first instance, two classes of great schools, the theological and the scientific. In course of time, however, the theological universities adopted also the faculties of law and of medicine, and theology was introduced into Bologna.

By such means there were assembled at some seats of learning, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such numbers of students as find no parallel in any universities of the present day. For youth were there in all grades of preparation for all the professions then in existence.

With increase of numbers, regularity of classification and description became more imperative. Students were arranged, or arranged themselves, according to the houses in which they lodged, every such house having its own internal government, and all the houses, departments of study, and stages of progress were grouped together under one head of general legislation by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; and the term *universitas* was applied to the corporation embracing the whole.

A few such seats of learning made more illustrious name than the rest, and reached maturity sooner. Paris and Oxford stood highest, or were the most numerously attended; but all were on the same general plan. In the thirteenth century they had reached the completeness of their type, and the full tide of prosperity.

The plan of the mediæval university was determined by the incidental or casual way in which it had grown up. It was simply the aggregate of all the departments taught and of all the different stages of progress in education as conducted in one city, from the primary school up to the Doctor's degree. Being the result of successive additions to the common school, without the guidance of any preconcerted design, it was still only an aggregate upon the same original basis. Oxford was at once the chief grammar school of England, the great free school for the poor, the seat of liberal culture, and of professional education, for students of theology, and, in its best days, also of law and of medicine.

The routine of school study had consisted of two series: one literary, containing grammar, logic, and rhetoric; the other scientific, divided into four branches, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Upon this *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* the whole structure of liberal culture rose, by gradual insertion of successive improvements, and development of their internal substance. In the first instance the literary course outran the scientific, and out of the zealous prosecution, especially of its logic, grew that systematic and dialectic theology which has been called the scholastic; and formed itself into the special work of the theological faculty.

Both courses, as latterly matured, constituted the department of Arts, the work of another faculty. Upon the introduction of law and medicine two new faculties were formed, one of which had its affinities most intimately with the scientific course, thereby leading to the improvement and enhancing the estimate of the *Quadrivium*, as a branch of the arts. Thus arose, by gradual combination and necessary segregation of elements, the four faculties of arts, of theology, of law, and of medicine. *Facultas* signifying, in those days, the ability to teach in any one branch, was applied also to "the authorized teachers of it collectively."

In respect to their internal government, those institutions exhibited a strange anomaly in their times, being more or less republican. The University of Bologna was a corporation of students assembled for the purpose of attending upon the instructions of certain eminent teachers of law resident in that city; and its earliest statutes were compacts entered into by the students for mutual support and assistance. They elected their own officers, and maintained their own order. The University of Paris, on the other hand, was an association of teachers connected with the schools in that city. Such was also the foundation at Oxford. But much of the democratic spirit of the Italian universities prevailed in both, which regarded the body of teachers and students as a *Demos*. That spirit extended to others which followed the example of their constitution.

Mediæval universities, as a whole, formed a community among themselves, speaking a common tongue, the Latin,

having a common occupation, recognizing the authority of one church, and united with the stronger attachment to each other, that they were separated from the people of the different countries in which they were planted. The universities of Paris and of Oxford, were not properly French and English respectively; they belonged to the church. Paris was as free to English scholars as Oxford was to Frenchmen, or to scholars from any nation professing the Western Catholic creed; and students migrated sometimes from one to the other by thousands.

A great change came upon the mediæval universities in course of the revival of learning and the Reformation. Toward the middle of the fourteenth century, the scholastic philosophy began to decline, and the revival of classical learning to enlist that zeal of youth which had so long been absorbed by the war of dialectics. But the universities were slow to admit the classics to a place in their course of study; and youth in large numbers sought and found the instruction which they demanded elsewhere, and by other means. Thus while knowledge became more extensive and more common, the attendance upon the universities fell off. The classics ultimately vindicated their place in the department of Arts, and greatly enlarged the resources of the *Trivium*, and in course of time effected a change which overthrew the dynasty of scholasticism.

As the sixteenth century dawned, most of the universities could present eminent professors teaching the liberal views and improved scholarship of the time, and even broaching the question of reforming the church. That again prepared another ordeal through which the universities had to pass. It was within their halls that the great Reformation began, that its first controversies were waged, and its first heroes did battle. By them had so large a part of the Christian world been prepared to accept that revolution, and out of their lecture-rooms stepped the men who conducted the popular movement and sustained it. From the University of Paris came the demand for Papal reform, as early as the Council of Constance; in the University of Oxford, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, did John Wyckliffe commence the war

upon long persistent abuses; the University of Basel led the way to reformation in Switzerland; in the University of Wittenberg, Luther and Melancthon were professors; from that of Paris went forth Farel and Viret and Calvin; in the universities of England were prepared the theologians of the reign of Edward VI., and there did Bucer and Peter Martyr find refuge; and in the University of St. Andrews did the Scotch reformation open its career and offer up its first martyr, and there were equipped for their work and their suffering Hamilton, Buchanan, and Knox. The Reformation was, under Providence, emphatically the offspring of the universities; and most of them suffered severely from the conflict which it involved. It was inevitable that the seat of war should be most deeply agitated by the strife. And when the combatants emerged into peace at its close, it was to find themselves broken and divided, some having triumphed and held their ground on the side of reformation, and others driven back toward the position of the Middle Ages. Yet the work effected proved for the benefit of all. Enlarged and more generally enlightened intellect was applied to their improvement, in more distinct separation and classification of the work of the old universities; and in the establishment of new, upon improved principles.

In the long course of that controversy and its sequel, the preparatory schools were separated from the universities, and set up by themselves at various places over the country, a step which was also rendered necessary by the breaking down of the convents and monasteries. School education was no longer to be confined to literary centres, but to be put within easy reach of every family throughout the Protestant world.

The university course, as thus distinguished from the school, consisted of two separate departments, the liberal and professional. The former had originally consisted of two parts, the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, and although the distinction between these two was no longer scrupulously observed, studies belonging to the one being in some cases pursued within the bounds formerly reserved for the other, still the course of Arts remained twofold. To the first part, which corresponded to the old *Trivium*, as to the place which it occupied, were

given, if we take Oxford as an example, four years, or thereby, immediately after the school course. Upon finishing that successfully, the student received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Three more years, corresponding to the place of the *Quadrivium*, enabled the candidate, who sustained a satisfactory examination, to take the degree of Master of Arts, as having completed the liberal course, or as it was called the course in the Arts.

If a man proceeded further with the view of qualifying himself for a profession, he had to begin from the year of his Master's degree, except in the case of law, which might be commenced a year sooner, and could be finished in six additional years. The medical course required seven, and the theological eleven, years from the Master's degree. At the close of this course of professional preparation the successful student was honored with the degree of doctor, in law, in medicine, or in theology according to the profession studied. These degrees were not then mere honors; they signified real degrees of attainment, and were certificates and licenses to teach or to practise the professions to which they were attached.

The latter part of the sixteenth century saw the rise of the Dutch universities, those benign fruits of the Reformation, in which classical scholarship and a new and greater philosophy were combined with the development of reformed theology.

In the course of the eighteenth century, and especially in the latter part of it, the German universities began to assume the place of precedence which they now hold. Their position was taken upon the principle of more perfect separation of departments. Taking, for example, the University of Berlin—not only was the grammar school left off, but also all that part of the course of Arts required for the Bachelor's degree, which was committed to the college, or institutions of that grade. The Master's course was made co-ordinate with the professional, and assigned to the Faculty of Arts, or of Philosophy in the university, with its analogous degree of Doctor in Philosophy.

Consequently there was a triad of educational institutions established and carried out with more or less precision in the

different German states, consisting of the school, confined to preparatory training; the college, under one name and another, assigned to liberal culture alone; and the university, provided with professional instruction, as well as with the means of further pursuing liberal education for those whose leisure or taste dispose them thereto, or who choose to make it their profession as teachers or authors.

As long as the universities retained their mediæval type, those of England—namely, Oxford and Cambridge—maintained their position among the first; but they have not kept up with the progress of improvement. Their mediæval course is no longer practical; and no adequate provision has been made for supplying its place. The highest praise of English education pertains to the collegiate schools. The practical course of the universities only carries forward to a higher point the work of the school, and answers the purposes of liberal culture—that is, it is of the nature of what belongs to the college.

In the French revolution of the last century, the university of Paris was entirely swept away, together with all the other universities of France. Public instruction was organized on a new plan by Napoleon I. That plan was abolished by Louis XVIII., who attempted one of his own, which the rule of the Hundred Days defeated. Upon reconstructing the government after the battle of Waterloo, the subject of education was put into the hands of a commission which adopted substantially the ideas of Napoleon.

According to that method, the university is nothing else than government applied to the universal direction of public instruction. First in the series of institutions are the common schools of different grades; then the colleges and lyceums, both pertaining to the department of liberal culture; and highest in rank are academies, which are local divisions of the university, distributed over France, and the central authority and head of all is at Paris.

American universities fail in that clearness of segregation, which would assign them to their proper functions. Invariably they retain the college as a part of their course, and make it their Faculty of Arts. In this they coincide with the uni-

versities of Scotland. Consequently they have nothing which corresponds to the second course in the Arts, and the Master's degree is a mere empty title. At the same time, the attempt to combine the college with the university always produces an incongruity. The two parts of the institution will not cohere. They cannot properly be governed on the same principle. The university proper is a place of study for men already cultivated by liberal education, where they learn the professions to which they propose to devote their lives. And it is as desirable that they should be completely separated from the college, where immature youth are trained in the liberal arts, as it is that these latter should be separated from the grammar school, where boys are drilled in the elements. Each one can conduct its own work better alone.

In America, a true university is that which is established in various places over the country, in law schools, medical schools, and theological seminaries. Concerned with studies, which, to be pursued with most profit, demand a previous college training, yet unembarrassed by any complication with colleges, those institutions conduct their own work, after their own proper manner, in a very effective way. Advantages are no doubt to be derived from assembling them all at one place, libraries in common, for example; but perhaps not enough to counterbalance that of each one being put in its own most proper locality.

The university, as now distinguished from the school and college, is the professional part of a complete education; and its pupils are liberally educated men, already trained to a rational use of their faculties and determined to their respective purposes in life. Its internal government should be addressed to the end of maintaining order and inciting to diligence, by eliciting voluntary co-operation, bringing out the approval of judgment, and the action of conscience. Its peculiar restraints, over and above those of general society, are such as belong to a voluntary association for the attainment of a common end. The methods of instruction proper to the university are, accordingly, such as to aid the thinking of mature minds: as lectures, prelections, conversations on the subject of study and on books assigned to be read; demonstrations by means of drawings,

models, maps, charts, or of the actual subject; experiments, examinations, and practice in the formal processes of the profession in view.

The original method of teaching was that of dictating what was to be learned, making the pupil commit it to memory, and afterward examining him, to test his understanding of it, correct his errors, and fix the whole more firmly in his mind. As the class advanced, dictation expanded into the freer and broader current of lecture, in which a more matured capacity of apprehension was called into exercise. The amount of attainment was not great, but the course was long, owing to the slow and laborious method of progress. The introduction of text-books was a great improvement, especially in the earlier stages. Dictation could then be laid aside, though it is still practised, to some extent, with profit. In the part of his education to which that method belonged the student can now generally do better for himself, in mastering passages assigned to be read, if he is afterward thoroughly examined upon them. But at the stage of progress, where anciently dictation ripened into lecture, there is still nothing which can entirely take the place of the old method. For the use of lecture is not all summed up in supplying the lack of books. On many points it has still to serve that purpose; but is now far more needed on account of their unmanageable number. It is profitable to have a guide who can present us, in brief, with the substantial teaching of all that pertains to our subject of study. One man can thereby save, as well as direct, the time and efforts of many. To master the literature of a profession, and the substance of all its instructions, is the work of a life-time, and in some professions is too much for the longest human life; but one man, by devoting his whole attention to a single branch of it, may be able to present the amount of what is to be found in that branch, in a course of lectures not too prolonged for a place among the studies preparatory for the profession. Thus a corps of professors, each laboring consistently in his own department, can, within a few years, furnish an amount of information which no one of themselves, in his whole life-time, could have collected and digested. Moreover, it is of no little value to receive the influence proceeding from a mind kindled by en-

thusiastic pursuit of one department of knowledge, and deep insight into its laws.

In all professions the power of correct and rapid observation, and assignment of things to their classes, is of inestimable value. And there is no better discipline of mind to that end, which education can propose, than the task of listening to lectures with a view to being examined on them. It is an exercise tending to the highest intellectual maturity to control attention to a strictly didactic lecture, to apprehend accurately its particular statements, its general plan and purport, while it is in the course of delivery, and to retain and marshal the whole for future use.

It is certainly pleasant to follow a teacher who is able to enlist attention and retain it; but of far more educational value for the student is it to learn to command his own attention to whatsoever his duty requires. The former is only to yield to the mastery of another mind; the latter is an act of self-control, going to render a man master of his own powers. The habit of mind formed by being entertained is superficial, never dares to penetrate beyond the outward effects of any thing; to the solid basis of the beautiful and entertaining it never reaches, and is ever helplessly dependent upon the work of others. It is not a result of education, except in as far as the capacity to enjoy certain objects goes. To be able to take interest in works of science and art, and their nice discriminations, to be impressible by the finest shades of beautiful affection does certainly belong to the best points of mental culture; but the mere capacity to be entertained does not. The least informed are the most easily entertained, and at the least expense. It can never enable a man to work, to produce any of the effects which an educated man is expected to produce for the benefit of society.

A man, in acquiring power over his own attention, secures also power over the minds of others. All persons who do not possess it have a natural tendency to lean upon him who does. And every educated man ought to be such as his uneducated neighbors can have recourse to, as not only better informed touching his profession, but also as better able to turn all the powers of his mind with effect to any emergency which

may arise among them. The young commit a great mistake who exclusively attach themselves to that which is entertaining among their studies. Entertainment, of course, is not to be rejected when occurring naturally; but by far the most profitable is that intellectual effort which takes hold of and masters what is orderly but not attractive. That student is earning the noblest triumphs, who, pushing through the outworks of an uninviting study, fighting his way manfully with every obstacle, at length reaches a point where the symmetry of the whole lies before him, and the delight of conquered knowledge dawns upon his heart. That is the man who will make an impression on the society in which he lives, if not upon the broader world, to be remembered long.

The effort of properly attending lectures is one which requires no little mental training such as is seldom found short of the higher classes in college, and then only in the case of those who have been faithful to their previous studies. A common defect of the uneducated, or imperfectly educated, mind is that of not giving attention correctly. To hear correctly, and at once, what is said, is a most desirable practical power, and not less important the habit of reporting correctly.

Popular lecturing is necessarily a different affair. Inasmuch as, in that case, a mixed audience is addressed, and mental preparation cannot be presumed, the lecture must take the character of entertainment, and make as little demand as possible upon that attention which is felt to be an effort. It belongs to the head of amusements, takes its place with the theatre and dramatic readings, and has little to do with education.

The recitation method of instruction is that which is best suited for boys at school, and in the greater part of the college course, and must be retained in the university, wherever drill is needed. The lecture is best for aiding the studies of mature minds in collecting and classifying information, and ought to interchange with the recitation in the more advanced part of the college course, while in the university it is necessarily the prevailing method.

In college, the grand objects in view have reference to self-

culture, to formation of habits of attention, of diligence, of reading, command of the faculties, and of regular and constant application. Of course, it is of no little importance what the material of study is; but much more is the intellectual discipline which it furnishes. In the university, on the other hand, the great concern is the subject-matter of study. The student, it is presumed, has already the necessary training, and is now seeking clear and classified information for his life's work.

Conversation, or examination, or making of abstracts, should always accompany a course of lectures for instruction, as helpful, if not indispensable to the certifying, digesting, and assimilating of the instructions received. Taking of notes during the time of listening to a lecture is an interruption, and granted only to defective memory. It were better to grasp the whole discourse as a unit, by one continuous effort of attention, and write the notes after returning to one's room; but that demands an excellence of memory too rare to admit of its being recommended as a rule; and to learn to take notes with facility and without embarrassment of attention, is an attainment valuable for life.

Upon the whole, the great aim of the university is to instruct, promote, and direct professional enterprise. The school is a system of constraints; the college of mixed constraints and inducements, designed to guide, to correct independent action. The university is a commonwealth of minds already committed to their own responsibility. Neither school nor college have properly any professional bearing; the university is entirely professional.

They are the studies of the university which have no natural termination. The work of the school comes to an end when its pupils are adequately prepared for college; the work of the college ceases when its classes are properly qualified to take up the studies of the university; but the work of the university initiates men into that career which, as long as they are useful to the world, has no end. Up to the close of their college course youth receive education for their own sake; in the university they are to learn how to be useful to others. And although that end may be attained by many

different ways, yet fundamentally it lies in the right directing of enterprise, and toward the forming of public sentiment accordingly, and through the channel of professional effort.

The best service a man can render his fellow-men is generally in the line of his profession; but there is also an indefinable influence for good or evil wielded by every respectable professional man, through his intercourse with society, and which increases in power and extent with his professional success. Consequently the common duty belonging to all educated men is that of guiding public sentiment aright; that is, in a manner conducive to the good order of community, to the support of enlightened enterprise, and the cause of God, peace, and good will among men.

By profession, in these remarks, we would not be understood to mean only medicine, law, and theology, but every learned occupation, demanding, for true success in it, a basis of liberal culture.

One of the things which it belongs to the college to teach, is the reliability of truth; that there are principles trustworthy and eternal, many of which can be known indubitably, and ought to be so known by all educated men. This position should be abundantly sustained from every branch of science, that the young mind may be well fortified in regard to it. Immense evil has been done by the false dictum, so often repeated, that nothing can be known for certain. It puts the mind in a state of universal scepticism, defeating all the most valuable ends of education. It is chiefly with a view to the inculcation and full exposition of this doctrine that the precise sciences should be taught in college. The fuller study of mathematics belongs to the engineer or astronomer, and accordingly to university work; the minute study of chemistry belongs to the professions founded thereupon, but their fundamental principles ought to be well enough explained and substantiated for youth in college, to establish in their minds conviction and confidence in their reliability. A minuteness of instruction, beyond the demands of this purpose, is out of the proper line of college work, and belongs to the university.

At the same time, to prevent the evil of confidence in the the wrong place, the bounds of actual knowledge ought also

to be set forth, and the vagueness of conjecture, where nothing but conjecture exists, should be distinctly set over against positive knowledge, where that exists. How to test the credible and distinguish its features, and what features mark any thing as incredible, is a point essentially belonging to the same connection.

For such purpose was geometry employed by the Greeks, and law by the Romans. Law, studied as a profession, is out of place in a college course; but law, to all the extent of inculcating the reality of the great principles of civil order, is one of the most valuable instruments at the disposal of liberal education.

A good college education may as properly be laid out upon a youth destined to be a merchant, or a farmer, or a tradesman, as upon one who has a view to a learned profession. The difference is only that the liberal professions demand, if not by rule, by the nature of the case, previous attainment in college studies, and other occupations do not so demand it. There can be little doubt, however, that all the respectable occupations of human life would be better conducted if in the hands of liberally educated men. But that implies a breadth of culture extending to all the studies prior to, and independent of, the particular professional training. Most industrial pursuits depend upon science. But an education containing nothing but science is not a liberal one. It cultivates only a part of a man, and that the harder part, which it hardens. There can be no liberal culture without art: and the most available of all arts for the purpose is that of literature.

The work of Professor Porter, of Yale College, the name of which stands at the head of this article, is a defence, and a very able defence, of the system and methods pursued in the oldest and best American colleges. Commencing with an historical review of the rise and progress of the existing agitation on that subject, the author takes up the line of argument, as before the bar of the American public, and discusses the studies of the regular course, in comparison with those now recommended as better; the enforcement of fidelity in study, as compared with greater license; the evils of the college sys-

tem, and their remedies; the common life of the college; the religious character of American colleges; the class system, and other kindred topics, in all of which he defends, in the main, the state of things as it is. With a clear and full admission that it is not without many faults, he maintains that the existing system has within itself better aptitudes for reform than are to be found in any of the novelties which are now by many persons proposed to take its place. His argument covers the whole ground, and is sustained in a lucid and animated style with the cogency which naturally grows from a full knowledge of the subject, and long experience in dealing with it in all its details.

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Art. VIII.—*The Invitation Heeded. Reasons for a Return to Catholic Unity.* By James Kent Stone, late President of Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio; and of Hobart College, Geneva, New York; and S. T. D. Fourth Edition. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1870.

*How the Rev. Dr. Stone Bettered his Situation: An Examination of the Assurance of Salvation and Certainty of Belief to which we are affectionately invited by his Holiness the Pope.* By Leonard Woolsey Bacon. Reprinted from the *New Englander*, July, 1870. New York: American and Foreign Christian Union, 27 Bible House.

*Lecture on the Vatican Council.* By Archbishop Purcell.

The author of the "Invitation Heeded" is a son of one of the most distinguished ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country—especially of the class known as Low Church. If we are not misinformed he is also descended from that great jurist whose name he bears—the late Chancellor Kent, whose "Commentaries" are among the foremost standard authorities in American jurisprudence. We infer from this volume that he had for some time been investigating the great questions treated in it, before he was greeted with the late formal invitation extended by the Roman pontiff to all Protestants to put themselves under his jurisdiction. He

had already become eminent in his own communion. His book betrays an inquisitive, earnest, and impassioned mind, endowed with considerable learning, culture, and elegance, and master of a style of more than average force, beauty, and point. Dr. Stone's characteristics, surroundings, and antecedents, invest his conversion to Romanism with unusual interest, and render his book one of the most plausible and effective pleas for the church of his adoption which has issued from an American pen. But if such a writer fails as to the material issues involved, his plea only weakens what it aims to support.

Mr. Bacon's tract is not so much a direct sifting or refutation of the reasonings in this book, as a positive, derisive, and irrefutable demonstration of the impossibility of obtaining the assurance of salvation of which Dr. Stone is in quest, according to the institutions, dogmas, and methods of the Romish Church. It is a very apt and trenchant application of logic, humor, satire, to a case which well deserves this incisive and caustic treatment. The pivot on which Dr. Stone's plea turns is that of Papal infallibility. With this his whole argument stands or falls. If he is successful in establishing that, of course he proves it the duty of all to submit to the Roman pontiff. Failing of this, he fails altogether.

The Papist and Protestant agree that we need an infallible guide in religion. But the latter insists that God's Word, the former, that the church, through its hierarchy or some order or council or person thereof, is this infallible guide. Dr. Stone, the Vatican Council, and all ultramontanes maintain that this infallibility vests in the Pope primarily and exclusively, as the head of the church. We hold that all members of the true church, which is Christ's body, *i. e.*, all real Christians and saints know infallibly all truths essential to salvation, because they find them asserted in the Scriptures, upon the authority of God. His voice they hear, and will not follow a stranger. This results from their being guided by the Holy Spirit whose anointing makes them to know all things essential to salvation; that they are the truth and no lie, and that no lie is of the truth. 1 John ii. 20–27.

But how do we know the Scriptures to be the word of God?

What ground of certainty can we have that it speaks to us in the name and by the authority of God? Romish theologians, Dr. Stone included, deem these crucial and stunning questions. They think the sole possible answer is, that we can know it only by the testimony of the church. This testimony they maintain is that of the Romish hierarchy, and not only so, but ultramontanes, such as Dr. Stone and the Vatican Council, hold that it must be given by the Pope as the only original and primal repository of infallibility.

But the fallacy of such assumptions and paralogisms is readily apparent. How do we know the heavens, the earth, our own fearfully and wonderfully made frames, to be the work of God, to declare his glory, and evince his eternal power and Godhead? Do they beam upon us a self-evidence of infallible certainty to every candid mind? And as surely as they are self-evidently the work of God, are not the Holy Scriptures self-evidently the word of God, the utterance of one who spake as never man spake?

It is vain for Papists to impugn the sufficiency of such evidence. They are now wont to appeal to it as the evidence of the divine origin and prerogatives of their own body and the infallibility of its primate. Although Dr. Stone, like the Pope and Vatican Council appeals at great length to the Scriptures to prove the primacy and infallibility of Peter and his alleged successors in the pontifical chair,* nevertheless he follows Archbishop Manning, and the drift of recent ultramontane theologians in appealing to this self-evidence as the main proof of the divinity, supremacy, and infallibility of the Romish Church in the person of its supreme head. Says Dr. Stone, "The Catholic believes in the Holy Catholic Church. But he does not so *merely* as a logical inference from the words of Scripture. He does not even need the Scriptures to know that the church is divine. There she stands and her existence is the evidence of her origin. She speaks; and her claims are her credentials. She acts; and her work is her vindication," p. 146. To this attitude the Vatican claim is driven by remorseless logic. The claim is that the Scriptures derive their authority solely from the testimony of the church, uttered by its infallible

* See pp. 228 et seq.

head, the Pope. But if asked, on what evidence does the claim of the church and Pope to infallibility and spiritual supremacy rest? it will not do to say, upon the Scriptures. This is the old fallacy of the circle in proving the church by the Scriptures and the Scriptures by the church, which it is easier for our author to underrate than to escape. He, with other ultramontanes, is sagacious enough to see that, if testimony ever so conclusive for the Papacy could be obtained from the Scriptures, on their system, the whole fabric falls to the ground, unless they can rest it on other foundations. If the Scriptures rest on the church, how can the church rest on the Scriptures? On what then does the church rest? Whence the evidence of its divinity and infallibility? Clearly nowhere unless in itself. This being so, the appeal to Scripture in support of the Papacy so often made by their theologians, by Dr. Stone, and by the Vatican Council nullifies itself. It is an appeal to a witness they have already discredited.

The issue then is clear and simple. Which bears the strongest self-evidence of a divine inspiration, authority, and infallibility? The Word recorded in the Holy Scriptures, or the occupant of the Papal chair at Rome and his predecessors fulminating anathemas against all Christians, ministers, and ecumenical councils even, who dispute their infallibility? Is it necessary to argue this self-answering question? We shall soon see how Dr. Stone disposes of some of the noted and unquestionable historical illustrations of the fallibility of the Pope. Meanwhile we will notice some allegations or assumptions which are constantly appearing in his book against the infallibility, sufficiency, and authority of the Bible as a rule of faith, and which, if of any force, rebound with tenfold power against his favorite dogma.

He argues strenuously that a church, so far as divine, must be infallibly guided, and that such infallible guidance involves an infallible head. But who is that head? One is our Head even Christ; we know no other. The true church is his body, and its members, members of him, informed by his spirit, and having an unction from the Holy One, whereby they know all things necessary to salvation. This church of those "called to be saints" claims to know infallibly the essentials of the

Christian faith, the things that are freely given it of God; not for the purpose of lording it over the consciences of others, but for its own sure guidance in the way of life, and certain acceptance by that Master to whom alone it stands or falls, and who is alone Lord of the conscience. In this highest sense of the word church, and to the extent above described, it ever has claimed and does claim to know in whom it believes. It rests on a sure foundation. It is not true in this sense that Rome alone has claimed sure divine guidance, and thus proves its exclusive divinity, as Dr. Stone claims. It alone has claimed infallibility as the peculium of Popes, cardinals, or other ecclesiastics for the government of the whole body. How then do the saints thus infallibly know the essential truths of salvation? By the Word, the inspired Word. But says Dr. Stone (p. 141): "The fact of inspiration is a supernatural fact, a divine fact, and can only be attested by a divine witness which you are not." Who then is such a witness? The Pope of Rome, or a truly divine witness testifying in his word, and in our spirits to the divine truth and authority of that word? "God hath revealed them to us by his spirit." He taketh the things of Christ and showeth them unto us. However else "it doth evidence itself to be the Word of God, yet notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness, by and with the Word, in our hearts." (Confession of Faith, Chap. I., 5.)

"But" says Dr. Stone, "your hope, then, is based upon your faith, and your faith reposes upon the fact of inspiration; but the fact of inspiration is supported by what? Your little world, like the Hindoos, rests upon the elephant, and the elephant rests upon the tortoise, and the tortoise rests upon nothing. This is only saying that your faith rests upon inspiration, and inspiration is proved by your faith." (P. 140.) Is not Dr. Stone sharp enough to see that this is good for nothing, or else thrice good against his own system? Because we believe the Bible inspired upon the evidence of divinity it bears, as evinced by the Spirit witnessing in it, and in our own souls by enlightening them to see it, are we therefore proving it by our faith, or not rather exercising faith in it

because proved true in its own divine light? Is not his puerile arguing just as applicable to his own doctrine of the self-evidence of his Papal inspiration and infallibility? Is it not doubly true in this case that all the inspiration here is what his belief creates—and that here we find the real elephant resting on the tortoise and the tortoise on nothing? Have we not the testimony of God through his Spirit witnessing in his Word, and also in our hearts, opening our eyes to understand wondrous things out of his law? And if we receive the witness of men, is not the witness of God greater? (1 John, v. 9.)

Dr. Stone freely admits that the Pontifical chair has been disgraced by a number of wicked Popes. But he, with others of his school, contends that they have been preserved from sanctioning error in doctrine. We will let our readers see how he tries to parry the suicidal blows which some of the Popes themselves have dealt against this claim, in certain deliverances which few Romanists hardly dare, in this age and country, pronounce free from inerrancy or fallibility. The official sanction of error by any Pope is fatal to the doctrine of Papal infallibility, and renders the anathemas denounced upon those who dispute it, alike absurd and profane. The manner in which he tries to neutralize these examples displays at once his brilliancy as a special pleader and the desperateness of his cause. We give first his exposition of the Inquisition, and the persecution of Galileo.

"The Spanish Inquisition, as its name implies, was not a Catholic, but a national and local tribunal. It was an institution more political than religious, authorized, it is true, by the Pope, but solicited and maintained by the royal power; an institution devised to protect the unity of the Spanish kingdom, and founded upon the principle that heresy was a crime against the peace of society, and, as such, punishable by the civil power. Mr. Lecky, and even Llorente himself, admit that the Roman Pontiffs more than once endeavored to mitigate its severities, and protested against the horrible excesses of Torquemada. And when Charles V. and Philip II. attempted to impose the tribunal upon Italian cities, the Popes encouraged the Italians in resisting the imposition.

"As for the Roman court, I am not aware that the smallest proof has ever been given that its proceedings were other than mild and conservative. As Balmes well observes, 'the conduct of Rome in the use which she made of the Inquisition is the best apology of Catholicity against those who attempt to stigmatize her as barbarous and sanguinary.' The records of the Roman Congregation were carried off to Paris by Napoleon, early in the present century; a

French translation of a portion was made by order of the emperor; and it was not till 1846 that the last of the plundered documents were returned to the Vatican. In 1849, the Roman archives were again pillaged; and seventy folio volumes of the Inquisition are at present in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Nothing, however, has ever been discovered which could bring discredit upon the proceedings of the tribunal.

"The publicity given to these Roman records has had the good result of disposing of the old myth of the woes of starry Galileo. An immense amount has been written on the Galileo trial within the last thirty years; and any one who will take the trouble to do a little reading will speedily convince himself that the astronomer never suffered the torture, and that the *E pur si muove* is, as has been pithily said, '*un de ces mots de circonstance inventés après coup.*' All that the Inquisition ever did was to tell the man of science to stick to his science, and leave the church to take care of the interpretation of Scripture. To say that the Catholic Church ever committed itself against the Copernican system—or any other system—of astronomy, is rodomontade. Copernicus himself was a Catholic priest, for many years an honored professor in the city of Rome itself, and, in 1553, dedicated his great work, *De Revolutionibus*, to the head of the church, Pope Paul III.

"The third remark is one which I have hesitated to make, but which I trust no generous friend will judge unfairly. It is that for a Protestant to talk loudly about toleration, and to arraign the church of his forefathers on a charge of persecution, is, on the whole, the most *naïve* piece of effrontery in the annals of controversy." (Pp. 97–8–9.)

Our first remark is, that the admission of Dr. Stone that the Pope "authorized" the Spanish Inquisition is fatal to his infallibility—the only point in question. Again: the issue with Galileo was not primarily whether he should stick to his science and leave to the church the interpretation of Scripture. This mode of twisting language is simply a desperate expedient to disguise the real issue. It was simply and purely a question whether the sun is stationary and the earth moves. Galileo affirmed, Pope and cardinals objected. Galileo was right, they were wrong. The question is not how far their criminality may be mitigated by their circumstances and surroundings. But what does it prove touching Papal infallibility? If Galileo did not "suffer *the* torture," it would require equal boldness and blindness to pretend that he did not suffer dreadful tortures at the hands of the Romish hierarchy, with Papal sanction, for declaring the truth. However we may palliate this action on their part, what does it prove about their infallibility?

Finally, it is irrelevant in regard to this issue to retort upon

Protestants their alleged persecutions in former ages. Suppose they were at fault in the matter, does this justify Papal persecution? Or does it neutralize the conclusive evidence they furnish of Papal fallibility?

Let us next see how our author deals with another great case which annihilates Papal infallibility.

"Pope Honorius was condemned by the Fathers of the Sixth General Council, together with Sergius, Cyrus, Pyrthus, and other Monothelite heretics. When we have said this, we have exhausted all that history can furnish against the infallibility of St. Peter's chair. Does it prove any thing against that infallibility? Let us see. The Head of the Church is infallible when, speaking as the Head of the Church, he gives a decision upon a matter of faith. Well, Sergius, with true Greek subtlety, endeavored to entrap Honorius into a heretical definition. Honorius *declined to give any definition at all.* Here are his words: NON NOS OPORTET UNAM VEL DUAS OPERATIONES DEFINIENTES PRÆDICARE. It is not necessary to urge that the letters of Honorius were of a private and, as we should say, confidential character; that they were never made public until after his death; that they show, to any one who will take the trouble of reading them, that their author was no Monothelite, but was deceived by the adroit sentences of his Eastern correspondent, supposing him to speak, not of a Divine and a human will, but of two contrary wills of the spirit and of the flesh—all these are important considerations; but they are superfluous. It is enough that the Pope refused to exercise his apostolic prerogative. He gave no erroneous decision, for he decided nothing. But the Council condemned him. Certainly; and why? *Utpote qui eos* [*Sergium et rel.*] *in his* [*erroribus*] *sequutus est.* Not because he defined error, but because he allowed the errors of others. But this construction of the intention of the Council might be disputed. Let it pass, then; it also is superfluous. *The Council is ecumenical only in so far as it was confirmed by the Holy See.* It is by Pope Leo's letter of confirmation, therefore, that we must judge of the character of the condemnation passed upon his predecessor. Here, then, we have the famous Papal censure upon a Pope: 'We anathematize the inventors of the new dogma' (then follow the names), 'and also Honorius, who did not strive with energy to maintain the purity of this apostolic church, by the teaching of the tradition of the Apostles, but who permitted that this church without spot (*immaculatam*) should become stained by profane treason.' Or, as it is expressed in the letter to the bishops of Spain, 'Honorius, who, failing in the duty of his apostolical authority, instead of extinguishing the flame of heresy, fomented it by neglect.' Honorius was frightened at the bare thought of a new Eastern heresy, and instead of investigating and condemning, he strove to arrest the evil by hushing it. In a word, he erred, not in faith, but in judgment; he was condemned, not for heresy, but for negligence; *non erravit definiendo, sed tacendo, et omittendo quod definiendum fuerat.*" (Pp. 333–4–5.)

According to this, Papal infallibility consists: 1. With declaring it not needful or obligatory to define the truth

against heresy when that heresy is asserting itself in, and dividing the church. 2. With being "deceived" by the adroit sentences of an heresiarch. 3. With being condemned by an ecumenical council, or what would be ecumenical, if one could be such, when not approved by the Pope it condemns, for following (*sequutus est*) the condemned heresy. 4. With requiring the Latin verb *sequor* to be translated "allowed" instead of "followed" 5. With being anathematized by a subsequent Pope for not "striving with energy to maintain the purity of the apostolic church," and permitting it to "become stained with profane treason!" 6. With erring, "not in faith but in judgment." If Dr. Stone finds such Papal infallibility a safer guide than the "sure word of prophecy" the "incorruptible word of God which liveth and abideth forever," we deplore his choice, but cannot follow him. We will hear the voice of the true Head of the Church. But such a stranger we dare not follow. Such is the wretched abortion brought forth by this mountainous labor to show us an infallible guide to salvation better than His Word who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

Dr. Stone says, "no council is ecumenical unless confirmed by the Holy See." Archbishop Purcell, however, in a lecture on the Vatican Council, reported in the New York *Tribune*, endeavoring to soften to his audience this dogma of Papal infallibility, to which he had been bitterly opposed, says that in the deliberations of the Council—

"The question was also raised by the cardinal: 'What is to be done with the Pope if he becomes a heretic?' It was answered that there was never such an example; but in such a case a council of bishops could depose him for heresy; for, from the moment he becomes a heretic he is not the head, nor even a member of the church The church would not be for a moment obliged to listen to him when he begins to teach a doctrine which the church knows to be false, and he would cease to be a Pope, being deposed by God himself. If a Pope, for instance, were to say that a belief in God is false, you would not be obliged to believe him; nor if he were to deny the rest of the creed. 'I believe in Christ,' etc. The supposition is injurious to the Holy Father in the very idea, but it serves to show you the fulness with which the subject was considered. Ample thought was given to every possibility. If he denies any dogma of the Church held by every true believer, he is no more Pope than either you or I; so in this respect this dogma of infallibility amounts to nothing as an article of temporal government or as a cover for heresy."

If this be so, a council has power to depose an heretical Pope, whether indorsed by him as ecumenical, or indorsed by him at all, or not. "The church would not be obliged to listen to him when he begins to teach a doctrine which the church knows to be false." Indeed! And how is the church to know it false, unless in the exercise of its own judgment in the light of reason, Scripture, and the Holy Ghost? Is not the Pope, then, like all others, to be judged by tests and standards outside of himself, and to be followed only so far as he follows Christ in his Word?

His Grace says he further objected to this dogma in the Council in the following conclusive manner, nor does it appear that any attempt was made to solve his difficulty, nor do we think it is capable of solution.

"Well, when I got to that part of my discourse I told the cardinals in Council that there was another weightier objection which I wished to have removed before I gave my assent to that dogma, and that was, how we are to understand the claims of Boniface VIII., who said: 'Two swords are given me by God, a spiritual and a temporal one?' I sought in the Dominican library of Minerva, in Rome, to refresh my memory, and to see on what grounds they claimed the right of controlling temporal affairs, of deposing Henry VIII., or Elizabeth, or any other temporal prince, or absolving their vassals from their oath of allegiance, if their sovereigns did not respect the act of excommunication by the church. I could not find any text of authority for that in the Bible; hence I wanted the Council to say whether they asserted a right of that kind, or assumed it as a right. The entire Council with one voice cried out: 'Those Popes had no authority, no commission from God, to pretend to any such power.'"

Indeed, the dogma of the Vatican Council declaring the Roman Pontiff infallible, and denouncing the curse upon all who deny it, revolts not only the Protestant, but the best part of the Romish Church itself. Tidings come from various quarters that this opposition to it, maintained by an influential minority of the Vatican Council itself, is now organizing and voicing itself among important portions of the Romish laity and hierarchy. May God speed their effort and maintain his cause.

# ART. IX.—NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

*Manual of Historico-Critical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament.* By Karl Freidrich Keil. Translated from the Second Edition, with Supplementary notes from Bleek and others, by George C. M. Douglas, D. D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow. Vol. II., 8vo, 435 pp. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co.

*An Introduction to the New Testament.* By Friedrich Bleek. Edited by Johannes Friedrich Bleek. Translated from the German of the Second Edition, by the Rev. William Urwick. Vol. II., 8vo, 426 pp. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford & Co.

The introductions of Keil and Bleek have, from the date of their appearance, been esteemed the best and most serviceable manuals of the kind in Germany, where criticism and exegesis are prosecuted with a thoroughness, acuteness, and learned research unknown elsewhere. These works, which are indispensable to one who would acquaint himself with the latest and best results of Scriptural investigations, are now, by the publication of their second volumes, made entirely accessible to English readers.

The respective merits of these introductions, and the general character of the translations, were sufficiently stated in our notice of the preceding volumes. Keil and Bleek have both proceeded upon the idea which, since Reuss, has been the prevailing one in Germany, of regarding introduction under the aspect of the literary history of the Bible. This gives to the subject a unity and scientific precision which it did not possess before, though it still leaves the true position of some important topics in doubt. With some minor diversities of arrangement, however, the plan pursued by both is the same. One of the most striking and obvious results of this method is the inversion of the order pursued in all the old introductions, by placing the special before the general portion of the subject. The questions of the canon and the text, the manuscripts, versions, etc., are postponed until the origin and character of each individual book has first been investigated. This may accord better with the historical order, but it is, in our judgment, of doubtful advantage in a text-book for theological classes.

In regard to some of the books of the New Testament, Bleek arrives at conclusions differing from the belief now currently entertained, though he does not, except in a single instance, pass beyond the limit of the doubts allowed in the early church, and mentioned, if not entertained, by some of the ablest and soundest of the fathers. He is disposed, with Eusebius, to discriminate among the books of the canon, and, while not venturing to exclude any from it that are now received, and still less inclined to admit any that are now excluded, he is of opinion that those books regarding whose canonicity no doubt has ever been expressed, and which have from the beginning been received without a discord-

ant voice, as the undoubted production of the Apostles, or inspired apostolic helpers, should be assigned the first rank. To others, regarding which a portion of the early church was in doubt, he concedes only an inferior and limited authority. They are to a certain extent authentic testimonials of primitive Christianity, and yet they are at a partial remove from the purity of our Lord's teaching and that of his immediate Apostles.

The Epistle to the Hebrews he supposes not to have been written by Paul, but by one of his companions and fellow-laborers, a few years after his death, probably by Apollos. The Epistles of James and Jude, and the Revelation of John, were written by the persons whose names they severally bear. These, however, were not apostles, but other persons of note in the church, whose position entitled them to speak and write with the authority they here assume. James and Jude were the brothers of our Lord, the sons of Mary, and are to be distinguished from James, the son of Alpheus, or James the Less, and Jude his brother. John, who wrote the Revelation, was not the son of Zebedee, the Evangelist, or the author of the Epistles, but another John, of whom mention is made in the apostolic period, and who was an auditor of the immediate disciples of our Lord. First Timothy and Second Peter were written in the names of the Apostles Paul and Peter, but they belong to the second century of the Christian era, and are entitled to less consideration than any of these deutero-canonical writings, as he esteems them, though they tally essentially with the apostolic doctrines.

Much as we may regret these conclusions, and untenable as we regard them, we cannot but admit that the discussions are conducted with great apparent candor and a seemingly sincere love of truth. The arguments are frankly and fairly stated, and thus the materials for an independent judgment are afforded to the student even when the balance is struck the wrong way, and a weight conceded to objections to which they are not in reality entitled.

*The Early Years of Christianity.* By E. De Pressensé, D. D. Translated by Annie Harwood. "The Apostolic Era." New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

No other religion has been subjected, through all its history, to such tests as Christianity has stood. Taking its rise among an educated people, in an age of uncommon intelligence, and preached, in the first instance, by men of no superior education, it vindicated itself, from the first, to the conviction of many of the best informed as superior to all previous teaching. It has been encountered by enemies of great ability, in every age, and has always come off with the victory, when reliance has been put on spiritual arms. Platonic philosophers met it with their subtile inquiry, and found its teachings worthy of the gravest attention, and some of them became its converts; Stoics resisted it with all the force of their stubborn argument and inflexible moral system, and melted away before it. All the hostility of ancient learning failed to arrest its progress. Local authorities and the imperial government put forth their efforts to extinguish it by violence; and the issue was their own overthrow, and the establishment of Christianity on the throne. Greek dialectics and Roman legislation alike failed in the conflict with it. All succeeding philosophers have, at one time or another, tried their strength against it, and every new science has tested

its weapons in the strife, and all, when the smoke and dust of battle have cleared away, are found to have been driven from the field. The combatants, with whom it has had to contend, have always been the master-minds of the world, and its champions have been of the same calibre. Its believers have risen to the rank of the highest civilization, by force of the teaching and training it has given. It is the religion which prospers best the more thoroughly it is tested, and where intellect is strongest, most active and clear.

Inquiry into the origin of such a religion, and the character and labors of its first teachers cannot fail to be of intense interest at a time of profound and earnest thinking, when some of its effects are pervading the world to an unprecedented extent, while its enemies were never more insidious or better armed. Re-examination of the facts of early Christian history, and the sources of its power, is at present the great subject of serious thought. The Life of Christ and the lives of his Apostles are discussed from the separate points of view of all the different parties, as divided in relation to the subject.

In this controversy none have attained a more honorable distinction than Dr. Pressensé. His work on the religions before Christ, on the Life of Christ, and now on the Apostolic Era, cover the whole of that period of history. His treatment of the subject is animated and rapid, but packs much information and cogent argument into small space, and in a style clear and attractive. This volume, though not large, will be an important addition to the literature of the controversy.

*Light-Houses and Light-Ships, a Descriptive and Historical Account of their Construction and Organization.* By W. H. Davenport Adams. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

Mr. Scribner's Illustrated Library of Wonders has already established for itself a standing of high scientific importance. It has already presented some of the most valuable discoveries in nature, in antiquities, in the structure of the human frame, and many of the achievements of art, in forms not only accessible, but highly attractive to the common reader. In the style of effort, now so generally made by scientific men themselves, to bring truth and recondite facts before the general public, this series of books is a happy success. Guided by the practical sagacity and Christian spirit of the publisher, whose conception it is, it will no doubt continue to be, as it has so far been, a means of making useful knowledge exceedingly entertaining.

*A Manual of the Ancient History of the East to the Commencement of the Median Wars.* By Francois Lenormant, Sub-Librarian of the Imperial Institute of France; and E. Chevalier, member of the Royal Asiatic Society, London. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. London: Asher & Co.

In continuation of their history of the pre-Hellenic world, Lenormant and Chevalier have presented, in this volume, the first great Aryan empire, and the latest of the Semitic; following the latter down to the extinction of their independence, and the former up to the summit of Persian success. Under the head of Aryan it may be thought that the Greeks and Hindoos should have been included; but the Greeks, inasmuch as they created a new style of culture, which had not yet been generally recognized, belong, not to the earlier, but to the later

antiquity; and India, for the present, has been omitted on account of the utter lack of definite information touching all that part of her existence prior to the Greek invasion.

Over the whole of the ancient Oriental period, where not included in the Hebrew narrative, there is a very generally extended veil of doubt. The testimony of monuments is positive as to isolated facts: but in many cases hopelessly disconnected, leaving the very foundations of history matter of conjecture. In their former volume these authors granted too much credence to such conjectures; in the present there is not so large a proportion of that tantalizing material, and a great part of its field comes within the orbit of Herodotus, where the results of antiquarian research give and receive confirmation from connected history.

The subjects of the volume are the Medes and Persians; the construction of the Medo-Persian empire, until the reign of Darius Hystaspis, the Phœnicians until their subjugation to Persia; Carthage until after the first treaty with Rome, and the opening of the first Sicilian war; and the Arabians under the three heads of Yemen, Hejaz, and Arabia Petræa.

The narrative is compact, and yet spirited; the arrangement well designed for instruction; and the style concise but easy and clear. For the purpose of giving a connected view of ancient Oriental history, according to the utmost of the resources which scholarship and the work of the antiquarian have amassed, and giving it unburdened by discussions, there is nothing else equal to this work of Lenormant and Chevalier.

*Thoughts on Religious Experience.* By the Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D. Presbyterian Board of Publication.

Dr. Alexander was eminent for his learning, sagacity, and wisdom; for his theological insight, and more still for his devoutness and experimental piety. But the gift in which he was most unrivalled was that of guiding and quickening the religious experience of others; of awakening devout feeling, probing the heart, and exposing morbid and pseudo-religious exercises. This, not less than his great abilities and acquirements, gave him an influence for many years scarcely equalled by any divine in the American church. This volume contains the aroma of his spiritual wisdom and experience. We recollect the great benefit we derived from its heavenly instructions when they first appeared. And among all recent issues of the press we hardly know of any more precious reading for Christians whether young or old.

*The True Unity of Christ's Church; being a Renewed Appeal to the Friends of the Redeemer, on Primitive Christian Union and the History of its Corruption. To which is now added a Modified Plan for the Reunion of all Evangelical Christians; Embracing as Integral Parts the World's Evangelical Alliance, with all its National Branches.* By S. S. Schmucker, D. D. New York: Anson D. T. Randolph & Co. 1870.

The substance of this volume was published more than thirty years ago. It now appears with modifications in its third edition. The plan of union advocated by the venerable author is a sort of federative union among the various Evangelical churches, having a creed substantially like that of the Evangelical Alliance, but without any regular or formal ecclesiastical jurisdiction, this being left to the several bodies composing the federation and represented in it by

their delegates. This scheme has been indorsed by many names eminent in various communions. It seems the only practicable way of bringing Evangelical Christians to show a united front against Romanism and Rationalism,—a consummation for which so many long and pray. It escapes the difficulties involved in any attempt at formal ecclesiastical union of all Protestants in their present condition, while it insures most of the advantages to be hoped for from such a union.

*God Sovereign and Man free; or, the Doctrine of Divine Foreordination and Man's Free Agency stated, illustrated, and proved from the Scriptures.* By N. L. Rice, D. D. Presbyterian Board of Publication.

This compact and lucid treatise proves beyond a peradventure man's freedom and God's sovereignty, even in respect to man's free acts, and that such sovereignty and freedom are mutually consistent, whether men are able to see how and why they are so or not. A feather will rise and a stone fall whether men can comprehend these facts or not. These truths, in their nature, proofs, grounds, and consequences are ably unfolded and vindicated by Dr. Rice; and such explanation and vindication were never more important than now.

*The Lord's Inquiries answered in the words of Scripture; a Year-Book of Scripture Texts.* Arranged by G. Washington Moon, Member of the Council of the Royal Society of Literature. London: Hatchards, 187 Piccadilly. New York: Pott & Amery, 5 Cooper Union. 1870.

A very neat little volume, in which the aim indicated in the title-page is well executed.

*The Juno Stories.* Volume I. "Juno and Georgie," By Jacob Abbott, author of the "Franconia Stories," "The Rollo Books," "The Young Christian Series," etc., etc. New York: Dodd & Mead.

*The Wise Men: who they were; and how they came to Jerusalem.* By Francis W. Upham, LL. D., Professor of Mental Philosophy in Rutgers Female College, City of New York. New York: Sheldon & Co.

*White as Snow.* By Edward Garrett, author of "Occupation of a Retired Life," "Crust and Cake," and "Ruth Garrett." New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

*Summer Drift-wood for the Winter Fire.* By Rose Porter. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co.

The following books have been received from the Presbyterian Board of Publication:—

*Tales of the Family, or Home Life.* Illustrated.

*The Two Voyages, or Midnight and Daylight.*

*Aspenridge.* By Julia Carrie Thompson.

*Tales of the Persecuted.*

*Chronicles of an Old Manor-House.* By G. E. Sargent.

*Ivan and Vasilesa, or Modern Life in Russia.*

*Sweet Herbs.*

*San-Poh, or North of the Hills.* A Narrative of Missionary Work in an Out-Station in China. By Rev. John L. Nevius.

## PAMPHLETS AND PERIODICALS.

*The United States Internal Revenue and Tariff Law (Passed July* 13, 1870), *together with the Act Imposing Taxes on Distilled Spirits and Tobacco, and for other purposes (approved July* 20, 1868), *and such other Acts or Parts of Acts relating to Internal Revenue as are now in effect; with Tables of Taxes, a copious Analytical Index, and full Sectional Notes.* Compiled by Horace E. Dresser. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers.

It is only necessary to say that this pamphlet is true to its title, to evince its great value to vast multitudes of people.

*Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, with an Appendix.* By the Stated Clerk. New Series. Vol. I., A. D. 1870. New York: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1870.

This first volume of the Minutes of the Re-united Church is of special importance. It evinces the magnitude of the Presbyterian body by its own size, extending as it does, to nearly 500 closely printed octavo pages. None who wish to be conversant with the condition of the Presbyterian Church can do without it. So far as we can judge, the prodigious labor required to edit it has been well performed, and the result is creditable to the stated clerk of the Assembly.

*Religion in the State and in the School. A Refutation of certain Reasoning and Statements.* By Rufus W. Clark, D. D. New York: American and Foreign Christian Union, 47 Bible House. 1870.

A vigorous refutation of the articles of Dr. Spear in the *Independent*, which aim to prove the godless or non-religious character of our government in its relations to education.

*The Disciples of our Lord during the Personal Ministry. A Lecture Delivered in Queen Street Hall, Edinburgh, on the* 24*th August*, 1869, *before the Students' Theological Society of the United Presbyterian Church.* By William Lee, D. D., Minister of Roxburgh. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1869.

A well-considered tract, developing important truths on a subject quite worthy of attention.

*Christianity the Ultimate and Universal Religion of Man. A Sermon preached in the Brick Church, New York, May* 1, 1870, *for the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church.* By the Rev. Leroy J. Halsey, D. D., Chicago, Ill. Published at the request of the Executive Committee. New York: Board of Foreign Missions, 23 Centre Street. 1870.

An able presentation of a glorious theme.

*Modern Spiritualism: What are we to think of it?* By the Rev. Nathan L. Rice, D. D., President of Westminster College, Missouri. Presbyterian Board of Publication.

An exposure of that monstrosity which is as properly called spiritualism as a bastard is called a legitimate child, alike compact and clear, searching and anni-

hilating. We quite agree with his main conclusion: "1. That the communications of spiritualism, if they come from spirits at all, are attended with such uncertainties that they are utterly unreliable and worthless. 2. That if those revelations do come from spirits, they come not from truthful but deceiving spirits."

We have received Lloyd's "Topographical and Railway Map of the Seat of War in Europe," which is very clear and full—includes all Europe—about a yard square, and at the low price of fifty cents, free by mail.

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## ART. X.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

### GREAT BRITAIN.

GREAT BRITAIN, it is said, has not for many years known a drought equal in duration and severity to that of the last summer. The drying up of the streams has, both there and on the Continent, interfered seriously with the work of the paper-mills. It is too early to measure the influence of these things on literature. The comparative meagreness of our present report is to be traced rather to the general disinclination of publishers to bring out their most solid and important works during the summer months.

There are a few books, however, among the recent publications which have attracted and will continue to attract not a little attention. Foremost among these we put a collection of "Essays, chiefly on Questions of Church and State from 1850–70," by A. P. Stanley, D. D., Dean of Westminster. In their theological and literary qualities these essays are eminently characteristic of their distinguished author, and are typical of one strong tendency in the Church of England. In their scientific and educational aspect, Huxley's "Lay Sermons, Addresses, and Reviews" are no less significant. Another representative work is Sir John Lubbock's "Origin of Civilization, and Primitive Condition of Man; Mental and Social Condition of Savages." Probably nothing has appeared with reference to Keble which more fairly brings him out in his personality as well as in that which makes him an exponent of a school, than his recently published "Letters of Spiritual Council and Guidance."

The Collins Commentary is completed by the publication of Volume VI., in which Acts and Romans are edited by Dr. David Brown, of the Free Church College in Aberdeen, and the remaining books of the New Testament by one of his associate editors, Rev. A. R. Fausset, of York. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is bringing out a commentary on the New Testament, of which Part I., recently published, contains the four Gospels, with notes by Rev. W. W. How. The Cambridge Paragraph Bible, edited by Rev. F. H Scrivener, is completed by the publication of Part II., which contains the Apocrypha and

the New Testament. Part II. of volume VI. of Bishop Wordsworth's Commentary contains the minor prophets. Part II. of Didham's New Translation of the Psalms contains Psalms xxvi–xxxvi. T. K. Cheyne's "Isaiah Chronologically Arranged" is highly commended. In the same general department we note Baynes' "Horæ Lucanæ, a Biography of St. Luke;" Desprez' "John, or the Apocalypse of the New Testament;" Gatty's "Testimony of David, drawn from the Psalms of David;" Graham's "Lectures on Ephesians;" Cox's "Quest of the Chief Good, a Translation and Exposition of Ecclesiastes;" and Blunt's "Plain Account of the English Bible," etc.

Among the contributions to theological and ecclesiastical literature are Dawson's "Scripture Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist;" Cosin's "Religion, Discipline, and Rites of the Church of England;" "Œcumenical Councils: a Course of Lectures" (mainly historical), by W. Urwick; "Letters from Rome on the Council," by Quirinus, first and second series (a translation of very able correspondence of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*);" a translation of Liano's "Church of God and the Bishops;" Reichel's "See of Rome in the Middle Ages;" Bungener's "Rome and the Council in the Nineteenth Century;" Part II. of Bottala's "Pope and the Church," treating (on the Catholic side) of the Infallibility of the Pope; A. O. Legge's "Growth of the Temporal Power of the Papacy;" Marriott's "Testimony of the Catacombs and other Monuments of Christian Art concerning Questions of Doctrine now disputed in the Church;" Rose's "Ignatius Loyola and the Early Jesuits;" "Religious Thought in Germany" (a collection of papers from the *Times*); W. Baur's "Religious Life in Germany during the Wars of Independence;" Feuerbach's "Essence of Christianity;" Ritchie's "Religious Life of London;" Moon's "Soul's Inquiries Answered from the Words of Scripture;" Dr. Vaughan's "Christ Satisfying the Instincts of Humanity;" "Journal of the General Convention of the Church of Ireland;" Junian's "Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism;" Church's "Life of St. Anselm;" a new edition of Williams's "Fiji and the Fijians;" and "The Romance of Modern Missions" (published by the Religious Tract Society).

In philosophy, the most important book of the quarter is Professor J. Grote's "Examination of the Utilitarian Philosophy." Part III. of Macvicar's "Sketch of a Philosophy" is just issued; also an enlarged edition of Bosanquet's "Logic;" a translation of Cousin on the "Philosophy of Kant;" Coleman's "Notes on Logic;" Hodgson's "Theory of Practice;" Morris's edition of Chaucer's translation of "Boethius;" and Ruskins's new "Lectures on Art."

In history and its kindred subjects we record the recent publication of Bollaert's "Wars of Succession of Portugal and Spain;" Cusack's "Student's Manual of Irish History;" "Letters of the First Earl of Malmesbury;" O'Callaghan's "History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France;" volumes V., VI., and VII. of Burton's "History of Scotland;" volume II. of Kaye's "History of the Sepoy War;" Richey's "Lectures on the History of Ireland;" Lewin's "Wild Races of Southeastern India;" Overall's "Dictionary of Chronology;" Lloyd's "Peasant Life in Sweden;" and volume II. of Lenormant's Oriental History (published here by J. B. Lippincott & Co.). Macrae's "Americans at Home;" Edwards' "Lives of the Founders of the British Museum;" Part I. of the "Correspondence of J. Cosin" (Surtees Society); Ellis's "Asiatic Affinities of the old Italians;" Lelièvre's "Life of Rostan, the Alpine Missionary;" Millingen's "Wild Life

among the Koords;" Adams' "Travels of a Naturalist in Japan and Manchuria;" Parkinson's "Ocean Telegraph to India;" Thornbury's "Tour round England;" a new edition of Abbott's "Shakspearian Grammar;" and O'Donnell's "Mixed Education in Ireland," make up our more miscellaneous list.

## FRANCE.

The events of the last three months invest some of the publications of the preceding quarter with a peculiar interest; *e. g.*, Bavoux' "France under Napoleon III., the Empire, and Parliamentary Government;" Duc de Broglie's "Views on the Government of France;" Cherbuliez' "Political Germany since the Peace of Prague (1866–70);" Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne's "Waterloo—a Study of the Campaign of 1815;" Gouraud's "French Society and Democracy;" Guyho's "The Army: its History, its Future, its Organization, and its Legislation at Rome, in France, in Europe, and in the United States;" Lehr's "Noble Alsace, followed by the *Livre d'Or* of the Patriciate of Strasburg;" "Campaigns of the Army of Africa," by the late Duke of Orleans, with Preface and Introduction by the Count of Paris and the Duke of Chartres; vol. II. of Delord's "History of the Second Empire;" "The Battle-fields of the Valley of the Rhine," by the Duke of Chartres; Dauban's "Prisons of Paris in the Revolution;" Berriat's "Revolutionary Justice—August, 1792;" and Hamel's "Outline of the History of the French Revolution."

The theological and religious literature of the quarter presents little that is worthy of special note. The more important works are Abbé Bluteau's "Defence of Religion against Modern Rationalists," vols. I., II., and III.; Dardenne's "Theological Education in France" (2 vols.); Petitalot's "Prayer: its Necessity, its Power, its Different Forms;" Coulin's "Vocation of the Christian;" Langeron's "Gregory VII. and the Beginnings of Ultramontane Doctrine;" "The *Onomastica Sacra* of Jerome," edited by De Lagarde; Baguenault's "History of the Council of Trent;" Dupuy on "Free Will;" Abbé Feret's "God and the Human Spirit;" a work by Bishop Kernaeret in exposition of the first five chapters of Genesis, entitled "The Beginnings;" Kienlen's "Historical and Critical Commentary on the Apocalypse;" Bishop Landriot on "The Christian Spirit in the Teaching of the Sciences, Literature, the Arts, and in Intellectual and Moral Education;" Ramière's "Roman Doctrines concerning Liberalism;" Reville's "Teaching of Jesus Christ compared with that of his Disciples;" Sabatier's "Apostle Paul, an Outline of a History of his Thought;" Abbé Thiesson's "History of St. Cecilia;" Sémérie's "Positivists and Catholics;" Guéranger on "Pontifical Monarchy;" Cotel's "Principles of the Religious Life;" Strœhlin's "Essay on Montanism;" and Blanc's "Course of Ecclesiastical History."

☞ We are compelled, for want of space, to defer till our next number much literary intelligence, respecting France and Germany, which was prepared and in type.